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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS	...	...	13
January 1935	...	...	17
February 1935	...	...	20
March 1935	...	...	26
April 1935	...	...	30
May 1935	...	...	34
June 1935	...	...	
THE GOVT. OF INDIA & PROVINCIAL GOVTS.	...	...	38
NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY	...	...	
Scientific History	...	...	41
The Missing Skeleton	...	...	41
Touch of Life	...	...	41
Organic History	...	...	
Dusk Land of Probabilities	...	...	42
The Rigveda	...	...	42
Unitary Indian Empire	...	...	42
"Dharma"	...	...	43
Ideals and Ideas	...	...	43
Beginning of "Historical Times"	...	...	44
Chandragupta and Asoka	...	...	44
Gupta Dynasty	...	...	45
Mediaeval India	...	...	46
Not a "Dark" Age	...	...	47
Some Later Features	...	...	48
The Mahommadan Rule	...	...	48
INDIA IN HOME POLITY	...	...	49
The Delusion of New Delhi	...	...	49
The Sanctions of Indian National Congress	...	...	50

The League Instrument	...	...	50
The Three Fundamental Ideas	...	...	51
The Giant Machine	...	...	52
The Communist Idea	...	...	52
The Utopia	...	...	53
The Material and Spiritual Factor	...	...	54
Two Misconceptions	...	...	54
The Deeper Issues	...	...	55
The Best Plan	...	...	56
India's Original Contribution	...	...	56
The Congress Machinery How Far Adequate	...	...	57
Congress and Anarchy	...	...	58
Substance and Shadow	...	...	59
The Point of Vital Difference	...	...	59
To Crawl or Jump ?	...	...	60
The Existing Order	...	...	61
An Open Mind and Outlook	...	...	62
An Illustration	...	...	62
Public Utterances and Real Interests	...	...	62
Propagandist Devise	...	...	64
The Man and the System	...	...	64
"Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde"	...	...	65
The Real Inspiration	...	...	66
The Factors which Determine	...	...	66
"Haves" and "Have-nots"	...	...	67
Democracy a Maya	...	...	68
"His Finger in the Pie"	...	...	68
Great Powers and Little	...	...	69
The Vicious Circle	...	...	69
"White Hypocrisy"	...	...	70
A Different kind of Civilisation	...	...	70
"A Timely Lever"	...	...	70
Isolation and Imitation	...	...	71
The Reality India Is	...	...	72
Essential Contact	...	...	72
Others will Count	...	...	73
The Socialist Wing	...	...	74
Mother Congress	...	...	74
First Reason	...	...	75
Second Reason	...	...	75
Another Reason	...	...	76
Still Another	...	...	76
Congress Official Programme	...	...	77
The Constructive Work	...	...	78
Sanctions for Swaraj	...	...	79
The Real Fight	...	...	80
The Four Fold Programme	...	...	81
THE COUNCIL OF STATE	...	...	83
List of Members	...	...	83
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	84

## Budget Session—New Delhi—11th February to 17th

April 1935	...	...	84
J. P. C. Report Debate	...	...	84
Exemption of Co-op. Sugar Factories	...	...	85
Indian Naturalization Act Amend. Bill	...	...	85
Cinematograph Act Amend. Bill	...	...	86
Debate on Railway Budget	...	...	86
Reduction of British Soldiers	...	...	88
Prevention of Foreign Rice Import	...	...	89
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	89
Protection to Wheat Growers	...	...	91
Indian Mercantile Marine	...	...	91
Hindu Temples' Bill	...	...	92, 94
Industrial Council	...	...	92
Relief of Unemployment	...	...	92, 95
Aligarh University Act Amend. Bill	...	...	93, 94
Saiyid Moslems in Army	...	...	93
Khewra Salt Range	...	...	93
Recruitment to I. M. S.	...	...	94
Milch Cattle Protection Bill	...	...	94
Enquiry into Assam's Financial Condition	...	...	94
League Convention for Workless	...	...	94
Tariff and Tea Cess Acts Amending Bills	...	...	95
Wheat and Rice Duty Bill	...	...	95
The Karachi Firing—Adj. Motion	...	...	96
Debate on the Finance Bill	...	...	97
Salt Import Duty Act	...	...	99

## THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

List of Members	...	...	100
INTRODUCTION	...	...	102

## BUDGET SESSION—NEW DELHI—21st JANUARY TO 9th

APRIL 1935	...	...	105
Govt. and Mahatma's Village Scheme	...	...	105
Indian Mines Act Amend. Bill	...	...	107, 172
Indian Naturalization Act Amend. Bill	...	...	107
Mr. Sarat Bose's Detention	...	...	107
Election of President	...	...	109
H. E. the Viceroy's Address	...	...	109
King's Jubilee Fund	...	...	109
Zanzibar	...	...	110
Indian Agent in South Africa	...	...	110
Dairy Industry	...	...	111
Sugar Technology	...	...	112
Trunk Telephone	...	...	112
Air Transport	...	...	112
Labour Legislation	...	...	113
Exchange Difficulties	...	...	114
The Trade Agreement	...	...	114
Burma	...	...	114

The New Bill	...	...	115
The Princes Support	...	...	115
Direct Election	...	...	116
Haj Pilgrim Guides Bill	...	...	116
The Mines Act Amend. Bill	...	...	117
Indian Naturalization Act Amend. Bill	...	...	117
Indo-British Trade Agreement Debate	...	...	117
Text of Indo-British Trade Agreement	...	...	121
Joint Committee Report Debate	...	122,	126
Removal of Ban on Red Shirts	...	...	124
Prevention of Foreign Rice Import	...	...	126
Adjournment Motions Ruled out	...	...	130
Removal of Disqualification	...	...	130
Protection of Foreign Rice Import	...	...	130
Revision of Taxation Policy	...	130,	132
Cr. Law Amend. Act (1908) Repeal Bill	...	130,	162
Cr. Pr. Code 1898 (Sec 103) Amend. Bill	...	...	130
Cr. Pr. Code 1898 (Sec 406) Amend. Bill	...	...	131
Cr. Pr. Code 1898 (Secs. 30, 34, 34A, 35) Amend. Bill	...	...	131
Regulating Payment of Wages	...	...	131
Civil Procedure Code Amend. Bills	...	...	131
Sheet Glass Industry	...	...	131
Railway Budget for 1935-36	...	...	132
General Discussion of Railway Budget	...	...	134
Payment of Wages Bill	...	...	135
Civil P. C. Amendment Bill	...	...	136
Unemployment Relief Through Insurance	...	...	136
Voting on Railway Demands	...	...	138
Cr. Proc. Code 1898 (S.408 Amend.) Bill	...	...	138
Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill	...	...	139
History of the Bill	...	...	139
Text of Coastal Reservation Bill	...	...	140
Other Non-official Bills	...	...	142
Financial Statement for 1935-36	...	...	143
Financial Year 1934-35	...	...	143
Expenditure	...	144,	146
Posting as at 31st March 1935-36—Revenue	...	...	145
Financial Year 1935-36—Revenue	...	...	145
General Discussion on the Budget	...	...	152
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	156
The Tariff Act Amend. Bill	...	...	158
Text of the Bill	...	...	158
Finance Bill Debate	...	158,161,165,	168
Karachi Firing—Adjournment Motion	...	...	160
Death of Mr. Sherwani	...	...	160
Indo-Burma Tribunal	...	161,	162
Indians in Kenya	...	...	162
Viceroy Restores Finance Bill Cuts	...	...	166
Text of Recommendations	...	...	166
Tariff Act Amend. (Rice and Wheat) Bill	...	...	166
Tea Cess Bill	...	...	172

Grant in Jubilee Celebrations	...	...	172
Salt Additional Import Duty Bill	...	...	172
Indian Mines Act Amend. Bill	...	...	172
Attachment of Salaries	...	...	172
THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	173
List of Members	...	...	173
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	174
BUDGET SESSION—CALCUTTA—11TH FEBRUARY TO 9TH			
APRIL 1935	...	...	174
Governor's Opening Speech	...	...	174
New Taxation Bills Introduced	...	...	175
Bengal Electricity Duty Bill	...	...	175, 190
Bengal Tobacco (Sales Licensing) Bill	...	...	176
Bengal Amusements Tax Amend. Bill	...	...	176, 191
Indian Stamps (Bengal Amend.) Bill	...	...	176, 191
Bengal Development Bill	...	...	176, 183
Albert Victor Leper Hospital Bill	...	...	177, 183
Bengal Village Self-Government Amendment Bill	...	...	177
Financial Statement for 1935-36	...	...	177
Court fees (Bengal Amend.) Bill	...	...	179
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	179
Non-official Bills	...	...	181
Public Gambling Amend. Bill	...	...	182
Private Lotteries Bill	...	...	182
Tuberculosis Menace in Bengal	...	...	182
Price of Sugarcane	...	...	182
Depressed Classes Education	...	...	183
Voting on Budget Grants	...	...	183
Demand under Administration of Justice	...	...	185
Hunger-Strike in Bengal Jail	...	...	186
Court fees Bill	...	...	190
Bengal Tobacco Bill	...	...	190
THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	192
List of Members	...	...	192
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	193
JANUARY SESSION—MADRAS—21ST TO 30th JANUARY 1935			193
Governor's Opening Speech	...	...	193
Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amend.) Bill	...	...	194
Madras Public Libraries (Amend.) Bill	...	...	194
Other Non-official Bills	...	...	194
Remission of Land Revenue	...	...	194
Relief of Unemployment	...	...	195
Hindu Religious Endowments (Amend.) Bill	...	...	195
Joint Committee Report Debate	...	...	195
Budget Session—20th February to 23rd March 1935	...	...	198
Financial Statement for 1935-36	...	...	198
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	198
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	199
No-Confidence in Ministry	...	...	199

Adidravida "Grievance"	...	...	203
Rural Water Supply	...	...	203
THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	204
List of Members	...	...	204
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	205
BUDGET SESSION—BOMBAY—14TH FEBRUARY TO 29TH MARCH 1935	...	...	205
Governor's Opening Speech	...	...	205
Financial Statement for 1935-36	...	...	206
Joint Committee Report Debate	...	...	207
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	208
The Finance Bill	...	...	210
Bombay Tobacco Bill	...	...	210
Law of Adoption Amend. Bill	...	...	210
Bombay District Police Act Amend. Bill	...	...	210
Other Bills	...	...	210
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	211
Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill	...	203,	215
Details of Karachi Firing	...	...	214
Nurses' Registration Bill	...	...	216
Establishment of Land Mortgage Banks	...	...	216
Non-official Resolutions	...	...	216
THE U. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	217
List of Members	...	...	217
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	218
BUDGET SESSION—LUCKNOW—20TH FEBRUARY TO 6TH APRIL 1935	...	...	218
Non-official Resolutions	...	...	218
Enquiry into Landlords' Indebtedness	...	...	218
Education of Backward Classes	...	...	219
Supplementary Grants	...	...	219
Official Bills Discussed	...	...	219
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	219
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	220
Id Precautions—Adj. Motion	...	...	222
Secondary Education—Minister's Statement	...	...	222
Irrigation Works—Govt. Statement	...	...	223
Moslems in P. W. D.	...	...	224
Industrial Development—Minister's Statement	...	...	224
Medical Dept.—Minister's Statement	...	...	225
Agriculture Dept.—Minister's Statement	...	...	226
Taxation Measure	...	...	226
Court fees Amendment Bill	...	...	227
Supplementary Demands	...	...	227
Stamp Act Amendment Bill	...	...	227
The U. P. Tobacco Bill	...	...	228
Motor Vehicles Act Amendment Bill	...	...	228
Listed Posts in United Provinces	...	...	229
Non-official Bills	...	...	229



THE B. & O. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	230
List of Members	...	...	230
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	231
SPECIAL SESSION—PATNA—15TH TO 17TH JANUARY 1935			231
J. P. C. Report Debate	...	...	231
Budget Session—Patna—13th Feb. to 27th March 1935			233
Financial Statement for 1935—36	...	...	233
Non-official Bills	...	...	234
Bihar for Biharis	...	...	234
Excluded Areas under Reform	...	...	235
Teaching of Biology in Colleges	...	...	235
Recruitment to Provincial Services	...	...	235
Relief of Unemployment	...	...	235
Bihar Tenancy Amend. Bill	...	...	236, 239
Other Official Bills	...	...	236
B. & O. Co-operative Societies Bill	...	...	236
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	236
Creation of Publicity Dept. criticised	...	...	238
THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	240
List of Members	...	...	240
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	240
WINTER SESSION—NAGPUR—25TH JANUARY TO 2ND FEBRUARY 1935	...	...	240
Governor on New Reforms	...	...	240
Relief to Agriculturists	...	...	242
Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill—Chair's Ruling	...	...	242
Official Bills	...	...	243
C. P. Debtor's Relief Bill	...	...	244
Five Year Plan	...	...	244
J. P. C. Report Debate	...	...	244
Financial Statement for 1935-36	...	...	245
The C. P. Games Bill	...	...	246
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	246
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	247
C. P. Court fees Amend. Bill	...	...	248
THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	250
List of Members	...	...	250
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	252
BUDGET SESSION—LAHORE—21ST FEBRUARY TO 26TH MARCH 1935	...	...	252
Punjab Anti Beggary Bill	...	...	252
Immoral Traffic Suppression Bill	...	...	252
Financial Statement for 1935-36	...	...	252
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	254
Recognition of Private Schools	...	...	257
THE BURMA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	258
List of Members	...	...	258

Proceedings of the Council	...	...	259
BUDGET SESSION—RANGOON—14TH FEBRUARY TO 8TH			
MARCH 1935	...	...	259
Budget for 1935-36	...	...	259
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	259
Joint Committee Report Debate	...	...	260
Removal of President	...	...	262
Election of President	...	...	264
No Confidence on Education Minister	...	...	264
THE N. W. FRONTIER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	265
List of Members	...	...	265
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	266
BUDGET SESSION—PESHAWAR—5TH MARCH TO 14TH			
MARCH 1935	...	...	266
Financial Statement for 1935-36	...	...	266
Official and Non official Bills	...	...	266, 268
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	267
THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	...	...	268
List of Members	...	...	268
Proceedings of the Council	...	...	269
BUDGET SESSION—SHILLONG—25TH FEBRUARY TO 9TH			
MARCH 1935	...	...	269
Budget for 1935-36	...	...	269
General Discussion of Budget	...	...	270
Voting on Budget Demands	...	...	271
Development of Silk Industry	...	...	273
Programme of Road Development	...	...	273
Reforms Report Debate	...	...	273
SPECIAL SESSION—SHILLONG—27TH MAY TO 8TH			
JUNE 1935	...	...	274
Governor's Opening Address	...	...	274
Assam Tenancy Amend. Bill	...	...	275, 278
Court fees and Stamp Amend. Bills	...	...	275
Municipal and Local Self Government Amend. Bills	...	...	275
Civil Courts Amend. Bill	...	...	275
Non official Resolutions	...	...	275
Deaths by Starvation	...	...	276
Rural Water Supply	...	...	276
Establishment of Leper Colony	...	...	276
Second Chamber for Assam	...	...	276, 277
University for Assam	...	...	276
Teacher's Provident Fund	...	...	277
State aid to Industries	...	...	277
Finance Member Congratulated	...	...	277
Quetta Earthquake Condolence	...	...	277
Roads and Water Supply	...	...	278
Supplementary Demands	...	...	278
Grant for Schools	...	...	278

Rural Reconstruction Scheme	...	...	280
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	...	...	281
PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE—DELHI			
—16TH TO 18TH JANUARY 1935	...	...	281
Provincial Contributions	...	...	281
Condolence	...	...	281
Poorna Swaraj Day	...	...	281
Jubilee Celebrations	...	...	282
Textile Mills	...	...	282
Disciplinary Rules	...	...	282
Residential Qualifications	...	...	283
A. I. C. C. Members for U. P.	...	...	283
Bengal Elections	...	...	283
Famine in Andhra	...	...	283
Members of the All India Congress Committee	...	...	284
Congress Provincial Executives	...	...	285
Assembly Activities	...	...	286
Adjournment Motions	...	...	287
Presidential Election	...	...	287
Indo-British Trade Agreement	...	...	287
Ban on Khudai Khidmatgars	...	...	287
Assembly Verdict on J. P. C. Report	...	...	287
Government Defeats over Railway Budget	...	...	288
Summary of Report of the All-India Harijan Sevak			
Sangh	...	...	288
Organisation of the Sangh	...	...	288
All-India Village Industries Association	...	...	290
Poorna Swaraj Day Celebration	...	...	292
All-India Protest-Day: Against J. P. C. Report	...	...	294
Statement	...	...	294
Resolution	...	...	294
Situation in Midnapur	...	...	294
Distress Warrants in Behar	...	...	295
Unity Talks	...	...	295
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE	...	...	295
Congress Parliamentary Board	...	...	296
Election Disputes Panel	...	...	296
Auditors	...	...	296
Condolence	...	...	296
Congress Party in the Assembly	...	...	296
Ban on Congress Organisations	...	...	296
Abuse of Foreigner's Act	...	...	296
Mob Violence at Ferozabad	...	...	297
Indian States:	...	...	297
THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS	...	...	297
Estimate of Expenditure	...	...	297
Remission Granted to Frontier P. C. C.	...	...	298
Provincial Subscription	...	...	298
Provincial Constitution	...	...	298

Maximum Number of Delegates	...	...	298
Extension of Date for Enrolment of Members	...	...	298
Change of Provincial Head Quarters	...	...	299
Rules of Procedure of A. I. C. C.	...	...	299
Order of Business Etc.	...	...	299
Resignation From A. I. C. C.	...	...	299
Election Disputes	...	...	300
Other Disputes	...	...	300
Nagpur P. C. C.	...	...	300
Khaddar Clause	...	...	300
Provident Fund for Office Staff	...	...	300
Mahakoshal Disputes	...	...	300
Guntur Congress Committee Dispute	...	...	300
Representation of N. W. and Midnapur	...	...	300
Recommendations for A. I. C. C.	...	...	301
Appointments to Working Committee	...	...	301
President's Tour	...	...	301
CONGRESS ORGANISATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS UNDER BAN			302
Gujarat	...	...	302
Bengal	...	...	302
Faridpur (Bengal)	...	...	302
Midnapur (Bengal)	...	...	302
North-West Frontier	...	...	304
Karnatak	...	...	304
U. P.	...	...	304
Suppression of Labour and Youth League Organisations			304
Searches, Arrests and Convictions	...	...	305
Restrictions on Hindu Visitors to Darjeeling	...	...	306
Bengal Detenues	...	...	308
An Appeal By the President	...	...	308
Bengal Government's Prohibition	...	...	308
Congress President's Rejoinder	...	...	308
Congress Activities in Assembly	...	...	309
Summary of Report of Kanara Farmers' Relief Committee	...	...	312
Harijan Sewak Sangha	...	...	313
THE ANTI-COMMUNAL AWARD CONFERENCE	...	...	315
Introduction	...	...	315
Opening Day—New Delhi—23rd. February 1935	...	...	315
The Welcome Address	...	...	315
The Presidential Address	...	...	317
RESOLUTIONS—2ND DAY—24TH FEBRUARY 1935	...	...	324
Condemnation of Communal Award	...	...	324
Withdrawal of India Bill Urged	...	...	325
Agitation Against Award	...	...	325
THE COMMUNAL AWARD CONFERENCE	...	...	326
OPENING DAY—NEW DELHI—24TH MARCH 1935	...	...	326
President's Address	...	...	326
Discussion of Resolutions	...	...	327

THE ALL-INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA	...	...	328 (b)
Introduction	...	...	328 (b)
16TH SESSION—CAWNPORE—20TH. TO 22ND. APRIL 1935			329
The Welcome Address	...	...	329
Presidential Address	...	...	329
The Mischievous Award	...	...	330
Deputation to England	...	...	331
J. P. C. Report	...	...	331
Need of Reforms	...	...	331
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—CAWNPORE—20TH APRIL 1935			332
Karachi Firing	...	...	332
Firozabad Occurrence	...	...	333
Music before Mosques	...	...	333
Jain Processions	...	...	333
Communal 'Award'	...	...	333
Thanks to Japanese People	...	...	333
THIRD DAY—CAWNPORE—22ND. APRIL 1935		...	334
Parliament's Right to Frame Constitution		...	334
India Bill Unacceptable	...	...	334
Communalism in Services Condemned	...	...	334
Separation of Burma	...	...	335
Bodhi-Gaya Temple Bill	...	...	335
THE ALL-BENGAL HINDU CONFERENCE	...	...	335
The Welcome Address	...	...	335
The Presidential Address	...	...	336
RESOLUTIONS—2ND. DAY—3RD. FEBRUARY 1935		...	337
THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL DEPRESSED CLASSES CONFERENCE			338
OPENING DAY—RAJAHMUNDY—15TH JUNE 1935		...	338
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—16TH. JUNE 1935		...	342
Representation in Legislature	...	...	343
Needs of Agricultural Labourers	...	...	343
Mr. Prakasam's Address	...	...	343
THE ALL BENGAL DEPRESSED CLASSES CONFERENCE		...	344
OPENING DAY—JHENIDAH—19TH. & 20TH. MAY 1935			344
Resolutions	...	...	345
THE ALL-INDIA HARIJAN SEWAK SANGH—REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1933-34	...	...	346
THE NATIONAL SIKH CONFERENCE	...	...	349
OPENING DAY—AMRITSAR—16TH. MARCH 1935		...	350
THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE	...	...	350
OPENING DAY—DINAJPUR—19TH. APRIL 1935		...	350
Presidential Address	...	...	350
The Communal Award	...	...	351
Council Entry	...	...	351

'Steam-Roller' Policy	...	...	351
The Award a Grave Menace	...	...	352
Lucknow Pact Evils	...	...	352
Reactionary 'Reforms'	...	...	353
Economic Distress	...	...	354
Duty of Congress	..	...	354
Reorganisation Need	...	...	354
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—20TH, APRIL 1935	...	...	355
Suffering of workers	...	...	355
Free Elementary Education	...	..	355
Village Industries	...	...	355
Repressive Policy	...	...	355
Constitution for India	..	...	355
Peasants' Condition	...	...	355
RESOLUTIONS—THIRD DAY—21ST, APRIL 1935	...	...	356
Jinnah-Prasad Unity Talks	...	..	356
Uplift of Harijans	...	...	357
Deputation to England	...	...	357
THE PUNJAB POLITICAL CONFERENCE	...	...	357
OPENING DAY—LAHORE—6TH, APRIL 1935	...	...	357
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—7TH, APRIL 1935	...	...	358
THE KERALA PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE	...	...	358
The Ultimate Aim of the Congress	...	...	360
Need for Socialism	...	...	360
Need for Understanding	...	...	360
RESOLUTIONS—SECOND DAY—29TH, MAY 1935	...	...	361
The Congress and Indian States	...	...	361
Change of Congress Creed Demanded	...	...	361
Organisation of Labour Peasantry	...	...	361
Other Resolutions	...	...	362
THE KARNATAKA PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE	...	...	362
OPENING DAY—MANGALORE—10TH, MAY 1935	...	...	362
THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL NATIONALIST CONFERENCE	...	...	363
OPENING DAY—GUNTUR—20TH, FEBRUARY 1935	...	...	365
Congress Attitude Criticised	...	...	365
Breaking of Electoral Promises	...	...	366
Separate Andhra Province	...	...	367
The Andhra Provincial Socialist Conference	...	...	367
OPENING DAY—GUNTUR—19TH, FEBRUARY 1935	...	...	367
Welcome Address	...	...	368
Opening Address	...	...	368
Presidential Address	...	...	368
Resolutions Passed	...	...	369
THE KERALA PROVINCIAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE	...	...	369

OPENING DAY—CALCUTTA—27TH MAY 1935	...	369
Resolutions	...	371
THE SURMA VALLEY CONGRESS SOCIALIST CONFERENCE	..	372
Opening Day—Sylhet—27th May 1935	...	372
THE GUJARAT CONGRESS SOCIALIST CONFERENCE	... ..	372
OPENING DAY—AHMEDABAD—22ND JUNE 1935	...	372
Presidential Address	...	373
Resolutions—Second Day—23rd June 1935	..	375
ALL INDIA WOMEN MOVEMENT	... ..	376(a)
Patronesses of the All India Women's Conference	...	376(a)
Office-Bearers of the All India Women's Conference	...	376(a)
Introduction	...	376(b)
ORIGIN OF THE ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE	...	377
The Second Conference	...	377
The Third Conference	...	377
The Fourth Conference	...	377
The Fifth Conference	...	378
The Sixth Conference	...	378
The Seventh Conference	...	379
The Eighth Conference	...	380
Half Yearly Reports for 1935	...	380
Report for Andhra	...	380
Report for Baroda	...	382
Report for Bengal East	...	382
Report for Bengal West	...	383
Report for Bihar	...	383
Report for Bombay	...	383
Report for Calcutta	...	384
Report for Delhi	...	385
Report for Hyderabad (Deccan)	...	386
Report for Indore	...	387
Report for Konkan	...	388
Report for Kolhapur	...	389
Report for Madras	...	389
Report for Maharashtra	...	390
Report for Mysore	...	391
Report for Orissa	...	392
Report for Punjab Central	...	393
Report for Punjab East	...	393
Report for Sind	...	394
Report for Travancore	...	395
Report for U. P. Agra	...	395
Report for U. P. Oudh	...	396
Report for C. P. South	...	396
Report for Gujerat	...	397
Report for C. P. North	...	397
Rejection of the J. P. C. Report	...	397

THE A. I. TRADE UNION CONGRESS	...	...	399
OPENING DAY—CALCUTTA—20TH APRIL 1935	...	...	399
The Welcome Address	...	...	399
Presidential Address	...	...	401
Resolutions—Second Day—21st April 1935	...	...	404
THE BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	..		405
OPENING DAY—CALCUTTA—19TH MARCH 1935	...	...	405
Economic Situation in India	...	.	408
Jute	...	..	409
Jute Manufactures	...	...	409
Rice	...	...	410
Tea	...	.	410
Budget Proposals	...	..	411
Rural Reconstruction	...	...	412
Activities of the Chamber in 1934	..	...	413
THE FEDERATION OF THE INDIAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY	..	.	414
OPENING DAY—DELHI—30TH MARCH 1935	...	...	414
Cotton and Coal	...	...	415
Railways	...	...	416
Monetary Policy	...	...	416
Trade Agreements	...	...	417, 420
Commercial Legislation	...	...	418
Proceedings and Resolutions	...	...	419
Protest Against Railway Authority	...	...	419
Safeguards	...	...	419
Indians Abroad	...	...	420
Income Tax	...	...	421
Coastal Trade	...	...	421
Resolutions—Second Day—31st March 1935	...	...	421
Insurance in India	...	...	421
Cultivation of Sugarcane	...	...	422
Indian Silk Industry	...	...	422
Indo-British Trade Agreement	...	...	423
Separation of Burma	...	...	423
THE BOMBAY INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER	...	...	424
THE SOUTHERN INDIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	...	...	426
THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES	...	...	429
OPENING DAY—NEW DELHI—22nd. JANUARY	...	...	429
Viceroy's Opening Speech	...	...	429
League Delegates' Report	...	...	430
Future Constitution	...	...	430
Proceedings and Resolutions	...	...	431
Reforms Report	...	...	431



Second Day—New Delhi—23rd. March 1935	...	433
Election of Office-Bearers to Standing Committee	...	433
Viceroy's Reply	...	434
THE PRINCES AND FEDERATION	...	435
Secretary of State's Reply to Princes' Memorandum	...	435
Schedules	...	437
Secretary of State's Despatch	...	437
Princes' Letter to Viceroy	...	439
Note attached to Princes' Letter	...	441
Secretary of State's Reply to Princes	...	442
Secretary of State's Statement in Parliament	...	445
Rulers' Instrument of Accession	...	446
EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA	...	451
Introduction	...	451
Educational Reconstruction in India	...	453
Govt. of India Circular to Local Governments	...	453
U. P. Resolution	...	454
Education in the United Provinces	...	456
Secondary Education in Bengal	...	456
Tendencies in Secondary Education	...	457
Wastage in Different Stages	...	457
Management and Control of Secondary Schools	...	457
Curriculum and Medium of Instruction	...	458
Secondary Schools for Indian Boys	...	459
Finance	...	459
Boys' High Schools in Madras, Bombay and Bengal	...	460
Boys' Middle Schools in Madras, Bombay and Bengal	...	460
Index of Local Interest	...	462
Sports and Gymnastic Clubs	...	463
Physical Education of Girls	...	463
Welcome Change of Outlook	...	463
ALL-INDIA SCIENCE CONGRESS—22nd. SESSION—CALCUTTA—2nd. TO 5th. JANUARY 1935	...	463
Welcome Speech	...	463
Viceroy's Opening Speech	...	464
SECOND DAY—CALCUTTA—3RD JANUARY 1935	...	467
Agriculture Section	...	468
Medical and Veterinary Section	...	469
THIRD DAY—CALCUTTA—4TH JANUARY 1935	...	469
Anthropology Section	...	469
Romance of Coal-Tar	...	471
Bihar Quake Study	...	472
4TH DAY—CALCUTTA—5TH JANUARY 1935	...	472
Mathematics and Physical Section	...	472
Psychology Section	...	473

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES	...	...	475
Governor's Address	...	...	475
Academic Grove	..	...	476
Organised Steps	...	...	476
A Bright Future	...	...	476
Dr. Fermour's Address	...	...	477
The Universities	...	..	477
The Indian Science Congress Association	...	...	478
The Academies	...	...	478
All India Activities of Academies	..	...	478
The United Provinces Academy of Sciences	...	...	478
Indian Academies of Sciences	...	...	479
The Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore	...	...	479
The Formation of the Institute	...	...	479
Liason of National Institute with the Academies	...	...	479
Fellowship of the National Institute	...	...	479
The Council of the National Institute	..	...	480
The Co-ordination of Labours of Men of Science	...	...	480
Meetings of the National Institute	...	...	480
An Annual Review of the Progress of Science in India			480
Consolidated Comptes Rendus or Proceedings of Academies			480
ALL-INDIA MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE	...	...	481
ALL-BENGAL COLLEGE TEACHERS' CONFERENCE	...	...	483
TENTH—SESSION—CALCUTTA—20TH APRIL 1935	...	...	483
THE PUNJAB STUDENTS' CONFERENCE	...	...	489
OPENING DAY—LAHORE—15TH FEBRUARY 1935	...	...	489
Dr. Tagore's Address	...	...	489
SECOND DAY—LAHORE—16TH FEBRUARY 1935	...	...	490
THIRD DAY—LAHORE—17TH FEBRUARY 1935	...	...	490
THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION	...	...	491
THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION	...	...	492
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL ( SUMMARY )	...	...	501
EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM	...	...	509

# CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

JANUARY—JUNE 1935



# CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

JANUARY 1935

**2nd. Death of Mr Abhyankar.**—Mr. M. V. Abhyankar, Bai-at-Law, Central Provinces Congress leader, passed away in Bombay.

**7th. National Institute of Sciences of India.**—H. E. the Governor of Bengal inaugurated the first session of the National Institute of Sciences of India in Calcutta. The purpose of the Institute was to co-ordinate the work of Academies of Sciences in the various parts of India. The main functions of the Institute would be the co-ordination of the labours of the scientists in India, to effect co-operation between the various bodies of Academy rank and to render possible the formation of a National Research Council.

**12th. South Arcot Women's Conference.**—Equal rights for women and men in the future constitution, establishment of more schools for girls and that women should take part in rural reconstruction formed the subjects of some of the resolutions passed by the South Arcot Women's Conference, held at Villupuram, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi presiding.

**13th. Death of Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy.**—Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy passed away at his residence in Calcutta, after a brief illness. He was one of the oldest members at the Central Legislature and was the founder of the Central Muslim Party in the Assembly. He was the Deputy President of the Bengal Legislative Council from 1923 to 1926. Prominent in public life, he was also the author of some publications relating to Muslim history and religion.

**Death of Mr. B. Muniswami Naidu.**—Diwan Bahadur B. Muniswami Naidu, former Chief Minister to the Madras Government, passed away at his residence at Chittoor. His funeral was attended by many prominent public men and tributes were paid to his services to the Province.

**14th. Acharya Gidwani's death.**—Acharya Gidwani, ex-Principal of the Gujarat Vidyapith and who, till recently, had been closely associated with the Congress, died of heart-failure at Karachi. His funeral was largely attended and the local markets and the Municipal offices were closed in memory of the departed leader.

**15th. Burma Separationists' dissatisfaction.**—The All-Burma Separationists' Conference held at Rangoon, expressed its dissatisfaction with the J. P. C. proposals inasmuch as they did not fulfil the people's aspirations. The Conference also demanded protection for the indigenous population from outside competition, and also the restoration of Assam, Manipur, Andaman and Nicobar Islands to separated Burma.

**Madras Christian Deputation to the Governor.**—A deputation on behalf of the Madras Indian Christian Association waited on the Governor and represented to His Excellency the grievances of the community. The deputationists urged that the goal of India, Dominion status, should be included in the preamble of the new Reform Bill. They stated that they were opposed to a Second Chamber in the province, and urged direct election to the Federal Legislature.

**16th. Madras Provincial Labour Conference.**—The Madras Provincial Labour Conference met at Golden Rock. Mr. C. Basudev, declaring the conference open, regretted that the Reforms Report had omitted the question of declaration of fundamental rights. He opposed indirect election to the Federal legislature as retrograde and urged direct election on a much enlarged basis. The president, Mr. S. Natesa Mudaliar, urged that safeguards should be provided for the benefit of labour. The conference passed resolutions urging that at least 10 per cent of the total number of seats allotted in the various councils should be reserved for labour, periodical enlargement of franchise so as to achieve adult franchise within a definite period and the provision of a declaration of rights in the new constitution.

**17th. Bihar Council urges modification of the Reforms Scheme :—**The Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council adopted an amendment to the Government motion for the consideration of the J. P. C. Report. The Council was of opinion that the scheme as a whole was highly unsatisfactory and inadequate to meet popular aspirations and hedged round by many unnecessary and undesirable safeguards. The Council urged substantial modifications and the inclusion of the term Dominion Status in the preamble of the proposed India Bill.

**21st. Assembly debate on official circular relating to Village Industries Association :—**An adjournment motion, moved by Mr. Satyamurthi to censure the Government for issuing a circular to all local governments and through them to District officers and other officials not to have anything to do with the revival of village industries scheme proposed by Gandhiji, was discussed by the Assembly. Sir Henry Craik, Home Member, said that it was idle to assert that the Government was wrong in pointing out to Local Governments the possibly dangerous potentialities of the Village Industries Association. He added that if future developments proved that the Government had misjudged the organisation, the Government would welcome co-operation. The adjournment motion was talked out.

**Madras Governor's appeal for Co-operation :—**Addressing the Madras Legislative Council, H. E. the Governor dealt with the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and appealed for the co-operation and assistance of all parties to work the new constitution smoothly. He said that the British Government stood by all the pledges and had no intention to break them. His Excellency concluded by saying: "Given goodwill, I see no reason why in the coming years the shining example already set to the rest of India by this historic presidency should not even be improved upon."

**22nd. Motion regarding Mr. S. C. Bose's detention :—**The adjournment motion of Mr. Bardoloi, Congress Party, regarding the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was passed by the Assembly, by 53 votes to 54. Mr. Bardoloi, moving the adjournment motion said that Mr. S. C. Bose who had been allowed by the Government to be duly elected and had been summoned by the Governor-General to attend the Assembly, could not be prevented from attending the Assembly session. The Law Member and the Home Member of the Government of India argued that no privilege as claimed by the mover of the adjournment motion existed and therefore there was no breach of the privilege. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress Party, said that there was an inherent privilege as a member of the Assembly. Mr. Jinnah, leader of the Independent Party, did not agree that any such privilege existed but did not see any justification for the detention of Mr. Bose. Sir Henry Craik promised the House to lay every material regarding Mr. Bose's detention before the House in the course of the session. The adjournment motion was passed by a majority of 4 votes, some of the Independents remaining neutral.

**States and Federation :—**The Chamber of Princes, which met at Delhi passed a resolution reaffirming its previous declaration about the readiness of the States to accede to the All-India Federation, provided the essential conditions and guarantees which have been pressed for are included in the constitution. The Chamber reserved its opinion until the Parliamentary Bill relating to constitutional reforms and the contents of the proposed treaty of accession and the Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy were known. The Chamber also emphasised that the success of the Federation would depend on the clear recognition of the sovereignty of the States and their rights under treaties and engagements.

**24th. The Viceroy's Address to the Assembly :—**Addressing the members of the Assembly, His Excellency the Viceroy reviewed the administrative and constitutional problems. Regarding the question of reforms, His Excellency said that caution demanded safeguards to carry India from one system of Government to another. The Viceroy appealed to the Indian leaders to take the scheme as the only path likely, in any period of time that one could foresee, to bring within their reach the great ideal of federation. Concluding, His Excellency said that he was convinced that the path to Federation was the path that would lead to India's sure advance.

**25th. Endowments Act Amending Bill passed :—**The Madras Legislative Council passed Mr. Koti Reddi's Bill to amend the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments

Act. The Bill sought to introduce changes in regard to specific endowments and the schemes settled by Courts, and also in regard to the administration of the finances of the temples.

**28th. Discussion on Reforms Report in Madras Council:**—The Madras Council discussed the report of the Joint Committee on Indian constitutional reforms. The hon. Mr. C. A. Souter moved for the consideration of the report. Dr P. Subbaroyan moved an amendment which stated that the reform scheme did not satisfy the aspirations of the people of India and was unacceptable, and that it was better to remain under the present constitution than to be saddled with the new one proposed. The Justice Party's amendment was moved by Mr. Yahia Ali Sahib, which, while accepting the conclusions of the Joint Parliamentary Committee regarding Provincial Autonomy and All-India Federation, urged that some changes be made in order to secure goodwill for the working of the new constitution. The Justice Democratic Party moved a similar amendment while Mr. N. Sivaraj moved an amendment on behalf of the Depressed Classes, urging the rejection of the Poona Pact and substitution of the system of representation proposed in the original award of the Premier. Some more amendments were moved. The official motion was carried and Dr Subbaroyan's amendment was declared lost, without a division. The amendments of the Justice Party, the Justice Democratic Party, and of Mr. Sivaraj were all carried.

**30th. Assembly rejects Indo-British Trade Agreement:**—The Assembly debated the Indo-British Trade Agreement and urged its immediate termination. Mr. H. P. Mody defended the agreement and said that there was no sacrifice of India's fiscal autonomy, nor impairment of discriminating protection. Mr. Jinnah opposed the Agreement. Mr. Joshi urged the Government to consult labour opinion before negotiating trade agreements. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said that the agreement did not confer any concessions on India but she lost a great deal. Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to the debate, claimed that the agreement did not adversely affect any Indian industry. He added that it helped in the cause of goodwill and friendliness between India and England. The amendment of Mr. K. L. Gauba urging the Government to terminate the agreement was carried by 66 against 58 votes.

**31st. Mr. Bose's detention:**—At a public meeting in Calcutta resolution was passed protesting against the continued detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and demanding his unconditional release.

## FEBRUARY 1935

**1st. International Labour office resolution regarding railway workers:**—The Governing Body of the International Labour Office passed the following resolution concerning the Railway workers in India. Having regard to the considerable time that has elapsed since the ratification of the 1919 Convention (dealing with workers on railways) by the Government of India in 1921, the Governing Body notes the Government of India's undertaking to press forward their programme of gradual extension with the least possible delay and hopes that, as a result of this undertaking, the effects of the Convention will be extended at an early date to such workers of the Indian railways as do not yet enjoy them."

**Government of India Bill:**—The Indian re-print of the Government of India Bill was published and runs into 323 pages.

**2nd. Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber:**—The Reserve Bank, the Indian Tariff system and other questions of interest to the commercial community were discussed by the incoming president of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at their annual general meeting in Bombay.

**C. P. Council's plea for Dominion Status:**—The Central Provinces Legislative Council discussed the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report on Indian constitutional reform. The Council was of opinion that the scheme adumbrated in the J. P. C. Report was unsatisfactory, unacceptable and unworkable unless the Constitution Act conferred Dominion Status on India.

**3rd. Bengal Hindus Condemn Award.**—The Bengal Hindu Conference passed a resolution condemning the Reforms proposals, including the Communal Award.

**4th. Assembly Debate on J. P. C. Report.**—The Assembly to-day began a three-day debate on the Joint Select Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms on a motion by Sir N. N. Sircar, Leader of the House, that the Report "be taken into consideration." There was a crop of amendments to the motion, the more important of them being those moved by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Leader of the Independent Party.

**Warning to Princes.**—Lord Rothermere sent a cable to H. H. the Nawab of Rampur in which he warned the Indian Princes to avoid the "traps" set for them by the Government.

**5th. Assembly and the "Red Shirts"**—By 73 votes to 46 the Assembly carried a motion moved by Mr. B. Das recommending the removal of the ban on the "Red Shirts" organization in the North-West Frontier Province. Among those who supported the motion was Dr. Khan Sahib, brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of the movement, who in a maiden speech, said that the movement was entirely non-violent. "We have started the movement," he said, "to convert the Frontier into a 'peaceful house.'"

The *Daily Mail* report of a secret ballot among Indian Princes on the question of the Federation was denied by several leading Rulers.

**6th. Dominion Status the Goal—Sir Samuel Hoare's Pledge to India:**—Dominion status is the ultimate goal of British policy in India. This was the pledge given by Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India) when moving the second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons. Sir Samuel said that there was no need for a preamble to the Bill as the preamble to the Act of 1919 would stand. That preamble had been interpreted by the Viceroy in 1929 as meaning that the natural issue of India's progress, as contemplated in the Act, was the attainment of Dominion status. The present Government stood firmly both by the pledge in the 1919 preamble and the Viceroy's interpretation of it in 1929. The present Bill, added Sir Samuel Hoare, was a great stride forward towards the achievement of the British purpose as given in the 1919 preamble—a purpose which could be fully realised only when India had succeeded in establishing conditions on which self government rested. The difficulties to be surmounted were inherent in Indian problems, and were not of British creation.

**7th. Assembly Debate on J. P. C. Report:**—The Congress group's amendments rejecting the Joint Select Committee's Report and expressing an attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Award were rejected by the Assembly.

**Lancashire Pledge to co-operate with India: Commons Debate on the Reforms Bill:**—Lancashire, though disappointed is "determined not to abate one whit of its policy of goodwill and co-operation" with India. This was the statement made by Mr. S. S. Hammersley, Chairman of the Lancashire Conservative M. P.s, during the second day's debate on the India Bill in the House of Commons. They felt, he added, that the feeling of goodwill for which Lancashire was prepared to make such substantial sacrifices, must be continued. Mr. R. A. Butler (Under-Secretary for India), winding up the debate, re-affirmed that the Government stood by all their pledges, with one addition. All the pledges had been given to India within the Empire and there could, therefore, be no question of India's secession from the Empire being possible as a result of the re-affirmation of any of those promises. Mr. Butler added that he sincerely hoped that, in the proposed constitution, they had found a form of government which would unite the best of the systems of both the East and the West.

**8th. "Offensive" Advice to Princes: Minister's speech on India Bill:**—A vigorous defence of the Princes' position was made by Mr. J. C. C. Davidson (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) during the third day of the House of Commons debate on the India Bill. Mr. Davidson deprecated the manner in which some sections in Britain had referred to the Princes. The words, "blackmail and bribery," had been used too freely in connection with men whose ancestors had been governing their



States long before Britain had emerged into civilization. The advice tendered to the Princes by certain persons as to where their duty and interests lay, he added, was, to the Princes, offensive and impertinent. They were quite capable of deciding their own destiny without advice from anybody. Replying to an interjection by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Davidson said that the Viceroy was the representative of the Crown and the guide and philosopher of the Princes. If he held a view, he was entitled to convey that view to them.

- 11th. Bengal Governor on Terrorism** :—His Excellency Sir John Anderson, opening the Bengal Legislative Council's budget session, uttered a warning that the Government's control of the terrorist menace must not be relaxed.

**Labour Amendment Defeated : Second Reading of Reforms Bill passed** :—The second reading of the India Bill was automatically passed in the House of Commons after Labour's opposition amendment had been defeated by 404 votes to 133. Conservative and Labour opponents of the Bill voted in the same lobby, but it was pointed out that the former were voting against the second reading and not for the Labour amendment. Sir Thomas Inskip, Attorney-General, whose explanation of the meaning of Dominion status was briefly given in the *Statesman* denied that there was any distinction to be drawn in the intention and meaning between the Montagu declaration of 1917 and the preamble of 1919. Mr. Winston Churchill, who spoke for 75 minutes, urged the omission from the Bill of the Federal clauses. He declared that if the Federal system was dropped it would cause great relief "throughout Britain and from one end of India to the other."

- 12th. Reforms Debate in Council of State** :—The Council of State commenced a three-day debate on the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report on Indian Reforms on a motion of Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Leader of the House, that the Report be taken into consideration.

- 13th. B. & O. Budget** :—Introducing the 1935-36 budget in the Bihar and Orissa Council, the Finance Member said that the province's income was insufficient for its large population.

- 14th.** The Council of State adopted a motion that the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Reforms scheme should be given a fair trial.

Resolutions urging revision of the Government of India's taxation policy were passed without a division in the Legislative Assembly.

The Bengal Legislative Council referred the Tobacco (Sales Licensing) Bill, the Amusement Tax (Amendment) Bill and the Indian Stamp (Bengal Amendment) Bill to select committees.

- 15th. Bombay Council rejects J. P. C. Report** :—The Bombay Council rejected the Government's motion to consider the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report.

**Support for new Taxation Bills : Bengal Chamber of Commerce** :—There was a note of optimism in the address delivered by the Hon. Mr. Gladstone, retiring president of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, at the annual meeting of the Chamber held in Calcutta. Many branches of commerce and industry, said Mr. Gladstone, were now enjoying a greater degree of prosperity than had been their lot at any previous time within the last three or four years. The address covered a wide field—Labour unrest, Burma separation, Indo-British Trade Agreement, Company legislation, Jute restriction, and the new taxation Bills in Bengal. "Much as we hate and deplore taxation," said Mr. Gladstone, "I hope the new taxation Bills before the Bengal Council will be passed into law, for if we in this province continue to help ourselves it will not be long before we again hold our rightful place of leadership in the affairs of India." Mr. Gladstone regretted the rejection of the Indo-British Trade Agreement by the Assembly and deplored the attitude of a large section of the House, whose judgment, he said, appeared to be entirely over-balanced by immediate political considerations. He expressed the hope that with the passage of time the policy of "dislike and distrust" would pass, because without a real and solid element of goodwill, mutual trust and co-operation between all the parties concerned, it would be impossible to work the new Constitution in the manner which was intended.

**16th.** Mr. Jinnah's conversations with the Congress President, regarding a communal settlement were indecisively discussed at the All-India Muslim League meeting in Delhi.

The demands of the landholding classes were referred to at the All-India Zamindars' Conference at Delhi when an amendment of Government of India Bill was suggested.

**17th.** The question of the amalgamation of the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference was considered by the latter's executive board at a Delhi meeting.

**18th.** The presentation of the Railway Budget in both Houses of the Legislature revealed that Indian railways appear to be on the road to prosperity after years of unsatisfactory returns.

The Bengal Development Bill, 1935, which aimed at regenerating "decadent areas," was formally introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Council of State passed a Bill imposing a censorship of cinema posters.

**20th.** "*No Surrender*" of Responsibilities : *India Bill Amendments Defeated* :—

A Declaration that he refused to surrender the duties of the British Parliament to anybody was made by Sir Samuel Hoare during the second day of the Committee stage of the India Bill in the House of Commons. Sir Samuel was speaking in opposition to an amendment by Sir Henry Page Croft that the establishment of Federation should be conditional on an address by the majority of the elected members in each Chamber of the Indian Legislature as well as on an address by both Houses of Parliament. The amendment was heavily defeated, as were all others moved by Conservative opponents of the Bill. Sir Samuel also condemned as a surrender of Parliament's responsibilities the proposal by the Duchess of Atholl that Federation should not be introduced until a statutory Commission had reported that the financial position justified its establishment. Opposing Viscount Wolmer's amendment, Sir Samuel said that a course which substituted for responsible government the kind of advisory body advocated and did nothing to remove the weakness existing in the Central Government would be really dangerous. It would not only plunge Britain into difficulties in the future but would make the position of the Princes much more precarious than if they entered the Federation.

**21st.** The Council of States' Ministers concluded its examination of the Government of India Bill and prepared a statement for submission to the British Government.

*Motion for removal of Burma Council President* :—In the Burma Legislative Council, U. Ba Chaw brought a motion for the removal of the President of the Council from office. Several Burmese members spoke in support of the motion, which was carried by 56 against 38 votes. His Excellency the Governor gave his concurrence but, in giving it, His Excellency made it clear that it did not imply his approval of the action of the Council or his acceptance of the reasons. It might be recalled the Council passed a similar motion during its last session but the Governor did not give his assent.

**22nd.** By 75 votes to 47 the Assembly carried the motion of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai reducing the demand for the Railway Board to one rupee.

An assurance that the recommendations of the European Association on the Reforms Report had been effectively placed before the Home Government, was given at the annual meeting of the Calcutta Branch.

*All-India Zamindars and Talukdars' Conference* : The All-India Zamindars and Talukdars' Conference was held at New Delhi, under the presidency of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The Thakore Saheb of Sanand and Koth, welcoming the delegates, said that the Reform scheme had failed to do sufficient justice to the cause of the landholding classes. He submitted to the Conference a legal memorandum for acceptance in order to send it to the authorities for incorporation in the India Bill.

The memorandum suggested that the protection of the rights and privileges of the landholders in respect of land should be the special responsibility of the Governor-General. It was decided to send a deputation to England with a view to get the Government of India Bill amended on the lines suggested in the memorandum.

**25th.** A resolution urging a substantial reauction in the number of British soldiers in India was defeated by 26 votes to 15 in the Council of State.

By 81 votes to 44 the Legislative Assembly adopted the motion of Mr. M. S. Aney for a token "cut" of Rs. 100 in the Railway demand to censure the Government for the slow pace of Indianization.

*Princes and the Reforms Scheme* : At the meeting of the Princes and their Ministers held in Bombay it was resolved that before the India Bill could be considered as acceptable to the States it should be amended in certain essential respects. The decision of the Conference has been conveyed to the Secretary of State for India through the Viceroy.

**[26th.** *Sir S. Hoare's Promise to Princes* :—The House of Commons this night rejected by 283 votes to 89 Mr. Winston Churchill's motion to adjourn the India Bill debate on the clauses with a view to raising the question of the "momentous rejection by the Princes of the Government's scheme for Federation." Mr. Churchill declared : "The Federal scheme is dead. The Government have now the chance to revert to the broad proposals of the Simon Commission, which though they constitute a very hazardous experiment do not contain the perils of the Federal plan. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary for India, said that despite their Bombay resolution he had no reason to suppose that the Princes had altered their conception of what the All-India Federation should be. He maintained that there was no irreconcilable difference between the Government and the Princes. He undertook that the Government would deal sympathetically with any clause in the Bill that might appear to the Princes to be dangerous in the future. Sir Austen Chamberlain contended that the Princes' conditions had been met and added, "Let it be understood that we are not willing to be driven from what the House thinks right or enter a Dutch auction for the support of the Princes."

**27th.** *Sir Samuel Hoare's denial* :—When the Committee Stage of the Government of India Bill was resumed in the House of Commons Sir Samuel Hoare referred to "certain fantastic paragraphs" in some newspapers. Sir Samuel denied that he had telephoned to the Maharaja of Patiala, that he had spent sleepless nights making up a recantation of the Federal scheme and that he had invited the Princes to come to England at a moment's notice to discuss the amendments which the House was at present considering. The Secretary of State emphasized that the accession of the Princes would not be based on a kind of limited liability system and, before pledging itself to Federation, the House of Commons would be in a position to judge whether accession would be effective or not. The question of interference in a State by the Federal Legislature was dealt with at length and in reply to a Labourite's query it was stated that the Legislature could discuss inefficient administration. An amendment providing that States subjects become His Majesty's subjects from the proclamation of the Federation was withdrawn after a brief discussion.

**28th.** *Mr. Churchill Condemns Dyarchy* : *Sir Samuel Hoare and test of Indianization* :—The House of Commons sat until after midnight in order to expedite progress on the India Bill, following Mr. Baldwin's explanation that they were behind the agreed programme. Mr. Winston Churchill again figured prominently in the debate and in opposing Clause 9, said that he and his associates were bound to vote against it because it embodied the principle of dyarchy, which ran as a hideous blemish throughout the bill. "Let the House realise quite clearly," said Mr. Churchill, "that they are introducing dyarchy at the Centre on the sole pretext that the Princes wish to come in, which is untrue." Sir Samuel Hoare criticised Mr. Churchill and his friends as favouring the worst form of dyarchy at the Centre, namely, a complete gulf between the Executive and the Legislature and supporting a system of Provincial administration in which law and order would be divorced from responsible Government.

## MARCH 1935

1st. The attempts between the Congress president and the president of the Moslem League to bring about a Communal settlement failed.

5th. *No Re-Modelling of India Bill : Sir Samuel Hoare and Points Raised by Princes* :—The Princes' Conference in Bombay was again a prominent feature of the debate in the House of Commons when Committee discussions of the India Bill were resumed. The issue was raised on an adjournment motion by Mr. Winston Churchill who asked the Secretary of State for more information. The authenticity of certain newspaper reports of the Conference proceedings was challenged but Mr. Churchill said that until he received a definite contradiction he would regard the reports as accurate. He urged Sir Samuel Hoare to cable the Viceroy suggesting that he point out to the Princes that some of their confidential matters had apparently been disclosed. Sir Samuel Hoare retorted : "I am not prepared, as long as I hold this office, to let my telegrams to the Viceroy be drafted by Mr. Churchill." Sir Samuel adhered to his statement made in the House last week that the points of difference raised by the Princes were capable of adjustment and said that as a result of further discussions, he did not accept the view that even if all details were adjusted, it would be necessary to re-model the Bill. These details could and ought to be adjusted within the frame-work of the Measure.

6th. *Liberals & Direct Election : Commons Amendment lost* :—The House of Commons rejected by 262 votes to 57 a Liberal amendment that the representatives of British India to the Federal Assembly should be directly elected by territorial constituencies formed for that purpose. Mr. Isaac Foot, who moved the amendment, said that what was really wanted was that the Government should revert to their White Paper policy. Sir Samuel Hoare said that he wished the form of election based on a primary village electorate, with a second electorate based on it, could have been adopted. "We found that communal troubles have so eaten into the life of India that if we had attempted to adopt such a system forthwith we should have brought the bitterest communal controversies into every village in India."

7th. The Bengal Development Bill, a Government measure of far-reaching importance was discussed in the local Legislative Council.

9th. A daring mail van robbery was carried out by two armed youths in an Eastern Bengal Railway train between Sitarampore and Faridpur.

The assailant of Mr. Crawford, Superintendent of Police, who was shot dead while at camp, was sentenced to death.

Mr. N. G. Ranga's motion in the Assembly for an adjournment to discuss the policy underlying the recent raids on various Calcutta organizations and the arrests of trade union and Congress leaders was ruled out of order.

12th. *Future of Indian Legislatures : Terrorism Menace in Bengal* :—The House of Commons, resuming the India Bill debate, rejected by 270 votes to 35 a Labour amendment against disqualifying a person convicted of an offence in British India or a Federated State from membership of either Chamber in the federal Legislature. Sir Samuel Hoare admitted that he had had some doubts about that provision, but pointed out that the Government of India and all the provincial Governments, specially Bengal, favoured disqualification. He said they could not ignore the "really dangerous terrorists with whom we have been fighting and are fighting a very grave battle in Bengal." Later Sir Samuel declared : "I am sure that Mr. Churchill's pessimistic prophecy that the Princes have already destroyed the Federation will be proved to be totally without foundation."

13th. *Sir S. Hoare and Choices for Parliament* :—The possibility of a breakdown in the Constitutional machinery and the power of the Governor-General in issue proclamations, was debated at some length in the House of Commons, when consideration of the India Bill was resumed. Mr. Rhys Davies, a Labor member, moved an amendment, providing that the Governor-General's pro-

clamation would cease to operate unless within each successive period of six months after it was approved by both Houses, its continuance was approved by both Houses. Without such provision, said Mr Davies, the Governor-General would have the powers of Lenin or Musolini Sir Samuel Hoare agreed that the emergency should not be permanent and discussed whether it would not be wise to declare, after a period of three years, that the whole Constitution would lapse—a point which was immediately seized upon by the Opposition Col J Wedgwood inquired if it meant that Federation would lapse and Provincial Constitutions remain, while Mr Churchill suggested, amidst laughter, that a breakdown should be arranged now. In a subsequent statement, Sir Samuel Hoare explained his meaning “Supposing the Constitution did lapse,” he said, “we should not be left with no Government in India but would revert to the provisions of the Act and Parliament would have to choose between reverting to the provisions of the Act or passing an amending Act.” The proposed discretionary powers for the Governor-General in prohibiting discussion in the Federal Legislature, of matters connected with Indian States was also dealt with.

- 14th.** A debate took place in the Bengal Legislative Council on a proposition by a Moslem member that tenants should have the right to build mosques on their holdings.

The motion of no-confidence in the Ministry was defeated in the Madras Legislative Council by 80 votes to 42.

- 16th.** The Sikh National Conference was held at Amritsar under the presidentship of Sardar Kharak Singh. The president did not favour the idea of sending deputations to England to protest against the Communal Award but suggested the launching of a campaign against the Award. Pandit Malaviya, who attended the Conference, opposed the idea of a campaign and said that a deputation to England was necessary. He also appealed for communal unity.

- 18th.** A White Paper containing Sir Samuel Hoare's reply to the Princes' objections to the India Bill was issued.

The National Sikh Conference at Amritsar passed a resolution attacking the Communal Award and threatening to place obstacles in the Working of the reforms.

- 19th. Military fire on Mob in Karachi:**—About 40 persons were killed and a hundred injured as the result of firing by the military on a Muslim mob in Karachi. This was a sequel to the execution of Abdul Qayum who was sentenced to death on a charge of murder in open court of a Hindu, Maharaj Nathuram. After execution the body was sent to the cemetery outside the city where it was buried with due rites. A large crowd of Muslims gathered and the body was removed from the grave and carried to the city. The crowd was intercepted by the police on the outskirts of the city but the police were soon overwhelmed. Just then the military arrived. The crowd was ordered to disperse, but the mob became defiant and unruly whereupon the military fired on the mob, resulting in the casualties mentioned above. The Legislative Assembly carried the motion of Mr. K. L. Gauba censuring the Government regarding the Karachi firing.

- 20th. Princes' Objections to Federation:**—“When the Bill is passed the Princes will have to decide. If they accede, there will be a Federation; if they do not accede, there will not be a Federation.” This statement was made by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, resisting a motion in the House of Commons to adjourn the discussion of the India Bill on the ground that no useful purpose would be served by its continuance, in view of the altered situation as a result of the publication of the Princes' views. The mover, Lord Hartington, suggested that the Princes' objections were raised for the purpose of being fatal to Federation and, if these were met, others would be raised until the attempt to draw the Princes into the Federation was abandoned. Sir Samuel claimed that the White Paper confirmed that the Princes had not withdrawn from the Federation. Of the 30 points raised, all could be easily adjusted with the exception of two—the method of the Princes' accession and the general question of Paramountcy.

- 21st. *Princes and Federation* :—**The Committee of States' Ministers met under the chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari at New Delhi and continued their scrutiny of the remaining clauses of the India Bill as were left over at Bombay. The Committee desired to emphasise that their attitude towards the All-India Federation remained unchanged and that their labours were directed towards making the India Bill acceptable to the States by suitable amendments.
- 22nd. *Death of Mr. Sherwan* :—**Mr. T. A. K. Sherwan, Muslim Congress member of the Assembly, died at Delhi, of meningitis. Touching tributes were paid in the Assembly and the House adjourned for the day as a mark of respect to his memory.
- 24th. *The Communal Award Conference* :—**The All-India Communal Award Conference was held at New Delhi, the Nawab of Dacca presiding. Resolutions were passed strongly condemning the activities of the sponsors of the Anti-Award Conference in Delhi, and the decision to send a deputation to London to agitate against the Award. The Conference also protested against the unjust and hostile attitude of a section of British politicians towards the political safeguards demanded by Muslims.
- 26th. *Presiding over the Indian Insurance Companies Conference in Bombay*, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad laid stress on the urgent need of establishing Government control over the working of insurance companies.**
- 27th. *Powers of Federal Legislature : Col Wedgwood's Attack in Commons*—**At the resumed debate of the India Bill in the House of Commons, Col Wedgwood bitterly attacked clause 101 of the Bill relating to the extent of power of the Federal Legislature to legislate for States which may accede to Federation. He declared that the Government's plan was "not a Federation but a handing over of India to the Rulers of the States." "It was typical of the Bill," said Col. Wedgwood, that the States would be able to legislate for British India, but nothing could be done to effect the rights and interests of States except so far as they concerned subjects in the Instruments of Accession." Sir Samuel Hoare protested that the remarks were beyond the limits of fair criticism and remarked that the clause was in keeping with the letter and spirit of every Federal government in the world. The clause was passed, the Chairman ruling out further discussion. Clauses 99 to 108 were disposed of during the day.
- 28th. *British Trade with India : Sir S. Hoare's Assurance* :—**Protection for British trade and for persons, whether Indian or British, to practise professions in India were the main points discussed at the resumed debate of the India Bill in the House of Commons. The debate centred on sub-section (2) of clause 116 relating to subsidies for the encouragement of trade or industry, whose omission was urged by the Irishness of Atholl. Supporting the amendment Sir Henry Page Croft declared that the clause reflected an "inferiority complex," and added that, under Britain's beneficent rule, India had become one of the greatest trading nations of the world. Sir Samuel Hoare emphasized that there was no question of undermining the principle of a British partnership with India, which was safeguarded in the clauses against discrimination. The amendment was negatived by 218 votes to 42.
- 29th. *Detenus and Silver Jubilee* :—**The Government of Bengal do not intend to release any detenus on the occasion of the celebration of Their Majesties' Silver Jubilee. This information was given to the Bengal Legislative Council in reply to a question by a member who later made it the ground for an attack on the Government's policy with regard to detenus. The improvement in the situation in Bengal, it was stated on behalf of the Government, was not due to abandonment of terrorist aims and desires but to the fact that Government action had brought about certain disorganization of the terrorist movement. Sir Henry Craik, Home Member of the Government of India, announced in the Assembly that the Government had decided that the grant of clemency to prisoners in the form of releases and remissions of sentences should not form part of the Silver Jubilee celebration. A feature of the Assembly proceedings was a long speech by Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member, in which he recounted the history of the terrorist

movement in Bengal and gave many instances of Congress adherents who had been convicted of crime of violence.

**30th. Indian Chambers' criticism of India Bill.**—The annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce was held at New Delhi under the presidency of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai. After the president's address and the adoption of the annual report, a resolution was moved by the Chairman, disapproving of the India Bill as it outlined a constitution which did not conform to the promises and pledges made to India, which was adopted. The second resolution protested against the decision of His Majesty's Government to specifically lay down the constitution of the Federal Railway authority in the India Bill, and particularly condemned the proposals which made the Federal Government and Ministers helpless in regard to railway administration inasmuch as all important powers had been vested in the Governor-General. Another resolution characterised the safeguards in the new constitution as unduly rigid and provisions against discrimination of such a sweeping character as were likely to cause abuse of power to the serious detriment of the country's industrial and commercial development.

## APRIL—1935

**1st. Control of Indian Railways : Sir Samuel Hoare and Princes' "Misunderstanding"** :—Several amendments affecting the control of Indian railways after the proposed reforms have been put into operation were defeated in the House of Commons. The only one that was approved—moved by Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India)—made the Federal Government responsible for safety on the railways. Sir Samuel said that in due course he would propose the insertion of a clause to deal with disputes, whether on railways owned by Princes or by British India. Sir Henry Page Croft urged the necessity of ensuring that the railway administration did not fall under political, communal or caste influences. Sir Samuel opposed an amendment ensuring that, as far as was reasonable, material for the railways would be produced within the Empire. Such a provision, he thought, would injure British trade over Indian suspicion and make the Railway Board much less likely to place orders with Britain.

**2nd. High Court Powers under Reforms : Important Amendment Accepted by Government** :—Two important amendments were accepted by the Government when the House of Commons resumed consideration of the India Bill. One empowers a High Court to direct the transfer of any suit or appeal from a Court subject to its appellate jurisdiction to any other Court of equal or superior status. The other amendment dealt with the Secretary of State's powers in connexion with the Indian army. The question whether the English law of champerty should be extended to India was also debated on an amendment—which was negative—for the summary determination of any appeal of a champertous nature. The mover, Mr. Linton Thorp, pointed out that a champertous agreement (assisting a party in a suit in which one is not naturally interested, with a view to receiving a share of the disputed property) constituted a criminal offence in England. The Solicitor-General claimed that a champertous agreement might possibly be made in a case of the utmost importance with which it was most desirable that the Court should deal.

**3rd. The Legislative Assembly carried Professor Ranga's amendment to the Finance Bill reducing the postal rates on letters.**

**4th. Anglo-Indians on Railways : High Tributes paid to Community** :—The declaration that the Government were telling Anglo-Indians that they must remain in the pit into which they had sunk but need not fall deeper, was made by Mr.

Winston Churchill during consideration of the India Bill in the House of Commons. Mr. Churchill was speaking on an amendment moved by Sir Reginald Craddock

providing for the safeguarding of Anglo-Indian recruitment on the railways Sir Auston Chamberlain who paid high tribute to the services of the community in the past, while disagreeing with the amendment, desired something more than the vague words at present in the Bill, to ensure that Anglo-Indians would not gradually be thrust out of employment. Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, said he thought Sir Henry Gidney was quite satisfied with the provision already to ensure the proportion of Anglo-Indians working on Railways and he (Mr. Butler) thought that particular mention of one community in the Bill, might excite the jealousies of others. The suggestion that, when the new Constitution was inaugurated, the Government should provide, from British funds, a substantial endowment in order to give Anglo-Indians a start in new pursuits such as agriculture and engineering was made by Mr. L. S. Amery. The amendment was ultimately defeated by a large majority.

**5th. Mr. Churchill's Motion for Adjournment** :—Declaring that the India Bill was viewed with the greatest apprehension, fear, dislike and disapproval by the great mass of the I. C. S. Mr. Winston Churchill moved adjournment of consideration of the Bill in the House of Commons. Mr. Churchill claimed that just as the Princes disliked and feared the reforms scheme, so also were the Civil Service deeply concerned and thoroughly distrustful, and he said that even now, at the eleventh hour, the Government should relieve the situation by withdrawing the measure. Sir Samuel Hoare, replying, said he was definitely authorised by Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, to say that in regard to the memorandum which had been published, the memorial which had already been submitted to the House was the only authoritative and representative document. Restoration of the Finance Bill to its original form has been recommended to the Assembly by the Governor-General.

**6th. Assembly refuses to accept Viceroy's recommendation** :—The Legislative Assembly rejected by 64 votes to 41 Sir James Grigg's amendment to the Finance Bill restoring salt duty, thereby refusing to accept the Viceroy's recommendation to pass the Finance Bill in its original form.

**7th.** The present political situation in India was reviewed by Sir Chimanlal Setalval when he addressed a meeting of the Western India National Association in Bombay.

**8th. Safeguards under the Reforms** :—The position of the Civil Service under Reforms was again discussed in the House of Commons when consideration of Clause 251 of the India Bill was resumed. The Clause, as framed, proposed that His Majesty in Council might transfer to such authority as might be specified in his order all or any of the powers conferred on the Secretary of State with respect to the making of appointments, but nothing any such order should affect the functions of the Secretary of State in relation to persons appointed before the order came into operation. Criticism was levelled against the clause as removing all the safeguards in other clauses, to which the Civil Service attached great importance, practically valueless. Sir Samuel Hoare pointed out that the clause did not deal with existing rights but with future entrants to the Service. It would be unwise to take any unnecessary action which might antagonise the reasonable views of politically minded Indians who think that, in the future, there must be some changes. For all present Civil Servants and those who entered the Service until an order directing changes was made, there would be the complete Parliamentary safeguard that no alteration in their condition would be possible without an amending Act of Parliament. After some further discussion, the Secretary of State announced that he was prepared to agree to rejection of the understanding that he would consider whether an alternative clause was necessary, making it clear that the Government would not withdraw from the general policy of the Select Committee that an inquiry be held and that changes might occur in the future.

The editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta was convicted by the full bench of the Calcutta High Court on a charge of contempt of court.

**9th. Communal Award's Stability** :—The question of the stability of the Communal Award was raised in the House of Commons by the Duchess of Atholl during discussion of the India Bill. The Duchess moved an amendment, which she after-



wards withdrew, providing that no Order in Council should alter the total representation of any community in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, assured the House that the Government of India or the British Government would be the last people to attempt to make changes which might re-open the whole of that great controversy. On the subject of delimitation of territorial constituencies, Col Wedgwood inquired whether Clause 273 would allow a change from communal electorates. Sir Samuel Hoare replied that greatly as the Government regretted the need for the communal decision, if they gave the impression that the question would be re-opened, they would not only plunge themselves into endless controversies but, what was more important, they would plunge India into a controversy the end of which was impossible to foresee. In regard to the secession of territory in British India to States, Sir Samuel gave the assurance, with particular reference to the secession of Tangasseri, that no transfer would be made if the inhabitants opposed it.

- 10th. Bengal I. C. S. and the India Bill.**—The Memorial of the I. C. S. (Bengal) Association was discussed in the House of Commons during a series of questions put to Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India), and, again, in the course of an address to members of both Houses by Mr. J. C. French, a former Bengal I. C. S. official and the London representative of the Association. Sir Samuel Hoare declared that the points in the Memorial of the Association, dated January 22, had been discussed both with representatives of the I. C. S. Association and in the House of Commons debate on Service safeguards. Asked by Winston Churchill whether he was not anxious to get beneath the formal presentment of the views of a disciplined Service and have some realization of the actual feelings and opinions in the Service as expressed in a confidential memorandum, Sir Samuel Hoare replied that he declined to recognize any unauthorized document. He added that Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, had telegraphed regarding the resentment felt by members of the I. C. S. at the publication of confidential papers, and their intention to counter false impressions in Britain as to their political views.

An adjournment motion to discuss the Government's refusal to hold a public inquiry into the Karachi shooting affair was talked out in the Council of State.

The need for amendment of the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act was stressed at the annual meeting in Calcutta of the All-Bengal Women's Union.

- 12th. Communal riot at Hazaribagh.**—Six Hindus, including a Sub-Inspector of Police, were injured in the course of a communal riot at Hazaribagh on the occasion of Ramnavami. The Hindus took out a procession and the Muslims objected to it on the ground that they have to take out their Moharram procession. The local authorities directed that the Moharram procession should not start until the evening by which time the Hindu procession would have ended. The Muslims were not satisfied and rioting started in which brickbats and lathis were freely used.

**The Punjab Political Conference.**—Addressing the twentieth Punjab Political Conference held at Lahore Mrs Sarojini Naidu deplored the apathy of the Punjab in the matter of national work and exhorted the youth of the province to "regain" their life and infuse that life in the villages for which the way had been shown by Mr. Gandhi. The conference passed resolutions congratulating the Congress Party in the Assembly on recording a number of defeats on the Government and calling on all Congress workers to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress. The conference rejected the Government's reform proposals and characterised the Communal Award as wholly unsatisfactory. The conference was of opinion that the leaders of the various communities should take immediate steps to find an equitable and adequate substitute.

- 14th. Hindu-Muslim riot at Ferozabad.**—A Hindu-Muslim riot occurred at Ferozabad, Agra district. It was stated that while a Mahomedan *burag* procession was proceeding along the main bazaar, bricks were thrown from the roofs. This seemed to have enraged the processionists who commenced rioting in a side lane. They set fire to the house of Dr. Jivaram and to the adjacent temple of Radha-Krishna. The inmates of Dr. Jivaram's house perished in the fire. The police, who arrived on the spot soon after, asked the rioters to disperse who refused to do so.

Then the police fired a volley in which a Moslem rioter was killed and some others wounded. Sporadic rioting took place in other parts of the town. Eleven Hindus, including 3 children, were burnt to death inside Dr. Jivaram's house.

**19th. The Bengal Provincial Conference :—**In his presidential address to the Bengal Provincial Conference, held at Dinajpore, Dr. Indira Narayan Sen Gupta, a prominent member of the Nationalist Party characterised the Communal Award as a grave menace to Bengal." He said that if the Award could not be undone it would disintegrate their body politic into warring elements and would be a negation of their political aspirations.

**20th. Rev. Ottama On the Communal Award .—**In his presidential address to the annual session of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, held at Cawnpore, the Rev. Ottama Bhikkh attacked the Communal Award. He characterised it as a colossal hoax. He urged the Hindu Mahasabha to continue to carry on raging campaign throughout the country in such a way as to convince Muslims of the harm which would result in the long run to their community and to the nation.

**21st. A number of resolutions dealing with labour problems were passed by the All-India Trade Union Congress in Calcutta.**

Sir Sundar Singh Majithia attacked the present system of education among Sikhs at a Conference at Gujranwala.

The Bengal Provincial Conference at Dinajpur passed a resolution in favour of rejection of the Communal Award.

At the Subjects Committee meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Cawnpore, some delegates suggested that an appeal should be made to the King to rescind the Communal Award.

Among the resolutions passed by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Cawnpore was one condemning the "excesses" committed during the recent Ferozabad rioting.

The Council of the Moslem League demanded an inquiry into the Karachi firing.

**24th. Victory for the Socialists : Resolution at Jubbulpore Meeting :—**The Socialist Party scored a partial victory at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Jubbulpore, when they secured the passage of an amendment deleting the word "successful" from a resolution congratulating the Parliamentary Party on its work in the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Rajagopalachari, who moved the resolution, claimed that as a result of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's leadership, the Party had secured victory after victory, and he maintained that the Congress entry into the Assembly was the right policy. The claim was also put forward by Mr. Rajagopalachari that if the Congress Party had remained silent on Mr. Jinnah's resolution, it would have been lost and the Congress would have been unable to explain its attitude—a claim that was strongly criticised, the opinion being expressed that as a result of supporting the Moslem leader, the Congress had indirectly agreed to work the provincial part of the new Constitution. Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, the Maharashtra member, whose amendment was accepted, condemned the Party's attitude in the Legislative Assembly and asserted that they had failed to fulfil their promises as they had not rejected the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report. Mr. Mehar Ali held that the members in the Assembly had failed to carry out the mandates given by the Bombay Congress and that instead of congratulations, censure was deserved.

**27th. Attack on Congress Socialists :—Mr. Bhulabhai Desai Deplores Class Antagonisms :—**A trenchant attack on the Congress Socialist Party was made by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in his presidential speech at the Suburban Political Conference at Villa Parle, Bombay. The Socialist attitude, he said, was based on wrong facts. He did not think that the struggle between classes would take them nearer their goal of independence but would, instead, only retard their progress. Mr. Desai told Congress Socialists that instead of quarrelling they might more usefully co-operate in the country's struggle for freedom. The last elections had proved that the people stood solidly behind the Congress. It demonstrated, he said, the

success of the struggle for the independence, which was the first concerted movement for freedom since the advent of British rule. Mr. Desai also paid a tribute to the Congress party in the Assembly, which although a minority in the House had, by its sincerity and earnestness, impressed every one both within and outside the Legislature.

**29th. *Reforms Bill Debate : Safeguarding Indian Civil Servants* :—**The House of Commons, resuming the Committee stage of the India Bill after the Easter recess, passed Sir Samuel Hoare's clause dealing with the protection of public servants against frivolous and vexatious prosecutions. An amendment to the clause, requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General in the case of the Federation and of a Governor in the case of a province for the introduction of a Bill or amendment to abolish or restrict the protection afforded to public servants was lost. Sir Donald Somervell, the Solicitor-General, who moved the clause in the absence of Sir Samuel Hoare who was convalescing after his recent illness, said that it was not in the best interests of the Service to introduce such a provision or to go beyond what was provided by the clause. He said that in all proper cases the Government's purse would be at the disposal of an officer who was the defendant in a case, while those who brought frivolous and vexatious cases would be mulcted in costs.

**30th. *Tariff Problems of Indian Federation* :—**The House of Commons, resuming discussion on the India Bill rejected by 221 votes to 52 the clause moved by Mr. Lanton Thorp, Conservative member for Nelson and Colne, suggesting the setting up of an Indian Tariff Advisory Board. Lord Eustace Percy was of the opinion that the clause would destroy any safeguard proposed in the Select Committee Report and would land Lancashire in hopeless litigation in which they would always be beaten. Mr. Morgan Jones asserted that the board would be futile against boycott and that there was the likelihood of tariff questions being forced to the centre of party politics. Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney General, winding up the debate on the clause, held that such a board would be faced with the question of how to balance India's budget. The Attorney-General added that if there were means of devising an impartial tribunal which would fairly hold the scales between the two interests—India and Lancashire—the Government would gladly consider such a proposal.

## MAY 1935

**1st. *31 Sentenced for Conspiracy : Widespread Plot for Armed Rising in India & Burma* :—**After a trial lasting nearly two years, during which 500 witnesses were examined, 31 men were convicted by a Special Tribunal at Alipur, Calcutta on a charge of conspiracy to wage war against the King-Emperor. Six men were sentenced to transportation for life, three to ten years' rigorous imprisonment and nine to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and the remainder to terms varying from six years to one year's imprisonment. Four men were acquitted but two of them were immediately rearrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Two approvers were pardoned. The conspiracy was described as one to promote a simultaneous armed rising throughout India and Burma, to facilitate which men were recruited and arms and explosives procured, funds being obtained through widespread dacoities, robberies and murders. The revolutionaries' proposals included the use of gas in an attempt to rescue some of their imprisoned comrades, attacks on arsenals and military outposts, and the use of poisoned weapons.

**6th. *Jubilee Celebrations of H. M. the King* :—**India celebrated the Silver Jubilee in a fitting manner. Thanksgiving services and prayers in temples and mosques, military reviews, illuminations, bonfires and free entertainments were among the numerous forms of festivity. H. E. the Viceroy broadcast India's greetings and also his message to India.

**8th. *Reforms Bill Debate : No "Divide & Rule" Policy for India* :—**Discussion of the question of communal representation in the new Indian Legislatures occupied

most of the time when the House of Commons resumed consideration of the Committee stage of the India Bill. Debate on the subject was initiated by Col. Josiah Wedgwood, who moved an amendment inserting a new section in Schedule Five, providing that the choice between separate and communal electorates shall be decided by the minority community or communities of each province. The mover said that the only objection was that some Moslem leaders, standing behind the Government, had maintained that the Moslems had been promised communal representation. He asked if it was worth while antagonizing two-thirds of the population in order to keep a promise to a handful of Moslem leaders. He warned the House that communal representation had been an issue on which progress in India had hitherto been wrecked. Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, repudiated the suggestion that the Government adhered to a policy of "divide and rule" or that the Government were pro-Moslem. Mr. Butler declared that the Government had always said that if the problem could be solved by agreement they would accept it, but the latest news from India was that discussions which had been proceeding had proved fruitless.

**10th. Acceptance of the Poona Pact: Government Amendment adopted in the Commons.**—Heated debate centred on the Poona Pact when discussion on the Government's amendment to the Fifth Schedule of the India Bill, implying acceptance of the Pact, was resumed in the House of Commons. Sir Henry Page Croft, Conservative member for Bournemouth, thought that although ostensibly the Pact gave the depressed classes a much larger representation in actual effect it would bring the community's representatives under the permanent bondage of Congress leadership. Major C. R. Attlee, (Lab. Stepney) admitted that there were strong arguments against the Pact, but on the whole he thought it a distinct advantage not to segregate the depressed classes absolutely. Sir Alfred Knox (Con. Buckinghamshire) urged the House to consider carefully before agreeing to any proposal which was likely to give the Congress additional power since, he said, the Congress was absolutely hostile to the British connexion. Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, replying said that the Government were bound to accept the Pact in view of the conditions laid down in the Communal Award and held that in view of the wish that Indians should themselves reach an agreement, it would be wrong to reject the Pact. Mr. Butler contested the suggestion that the Pact was universally disapproved in India, adding that the line taken by the Government was that if an agreement was reached to modify the Pact or the Award, it would receive due consideration. The amendment was agreed to by 152 votes to 35.

**11th.** Very little progress was made in the Punjab towards the removal of untouchability, stated the annual report of the Harijan Sevak Sangh of that province.

**13th. India Bill Debate: Mr. Churchill's Defence of the Backward Classes.**—The aboriginal population of India found a stout champion in Mr. Winston Churchill when the House of Commons resumed the debate on Major Edward Cadogan's proposal for substitution of Schedule Six of the India Bill by a new Schedule extending the list of excluded and partially excluded areas. Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for India, said that the general principle on which the Government had come to a decision in regard to totally excluded areas was that total exclusion was justified. Mr. Butler added that they were prepared at a later stage to move for the inclusion among excluded areas of the Laccadive Islands, the North Cachar Hills in Assam and the isolated areas of Spiti and Ladakh in the Panjab. Mr. Churchill said he was puzzled by the debate. He had understood that the supporters of the Bill had maintained that the blessings of self-government would bring the people rapidly forward, but now it appeared that these blessings were to be withheld from the aboriginals. Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney-General, asserted that the Government did not wish to refuse to listen to the appeals and that, with a view to giving further information, the Government would withdraw the Schedule. The Attorney-General declared that the Government would then prepare an Order-in-General which would be submitted to the house for final settlement of the question of excluded and partially excluded areas before provincial autonomy was introduced. Major Cadogan announced that he was prepared to accept the Government's proposals, but Mr. Churchill and his followers opposed withdrawal of the amendment, which was, however, rejected by 234 votes to 36.

**14th. India Bill Debate : Indebtedness of Indian Ryots :—**Concern for the heavily indebted Indian agriculturist was expressed by several members when the House of Commons resumed consideration of the committee stage of the India Bill. Describing moneylending in India as one of the most serious problems of the country, Sir Henry Page Croft emphasized that decision in regard to it should be taken only after careful deliberation and with the consent of the Central authority. The speaker drew the attention of the House to the danger of peasants being driven to desperation and declared that last year, in the Punjab alone, 13 moneylenders were murdered by peasant debtors. He admitted that the money-lender might be a necessary evil under existing circumstances, but deplored the fact that calamitous interest was charged in many cases and that those agriculturists who were drawn into his "net" were rarely able to escape. Mr. R. A. Butler, while agreeing that steps were necessary to eradicate the evil, regretted that it was impossible to apply one uniform law throughout India. Sir Henry Page Croft's proposal was defeated by 280 votes to 32.

**15th. Franchise Plan for India : Commons Adopts Sir S. Hoare's Schedule :—**With the adoption of Sir Samuel Hoare's 36-page Franchise Schedule, the House of Commons completed consideration of the Committee Stage of the Bill. The electoral qualifications for Madras Presidency were taken up first and Mr. Seymour Cocks moved an amendment to include "receipt of wages in cash or kind" among the property qualifications, but this was defeated by 285 votes to 35. Mr. R. C. Attlee moved an amendment recommending that 120 days' residence should be the sole qualification for the Madras City constituencies. The amendment was rejected by 272 votes to 34. Miss Eleanor Rathbone's proposal for a new condition that the wife of a literate man should be enfranchised and Mr. Seymour Cocks' proposal that the stipulation that women should apply for inclusion in the register be eliminated were both lost by heavy majorities. After completion of the provincial schedules, the entire Franchise Schedule, along with the Burma Schedule, was adopted and a motion that the Bill as amended be reported to the House was carried.

**17th. Bengal's War on Terrorism : Further Prohibitory Measure by Government :—**A further important step in the fight against the terrorism menace, was taken by the Government of Bengal. In a *communiqué* the Government prohibited the publication of any news relating to "Detenu Day" (Sunday) and allied subjects. It was pointed out that, though the situation in regard to terrorism had improved, the public should realize that this improvement only kept up by the utmost vigilance on the part of those charged with the duty of maintaining public security, and that there had been numerous sharp reminders of the danger with which the situation was fraught, should that vigilance be relaxed. What was described as "the very welcome change in the public's attitude to this dangerous conspiracy," commented upon but, at the same time, attention was drawn to possibly misplaced sympathy for humanitarian motives. The Government also stated that the detenus had only been detained because their connexion with the terrorist movement had been definitely established. "It would be a disaster," added the *communiqué*, "were the Government to permit the efforts of the last five years to be thrown away by failure to do, what they were satisfied, was their clear duty at the present juncture."

**23rd. Indian Federation's Finances : Proposal for Appointment of Commission rejected :—**Finance questions figured largely in the discussion in the House of Commons when the Report Stage of the India Bill was begun. Sir Henry Page Croft proposed a new clause providing for the appointment of a Commission to report whether the financial position justified the establishment of a Federation. Nothing could be more disastrous to the whole scheme, he said, than a doubt whether all obligations would be fulfilled. Sir Samuel Hoare strongly resisted the proposal declaring that "they had quite enough of Statutory Commission's investigations and inquiries in the last seven years." Sir Samuel emphasized that the most formidable side of the finance problem was connected with the establishment of provincial autonomy, and the Government, he said, would set an inquiry in motion immediately the Bill was enacted. The clause was rejected. Another clause,

preventing the imposition of higher duties on United Kingdom goods than those on other imports, proposed by Sir Henry Page Croft, aroused keen discussion but was eventually rejected by 234 votes to 41. Anxiety in regard to pensions safeguards was again expressed by several Members. Some discussion ensued regarding a series of amendments moved by Sir Thomas Inskip (Attorney-General) designed to meet certain objections by the States to the clause referring to the acceptance of the Act by the Instrument of Accession. Sir Thomas Inskip said that following discussions with counsel representing the States the Government were confident that the amendments would meet the Princes' fears. He admitted, however, that it would be impossible until the Bill was passed and the Princes could see it as a whole for them to express a final opinion with regard to their willingness to accede to the Bill. The amendments were finally agreed to.

**27th. *Reforms Bill in Commons : Secret Police in India* :—**A proposed amendment to Clause 58 of the India Bill providing for the secrecy of information in respect of anyone preparing or attempting action likely to hamper or paralyse the Executive Authority, raised keen discussion in the House of Commons. Mr. Winston Churchill said he thought everyone agreed that Indian Ministers could not be trusted with the names of secret agents, a statement which drew repudiation from the Labour benches and from the Secretary of State. Mr. Morgan Jones (Labour) expressed the utmost repugnance for the whole system of what he termed "police spying" but Sir Samuel Hoare sympathising with the natural prejudice against an arrest and conviction without the accused knowing the source of the charges, maintained that the existence of an efficient Secret Service in India was essential owing to terrorist activity, to protect the lives not only of British but Indian officials and public men. The amendment was defeated. Another matter which was debated at considerable length was the provision of a Second Chamber for both the Punjab and Assam. An amendment proposing the former, moved by the Duchess of Atholl was rejected but the Assam proposal, put forward by Sir Samuel Hoare, was passed.

**28th. *Concessions to the Princes : Mr. Churchill's Taunt in House of Commons* :—**Government amendments to Clause 145 were criticized when discussion on the report stage of the India Bill was resumed in the House of Commons, Mr. Winston Churchill suggesting that the Government were making a "New Deal" with the Indian Princes. "I have no doubt," said Mr. Churchill "that is the result of the long process of haggling between Sir Samuel Hoare and the legal advisers of the Princes. It is all part of an attempt to sugar the Bill for the Princes." Mr. Churchill was referring to the Princes' power to levy sea customs on produce and to sell untaxed salt. Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary for India) assured Mr. Churchill that the Government's amendments were "not the result of any sinister negotiations," and that if the amendments were carried they would "not add a jot or an iota to any power or privilege possessed by any Prince." Sir Henry Page Croft moved an amendment providing for compensation to members of the Services in the event of a fall in the sterling exchange value of the rupee. Mr. R. A. Butler (Under Secretary for India) replied that the opinion of the Secretary for India and his advisers was that the matter was covered by the clause which gave general power of compensation in cases of necessity. Sir Henry's amendment was defeated.

**31st. *Earthquake Havoc in Quetta* :—**Quetta and the surrounding districts were scenes of death and desolation, owing to earthquake shocks of very severe intensity which rocked the Garden City and the outlying districts to-day and on subsequent days. The first shock which was felt at 3 a. m. laid the city flat, with only stumps of walls standing and burying nearly two-thirds of the population. Two more subsequent shocks completed the work of destruction. The Civil and the Railway areas of Quetta city were razed to the ground, and the towns of Mastung, Kalat and Mari were practically wiped out. It was also stated that villages between Mastung and Beilei were completely destroyed. Martial Law was declared in Quetta as a precaution against looting, when the whole civil police force had been wiped out. The number of the dead was estimated between 40,000 and 50,000. The General Hospital was in ruins and out of the 300 patients in it at the time of the earthquake 200 were killed. Of the 60 postal clerks at Quetta only 4 reported for

duty. In the Cantonment area one-quarter had been destroyed, and much damage was done in the R. A. F. area, where the barracks were totally destroyed and only 6 out of 27 machines were serviceable. Quetta town was being sealed up under military guard owing to medical advice. It was estimated that 20,000 corpses remain buried under the debris and they were being extracted and cremated. The refugees were all evacuated from the ruined city. The military were doing rescue work. Medical officers, nurses and medical supplies were despatched to Quetta. A number of relief parties were being organised. Owing to continued prevalence of earth tremours, the necessity for harbouring supplies and heavy demands made on railway transport, the admission of private individuals into Quetta area had been prohibited. H. E. the Viceroy issued an appeal for contributions to the Quetta Earthquake Relief Fund which he opened. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, also issued an appeal on behalf of the earthquake victims. The Quetta catastrophe was considered to be worse than the Bihar disaster. Besides the appalling loss of lives, the loss of property was estimated at crores of rupees.

## JUNE 1935

- 1st. The number of persons killed or wounded in the whole of the Quetta earthquake area is now unofficially estimated at 30,000. The British death-roll is reported to be about 200, but a Karachi message stated that some hundreds of British soldiers were dead and hundreds of others were injured, while many more were missing.

Two hundred persons were killed by the destruction of Quetta General Hospital; 20 European and 100 Indian members of the North-Western Railway staff, with their families, died; and it was believed that the entire Indian quarters of the city was razed, resulting in 20,000 deaths.

Owing to the Civil police force having been practically wiped out, martial law operated at Quetta to prevent looting. Additional police were being drafted from the Frontier province and elsewhere.

There was immense difficulty in delivering telegraphed messages to Quetta as it was impossible to find addresses. The postal authorities' difficulties increased by the absence of many members of the staff.

- 5th. *India Bill : Commons Passes Third Reading* :—With the defeat of the Labour amendment for the rejection of the India Bill in the House of Commons, the Bill passed the third reading and was sent to the House of Lords. Major James Milner said that the Labourites opposed the Bill because it not only did not fulfil Parliament's repeated pledges, but held out no hope of their early fulfilment. Mr. Churchill launched a vigorous attack against the Bill. He said the forces against the opponents of the measure were too strong and complained that their views had not received the slightest consideration from the Government. Mr. Churchill expressed astonishment that the Government obstinately pressed forward with the Bill when the domestic political situation was so uncertain and when Europe was drifting towards a catastrophe. He said that the Government could claim to have provided neither good government by consent. The constitution, he added, was not final.

- 15th. *Police Officer Murdered* :—The first terrorist crime since the attempt on the life of the Bengal Governor in May 1934 occurred in Faridpur District in the night when Sub-Inspector Syed Arsad Ali in charge of the Goalundo Police Station was murdered while working in his office by a terrorist suspect belonging to Chittagong, who was interned within the police station limit. Mr. Arsad Ali was practically decapitated and death was instantaneous. The alleged assassin was promptly arrested with a bloodstained dahi.

**20th India Bill passed by Lords :—**The House of Lords passed the second reading of the India Bill. Eighteen out of 24 Bishops were present, and all except the Bishop of Exeter, who, during the debate, denounced democracy, voted for the Government. The House rejected Lord Lloyd's amendment by 236 votes to 55. Lord Lloyd's amendment was as follows: "This House declares that the Indian Federal system, as proposed in the Bill, is inexpedient and dangerous and that these provisions should be eliminated before the Bill passes into law, yet opining that establishment of Provincial Autonomy in India at present is a substantial fulfilment of the assurance in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, resolves that the Bill be read a second time.

**22nd. Gujarat Socialists' Conference :—**"A new orientation of policy in the Congress is much needed at the present juncture" declared Mr. Narendra Dasa presiding over the Gujarat Congress Socialist Conference, held at Ahmedabad. Among the resolutions passed by the Conference was one condemning the policy of the Government prohibiting relief parties from proceeding to Quetta. Another resolution demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners and detenus and appealed to the public to afford relief to their families. It also urged the National Congress to protest against India participating in any possible war in future, in which the Empire might be involved.

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# Administration of India

**Reigning Sovereign—** George V. by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

## INDIA OFFICE

### Secretary of State

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**Permanent under-Secretary of State.**  
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C. S. I., L. L. D.

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Sir Abdul Qadir.  
*The High Commissioner* : 'Sir Bhupendra  
Nath Mitra, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., C. B. E.

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 The Hon'ble Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, (Minister for Education.)

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 The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. S. Nayudu, B.A., LL.B.

**Govt. of N. W. Frontier Province.**

*H. E. the Governor and Agent to the Governor-General*.—H. E. Lieut.-Col. Sir Ralph Griffith, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (Assumed charge 18th April 1930.)

*Members and Ministers.*

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 The Hon'ble K. B. Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum Khan, K.C.I.E., Minister.

**Government of Assam.**

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The Hon'ble Maulavi Abdul Hamid, B. L.  
 The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Kanak Lal Barua, B. L.

**NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY**

**AND**

**GENERAL INTRODUCTION**



# Notes on Indian History

( *With special Stress on The Hindu Period* )

## "Scientific History"

It has truly been said that a history of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millennia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shade and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Buddhism and Jainism in India in the sixth century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have, probably, a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millennia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

## "THE MISSING SKELETON"

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulae beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period, we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, hearsay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian history. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist, ethnologist and anthropologist.

## "TOUCH OF LIFE"

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific lines the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, tablets etc. we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, wars and conquests) is of course important as a necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic, "physiological" history.

## ORGANIC HISTORY

Now, India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Buddha and Mahavira in the sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old

and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which, according to current official beliefs, is of the Sumerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post-Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in other parts of the subcontinent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as a sort of wedge driven into western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

#### DUSKLAND OF PROBABILITIES

We are still in the duskland of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the dates, origins, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan peoples. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such a theory, apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

#### THE RIGVEDA

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "Five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with its impenetrable forest mantle, stood as a barrier between Northern India (Aryavartta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forests where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts, they were also absorbed into the fold of Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character to the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. This process of Aryanisation in language, culture etc. has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shades and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, especially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But, on the other hand, the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also, in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which historians are commonly familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, languages, religions, castes, sects and cultures which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British! Of course the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Mahammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the Genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its

birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or latter "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

#### POWER OF ASSIMILATION

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of the Mahmud of Ghazni which ever swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mohammedan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of the great Moghul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at last three thousand years. And, it should be remembered further that, when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts with Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South, but mainly the Marhatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mohammedan Power in India.

#### UNITARY INDIAN EMPIRE

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally, like, for instance, the great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go, an unitary, centralised Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-land cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred Religion and Tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiments. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with any form of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was *Dharma* (the Principle of human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of *Dharma* and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communities continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

#### "DHARMA"

Again, the spirit of *Dharma* (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant, aggressive "predatory" nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the *Darmashastras* (or Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Buddhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living beings. Those forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consolidation of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

#### IDEALS AND IDEAS

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (*Samhitas*, *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads*), the various *Sutras* (or *Digests*),

Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahabharata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Purans recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all, what is real history but this? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs and practices that existed in India. But often than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern stand-points, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us, in any just measure, to understand much less appreciate a Civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot, therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid steps taken on the road which has, through a long, long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and purest ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

#### BEGINNING OF "HISTORICAL TIMES"

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proved in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India, and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

#### CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greek invaders who had violated the sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek which made him the supreme, undisputed lord and sovereign of the Indian Empire. Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times, of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which, though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilisation attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilisation was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269—231 B. C.), who was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in its later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task of the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow-beings. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Buddhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is, therefore, rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Maurya Empire setting into the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bactria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration



which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of North-west India came under their influence.

#### GUPTA DYNASTY

Kanishka, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Buddhist religion. Under him the Kushan branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of its power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, sometime, rise and shine in the midst of the moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the fifth century—when the White Huns from Central India began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Puranas; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation). More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical times—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

#### MEDIAEVAL INDIA

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediaeval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Pallavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmir in the north, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interest. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even in passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste of Kshatriyas (the warrior and ruling caste) fell, and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahomedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Gujrat, Malwa, Ajmere, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers, had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzib. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of the proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mohammedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won; that the first Mohammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mohammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th century.

Even this did not mean either a complete or a final subjugation of India. And there is another thing to be noted. Hindu Power fell not because its resistance was weak and its opposition timid, but because it did not possess sufficient compactness, and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

#### NOT A "DARK" AGE

The centuries of the mediæval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a "dark" Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas or "castes" and the four Ashramas or "stages" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Buddhism, Hellenism and that of the Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Buddhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics, these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, and great philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja, and also other pioneers and masters in other fields, formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage in spite of her troubled politics.

#### SOME LATER FEATURES

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mohammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention, is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution, was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal) would, now and then, proudly lift their heads and challenge the authority of the great Moslem emperors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mohammedan era the Hindu genius was not at its best, but it was not quite decadent.

#### THE MOHAMMEDAN RULE

The Mohammedan conquerors, again, from Mahomed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mohammedan rulers. But the Great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathens". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was a steady assimilation of the Semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points—e. g. in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mohammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful

of very fine results. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market and, eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzib, the government of the country was, in the main, decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy—down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearned the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Marhatta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the South. And British Power in India in its rise to paramountcy found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies", which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time, however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrisons of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad, has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny, one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last Great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784; and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in-Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and henceforth, the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but the "reward" that came in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her "a progressive realisation of responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone, was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislatures), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved". In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to, the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbersome and expensive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official

majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not at first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers, and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence or Purna Swaraj. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late; but Mahatma Gandhi, after concluding what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The results of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation.

# INDIA IN HOME POLITY

JANUARY — JUNE 1935

## I. THE DELUSION OF NEW DELHI

When the dawn of the New Year broke upon New Delhi, the fog which had lain heavily over the official quarters had been lifted already. New Delhi was no longer under a delusion that the Congress was dead and finished. Both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India had ruefully discovered that their trusted Oracle of Delhi and Simla—their omniscient and infallible “man on the spot”—had proved a false prophet. The Congress offensive as a method of organised, large-scale direct action had, no doubt, been checked by the high voltage barbed wire entanglements of Ordinance Law and Order. But that did not mean that the Congress had been electrocuted by that high voltage. Even if some organisations in the front line had been killed and some others paralysed, the Oracle of Indian Officialdom should have paused and waited before laying the flattering unction to their souls that, along their Ordinance made barriers and beyond, as far as their bureaucratic binoculars would reach, there lay the mighty carcass of the Congress which had once dared beard the British lion even in the viceregal den—a carcass that might for some time more prove a nuisance by reason of the stench of its decomposition but which had definitely ceased to be a live factor and an actual menace brooding over the Indian situation. It had been a fight between one prestige and another. The prestige of the Government of India as at present constituted is in part dependent on the voluntary consent and active support of the people of India: it relies upon other factors also. But the prestige of the Indian National Congress, and therefore its effective power, is wholly dependent upon the backing of public opinion and public support in India. Government can carry a measure and persevere in it in the teeth of what in the Press here we call public opposition. Because it holds a position backed by immense reserves some of which are represented by such factors as the tacit consent and law-abidingness of the Indian people in general and the loyal support and co-operation of an organised body of Indians helping in the work of administration, both civil and military. Government has long been accustomed to be assured that any laws and orders passed by it will be generally obeyed; that taxes and rates demanded by it will generally be paid; and that its Indian officers and men will be generally loyal and not desert the posts assigned to them. In this important sense, the Indian Government feels sure that its foundations are sufficiently broad, deep and sound. Upon such foundations, it has reared its “steel frame” structure of extra strength, the materials of which have not however been wholly forged in the Indian furnace. In other words, the Indian Government is not dependent upon purely Indian sanctions. It is not yet a government of the Indian people by and for the Indian people.

## II. THE SANCTIONS OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

But the sanctions of the Indian National Congress are almost purely Indian. We say "almost", because we have to take some note of the repercussions, favourable or otherwise, of the events in India on the world situation in general, including that of Great Britain. These repercussions are vital and becoming increasingly important. But the fact remains that only a country of any power is able to produce or provoke world repercussions of any power; that a weak nation can only find world reactions in relation to itself tame and tardy and lukewarm. India and Abyssinia, for example, are both members of the League of Nations. But their claims, however weighty in the balance of absolute equity and justice, are likely to prove light as feather in the balance of actual League decisions and sanctions. Of course the case would be quite different if the interests of either country were considered in relation to, and as bound up with, the interests of one of the great imperialist Powers of the League. Independently of such relationship or connection, any member of the League is a negligible quantity, if not a cypher. Indian or Abyssinian independence or democracy as a proposition standing on its own legs is yet too weak to stand without props or move without crutches. It cannot yet make the League stand up in its defence or move for its deliverance. Yet the League device was meant to be a device for offering protection or help in the case of those who could not protect or help themselves.

## III. THE LEAGUE INSTRUMENT

The League was meant to be an instrument for securing not only collective security and well-being but also for the common advance of all the races and peoples. The smaller and weaker fry have never found the world safe for them. Perhaps they never will. It is probably against the plan of Nature, the Law of the Living Kingdom. Religion and Morality have, however, essayed, from the very dawn of civilisation, to do the impossible in the scheme of Natural Law by trying to subordinate it to a Reign of Spiritual Law. In other words, they have set up the Rule of Ideals. The last great World War had been caused by the operation of the Law of Nature. The Treaty that followed was also a vindication of the same lower Order. But alongside of this, the Higher Realm of Ideals also asserted itself—and the outcome was the League of Nations. It was the ideal of collective justice and charity. If the League ideal were to live, the exploitation of the weaker peoples by the stronger, even of the masses by the classes, should go. But the triumph of this ideal necessarily presupposes the waking up of the collective conscience of Humanity and an unrelenting vigil maintained by it. This is yet a consummation devoutly to be wished. Christian West has suffered a decline and not secured an ascent in the realm of spiritual values of late. Her glorious science and her phenomenal material advance have not kept pace with her spiritual advance. Her heart has not grown in keeping with her brains and belly, her legs and arms. For the last couple of a century, she has been put on a wrong diet. She has been put to wrong exercises. So even the League instrument, which issued from the awful travail of a world war, has been, in many respects, an instrument put into the hands of

a Titan of War and not into those of an Archangel of Peace. Of course in many minor spheres of innocuous public utility the League has been able to keep a record which shows much to its credit. But in all vital matters of world importance, its record of work has not only been poor but, in some cases, dismal and were diabolical.

The vital problems before it are, and have been, three. First, How to build social relationships in any country on a basis of justice, and how, with the help of social justice thus secured, to build the fabric of international justice. This is the main and fundamental problem. It being solved, or the way being paved to its being solved, the way will be paved to the other problems being solved. Those other problems are mainly two. First, how to make Right prevail in every case and not Might: how to make collective interest, in the truly fundamental and universal sense of the word, the ultimate court of appeal in all conflicting issues that may arise not only between one nation and another but also between one class and another, so long as we have classes having interests at variance with one another. Second, How to place each distinctive Race or Culture upon a footing best calculated to create or provide conditions suitable for its growth to the fulness of its material and spiritual stature. In other words, How to create conditions for its free, unhampered self-fulfilment. We have stated the problems in the abstract. But taking the case of any particular country, race or culture, it is possible to set forth the picture design not only in broad outline but also, to any desired extent, in actual shade and colour. The fundamental problem as stated above may suggest the Soviet picture. We shall not be surprised if it does. But we make bold to remark that though the ideal picture may be, in a large measure, Soviet in outline, it need not be the Red Union in actual tone and colour.

#### IV. THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS

The three fundamental problems are the problems of Equality, Fraternity and Freedom, not only of individuals but of societies, races and cultures, the solutions of which have been sought through terrible ordeals of fire and blood, but have not so far been found. It is doubtful that human corporations as a whole are, through all these terrible trials, approaching a just and assured solution. Some thought while others doubted that the French Revolution really moved things forward. The Great War was proclaimed as a war fought to end war and make the world safe for democracy. But disillusionment came rather too soon. The war has not, by common consensus of opinion, made the world a better or a safer world to live in. One good result of the war was the League Idea. Another was the Soviet Idea of equality and fraternity. The Fascist Idea also puts forth its claim. But whilst the first was very nearly still-born and has been kept alive chiefly for anti-League purposes, by artificial means, the latter (i.e. Soviet) was ushered into existence in a revolution much too red to allow the stream of human federation to ever run smooth and clear towards its promised Destiny. Not only so. The League has not unoften prostituted itself into a Clique of the Big Powers so that they may the better conspire and contrive to lord it over the rest of the world; and while keeping up a pretence of regard for the League

Covenant and League procedure, they may the better subserve their own selfish ends. Under the cloak of League Covenant and League procedure, you are enabled to dress your unclean personal wounds with the white linen of righteous indignation for justice trampled under foot, and you can almost fit out your low ambition and greed in the evangelic robe of the highest mission on earth. And the last war has taught the world to learn and practise this art of hypocrisy to perfection.

## V. THE GIANT MACHINE

Yet it is not the art of deception which is chiefly to blame. The economic and political system of the present-day world is a giant Machine, in the relentlessly moving and grinding wheels you and everybody have been caught, and you and everybody must move and grind with them till you are ground into pulp and flung into the flames that feed the Machine. The Machine has been made no doubt by our *karma*. But once there, there is no escaping its octopus-like bands and coils. The late Mr. Henderson was an well-meaning statesman. He sincerely meant peace. But he was for a time caught in the wheels of one of the most powerful war-machines—the War Cabinet of England during the War. He had to move and grind the youth and plenty of his country and of the Empire to make pulp (men and munitions) to feed the flames. It is in fact a self-feeding Machine. So long as you cannot pull it to pieces and have the debris blown away into cosmic spaces, it must feed and keep itself going in the manner it has been doing. Poor Mr. Henderson was therefore helpless. Again he found himself helpless as President of the Disarmament Conference. Some at least of those who conferred to disarm were sincere in their desire to do so. But they conferred and were caught in the octopus-like bands and coils of the Machine which must be fed by war or war-preparedness, and which must breathe from its nostrils perennial fire and brimstone. The conditions are to be changed, and changed radically, to make the seed of the nascent pacific conscience of troubled humanity germinate, grow and fructify. As conditions now prevail, the youth and plenty and joy of the world must be caught up by the Machine and ground into pulp and fuel.

## VI. THE COMMUNIST IDEA

The Communist Idea has been an experiment to change the prevailing conditions. It has been an essay to get at the very root of the trouble. It has sought to probe into the causes that underlie the conflict between man and man and between class and class—the clash and fight among fellow human beings who, if only their relations could be rightly adjusted, would naturally be comrades and brothers. The Communist plan has been to right the wrong by means of what we may call an economically equilibrated social order. We need not here attempt a critique of the Communist Idea or the Communist Plan. If its basic postulates be granted, it will appear that there is much truth in its position and formulation. Even if we do not concede that its basic principles are truly basic, we have to concede that human corporations built according to those principles do present features which connote truer fellowship and greater co-operation,



and, therefore, greater harmony and progress, amongst the world's teeming millions. Whether the Soviet Russia has or has not yet reached this consummation, is another question. It is a question of fact and demands a careful and impartial enquiry. As a matter of fact, the actual picture of the Soviet Union has been drawn in flagrantly different colours by presumably competent observers who claim that they have sketched and drawn from the original. It has proved both a glowing picture and a dismal one. Intermediate tones have also occasionally been received. Perhaps one must steer clear of both a Soviet heaven in actual being and a Soviet hell. One's interests are commonly so exclusive in the capitalist system or in the reverse, that one can hardly, in a case like this, expect to be presented with what we may call a just and balanced picture. But even assuming that the actual thing is darker than as commonly drawn for the edification of one group of interests or other, we must say in justice to the Communist Idea that the fault, in so far as it really exists, cannot be attributed to the Idea itself so much as to the actual methods pursued to carry it out, and to the *ensemble* of world situations to-day which, naturally, offer resistance to a process which would cut them violently across their grain. It is the methods actually adopted to realize the end and the more or less stubborn resistance and reaction produced by them in the circumambient world-order which have engendered a tangle of forces and confusion of effects not permitting the Communist Endeavour to appear in its true sense and right perspective. Fascist Italy or Germany and the more or less capitalist regime in other countries have in fear and haste donned their armour of offence, and defence, and the coloured, thick, curved glasses on their eye-holes not only magnify and colour the actual dispositions of their common "enemy", but they even conceal their own true and natural expression. It may well be that Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany is like a floating ice-berg, only the floating one-tenth of which is Fascist or Nazi, and the remaining submerged nine-tenths are socialist or communist. And it may so happen that the floating pyramid may one day topple over and rest with its apex merged in the depths and its broad and massive foundations rising majestically into the light of the day.

## VII. THE UTOPIA

For our own part, whilst we cannot help admiring the grandeur and beauty of the communist conception of the Utopia, we cannot also help regretting that this Utopia has been sought to be materialised upon earth by means which may produce not only a temporary chaos out of which an earthly paradise is expected to slowly take its rise, but one out of which Capitalism, going under for a while, may come back as a revived Titan smashing up the flimsy structure of the hastily improvised and unset Utopia. The Communist analysis of the human tangle is not thorough and far-reaching enough. Its treatment of the human being as mainly an economic animal, and of human society as mainly an economic entity, is not radical enough to ensure that the success of its plan as it is now conceived will lead us further than half-way or quarter way houses along the long and arduous path that has to be trodden ere we are within the hailing distance of our journey's end. Unless we start with an understanding and appreciation of the deeper

spiritual values of our earthly existence and chart our way in accordance with the wisest and purest rule of spiritual Freedom, Equality and Love, we can never be sure that in making for the half-way or quarter way houses that have been built on the way, we are not straying out of the right track and, quite unawares, moving into the serbo-bian bog where generations whole have sunk.

### VIII. THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL FACTOR

We have made only some general observations regarding the communist treatment of the world distemper. Our chief disagreement with Communism does not relate to the Idea. But we may not be prepared to go in for its plan in toto or even in substance as required by it. It need not be granted that the idea of human comradeship and co-operation can be materialised by following exclusively the Soviet plan. There may be other plans or even better plans. It should be left to the genius of each distinctive civilisation and culture to evolve its own plan. Some may begin by readjusting the economic structure of society and end by reaching or trying to reach the highest standards of religious and ethical conduct in the masses of men. At any rate, they are welcome to experiment whether the sum-total of human wrong will or will not be righted by beginning the righting process at the material end of man. If they succeed by stressing primarily the material factor involved in the complex of human organisation and relationships, they will have opened up at least a new and easily trodden path for making the journey. But this need not prove that that path alone can lead to the goal. The possibility of there being other paths for other types of civilisations and cultures will still remain. If, on the other hand, the communist plan of beginning at the material end should prove a failure, that also must be counted as a gain for the collective experience of humanity. For then, leaving all hesitancy and vacillation, man shall turn to the spiritual values and sanctions. And these values and sanctions have been differently evolved and expressed by different types of civilisation and culture.

### IX. TWO MISCONCEPTIONS

Two misconceptions must be removed. First, when it is said that the communist plan begins its process of human amelioration by taking hold of man at his material end, it is not to be supposed that he can, or means to, carry on his process by leaving the spiritual side of man to take care of itself. No. Obviously, the communist plan of equalising material production and distribution cannot be carried to any length without drawing upon some of the deepest and amplest springs of spiritual motive power in individuals and in groups. In this sense, the communist revolution involves and lets loose more spiritual forces of the nobler, i. e. other-regarding, kind than any other kind of revolution, barring perhaps those connected with the rise and spread of the great religions of the world. But whilst this is true, and should be perceived as such, one need not miss the patent difference between the communist plan of standardising the externals of human life and, thereby, seeking to produce an inner conversion of man conducive to the establishment of just and harmonious relationships, and the religious plan of producing primarily an inner communist conversion and trans-

formation—such has been attempted by the great religions of the world—and, thereby, seeking to adjust and harmonise the external relations of men. Secondly, it is a misconception of the true nexus of cause and effect to suggest that as, historically, religion has failed and its failure is believed by some to have a cumulative worsening effect on the tone and quality of human endeavour, we must turn away from religion and try a new ideology and method. All vital movements, not excluding the communist one, have to move by describing curves showing ascent and descent. Any Idea seeking to fashion its material in this material universe of ours must necessarily do so. Its progress is never an easy walk-over. To blame religion as such for the existing world evil is no better than to blame pure science for the evil of world war.

### X. THE DEEPER ISSUES

But in this Introduction we have no desire to examine and decide one way or the other the deeper issues involved. The deeper issues are, however, to-day more insistent in their demand on our most serious attention than they ever perhaps were before. We can no longer pretend to ignore them or lightly put them off. The “wolf” of Communism is barking at every door, and there is no pretending to keep oneself indoors comfortably snug and secure. You can drive the “wild wolf” from your door only by letting loose your faithful hound. Or, to put it simply, as a solution of the very grave world tangle, Communism is there as a very bold and powerful challenge. You must meet the challenge with a solution as radical, and, if possible, more durable and effective. If you sincerely think that Fascism is such a solution, try it by all means. But mere temporising will not do. If Fascism or any other alternative scheme for the matter of that be simply a ruse to get a breathing time before the mighty steam roller of the new ideology actually gets you under, you may be sure that the ruse in the hour of need will not stand you in good stead. Your counter action must be radical, thorough and permanent. Not only your own country but whole Humanity should be able to attain or return to a position of just and balanced equilibrium, reducing injustice and exploitation progressively to the vanishing point, by living according to your plan. Possibly, if your plan of action be not temporising and selfish self-guarding, you will find that the need of a final fight to a finish with the new ideology will no longer exist. Your method and route and those of your “enemy” will then be found to gradually converge and meet. They are bound to do so if you and he agree as to the ultimate aims and purposes. If there be such agreement, your plans and those of your “enemy” will be found to be more and more assimilated to one another. They will then form components of a comprehensive whole. The Fascist programme will in that case take nearly all the wind out of the Communist sails and vice versa. So long as the conscience of Humanity, of the different races and peoples, do not wake up to a recognition of this brotherhood of ideals and methods, of the variety of component notes in the resultant Theme, one Idea—Fascist or Communist or any other—will seek to dictate and require the rest of them to capitulate. The soul of exploitation, coercion and tyranny will so long live. The seed of dis-harmony and discord will so long live also.

## XI. THE BEST PLAN

The best plan, therefore, is to allow each distinctive civilisation and culture to evolve its own line of approach. The soul of every living civilisation and culture is feeling the travail of a new transformation. In some it is already acute, while in others it is perhaps as yet nascent. The impact of world forces, material and spiritual, will not allow that feeling to remain dormant for any length of time. Time, space and zones of isolation do not exist in the world of to-day. If Russia is to-day leading the vanguard in radical reform, we may be sure that other countries will not, inspite of temporary reactions in some, long lag behind. But they need not be coerced into the path that Russia has chosen to follow. Let each one find his own path, consistently with all that is best in him. In that case, as we have said, all paths, some straight, others, apparently, meandering, will be found to converge. This should especially be borne in mind by a great and ancient civilisation like that of India. India has her Vedanta and plans and institutions of life devised in the sense of Vedanta. We have, of course in many respects, fallen from the height of the spirit of those plans and institutions. The result has been all the depression and misery that India has meant for centuries. But the fall has not meant an absolute discomfiture. The people, particularly the masses, are still living Vedanta as a kind of second nature. That nature has to be opened and broadened, but no good will come from violence done to it. Indian emancipation should be allowed to be a process of mainly Indian evolution or revolution using the later term in its best sense. Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists should be able to pool their purest springs of feeling, thought and action with a view to evolving a common Urge which shall carry India's millions forward to a state which, not being a copy of Communist Russia or Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany, will be an original factor and asset in the sum-total of human progress and achievement.

## XII. INDIA'S ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION

It behoves the leaders of the people to think out what this original contribution by India towards the solution of the common human problems is going to be, and by their Congresses and Conferences and Legislative Bodies, to devise practical methods whereby that original contribution can be progressively got ready for use by the rest of the world. The Indian National Congress, for instance, has been what the socialist would call a class organisation, though, of course, from the very start it has been speaking in the name of the people. In the very first stages, it consisted of a handful of agitators chiefly of the lawyer class, and it envisaged what its critics would call a Vakil Raj. But a vociferous Vakil Raj which ventilated their own grievances and also incidentally, prayed for the redress of some of the just grievances of the dumb millions, was an early leaven of mild brew which alone was available and which alone could be used in making the bread of Indian politics in those days. The social conferences of those days were also in the nature of class organisations, if organisations we may call them. For a long time the Congresses and Conferences used to be three days' wonders. Delegates who had no electorates to elect them would practically elect themselves, meet for three days under great

ceremony and flourish, pass resolutions in the name of *Vox Dei*, would see to it that their resolutions and speeches backing the resolutions were so broadcast as to attract the notice of the Olympic Gods, and then, at the conclusion of their self-imposed three-days' labours, quietly retire from the platform of many a cheer and applause and go back to their respective professions to make their private pile and win their personal laurels. Yet for an India of undeveloped political and class consciousness, the three days' Vakil breath was not quite lost upon a common platform. The common platform, on which were arrayed all kinds of picturesque head-dresses, was itself a new factor and symbol, the meaning of which certainly went home into the minds of the thousands of visitors assembled in the pandal and others who happened to be interested in the performance. Gradually, however, the Congress became increasingly a mass movement. It also gradually learnt how to pay the price for what it wants—freedom. It evolved an organisation which has earned for it the recognition even by its opponents that it is the best organised national body in India with which it was thought worthwhile by the Governments of Lord Irwin and Lord Willingdon to open negotiation. Clearly, it has been able to earn a great deal of public sanction in India. The masses have been, in a large measure, drawn into the arena of its activity, and its programmes are being increasingly inspired by a real solicitude to serve the interests of the masses.

### XIII. THE CONGRESS MACHINERY HOW FAR ADEQUATE

Nevertheless, it cannot yet be claimed for it that it is an organisation in which the interests of all—the labouring classes as well as the propertied classes—are directly represented in an evenly proportionate way. The Karachi Congress adopting the resolution on the Fundamental Rights was a move in the right direction. But that move by itself has not transformed the character of the Congress as an organisation mainly run by the capitalist classes which, in the view of the advanced Indian socialist, exploit the sacrifice and suffering of the masses to chiefly further their own ends. In other words, the Congress is still out to secure a government by the capitalist classes and not one by the labouring classes which constitute India's untold millions. Possibly, this is too sweeping an accusation against the spirit and policy of the Congress, and we have no doubt that there are sincere men in the Congress front row and elsewhere who do earnestly seek to subordinate their class interests to the interests of the masses. Much of the mass awakening and mass cooperation in the Congress activity is due to the self-denying spirit and labours of these men. Mahatma Gandhi has been the chief of these self-denying workers for mass uplift and mass emancipation. Pandit Jawharlal has also been a prominent figure, and the socialist tendencies and adaptations in the Congress organisation which have of late been manifest, have, in part, been traced to the fervid inspiration and forceful guidance of the Pandit. There are other stars of exalted, pure brilliance shining in the Indian sky which have not only shed lustre on the dark, troubled waters of the Indian ocean, but have also shown the way along which the benighted bark of Indian nationalism may on the one hand avoid the sunken reef of

terrorist and communal violence and on the other hand the ice-bound becalmed bays and estuaries of moderate mendicancy. But cloud and mist have not unoften gathered thick over the charted path and hidden the steady, guiding light. In the haze of uncertainty and divided counsel, our bark has sometimes struck a sunken reef or strayed into a becalmed bay. But, fortunately, she has not yet foundered. Terrorist crimes have continued to happen and communal configurations have continued to break out, but the Congress as a body has, generally, been able not only to keep clear of them but it has, generally, exercised a curbing and sobering influence on them by its insistence on the basic necessity of our trying to achieve Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means and by its resistance of all tendencies that seek to divide and disintegrate the unity and solidarity of Indian nationalism.

#### XIV. CONGRESS AND ANARCHY

But while this is true and has to be admitted, it is becoming increasingly apparent that what the Indian National Congress has conceived and produced is already proving too great a morsel for it to quietly ingest and assimilate. It now finds itself unable to cope with the forces that it has itself roused or brought into being. Government says or has said that these forces are of "anarchy"—subversive of the authority of Law and Order. But this is merely a surface analysis which everybody is not prepared to accept at its face value. All dynamic movements evolve or release forces that more or less tend to disturb the existing dispositions of forces. Whether the disturbance produced is good or bad will depend upon several circumstances and factors. The test question is this—Are the existing dispositions good in view of what are better and what are ultimately the best, and is the disturbance produced in them such as will move them forward to the better and best in a manner and to a degree which cannot otherwise be ensured and secured? We state it is an abstract question. But in any concrete case—in the case of Indian advance for example—the question will admit of a definite and concrete formulation. In other words, the matter in question can be put in the form of certain definite issues. Those issues, in the case of India, ultimately resolve themselves into the issues of India's constitutional advance. Indian nationalism is out to achieve responsible government. Indian Government has also declared its willingness to grant it and progressively work at and for it. The first issue is partly one of fact and partly one of belief. Is the British Government sincere in its intentions to implement its many pledges and declarations relating to the destiny of its Indian Dependency as a prospective member of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and if it be so, is it so believed to be by Indian nationalism? The latter issue is important, because Indian nationalism is expected to cooperate or non-cooperate, to help or hinder, the labours of the British Government in the line of Indian constitution-making according as the above question of belief is or is not answered in the affirmative. Secondly, assuming that the intentions of Britain with respect to the goal of Indian advance are sincere, the question will arise as to how far, on what terms and in what forms those intentions are prepared to go and implement themselves. It is, after all, the pace of the proposed advance

and the kind of start proposed to be now made that makes all the difference. If the White Paper or the J. P. C. Scheme has failed to evoke any enthusiasm in India, it is not primarily because the goal has not been clearly set before us, but because we have been scarcely given to feel that we are being given a fair start or that we shall be permitted to run at a pace that will carry us to *any* goal which any self-respecting country may think it worth its while to run after. For, as regards the goal, it is the substance of independence that matters. This substance may, possibly, as well, be found inside the British Commonwealth of Nations as outside. At any rate, this is not at present an actual bone of contention in the Nationalist circles. But there is common agreement about this that the thing to run after must be a substance and not a shadow, and that the run must be made in all seriousness and with a minimum of restraining and delaying handicaps.

### XV. SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW

It is this consciousness that we have been given a substance to run after and that we are being constrained to begin at a point much behind where we should have begun and at a pace much slower than what should be not only possible but easy for us,—it is this feeling of inferiority complex thrust on us—that makes all the difference between Indian nationalism and British “benevolent despotism” with respect to the proposed plan of political advance. The Indian National Congress, as representing most of the progressive forces of Indian nationalism, has, therefore, been seeking to reach the goal (the substance of independence) independently of British Government’s help and in spite of its opposition at a pace and on terms which shall not brand us with an undeserved and unjust stigma of inferiority in the assembly of nations.

### XVI. THE POINT OF VITAL DIFFERENCE

It is idle and unwise, therefore, to think or pretend to think that the Congress means anarchy or that its methods aim at producing anarchy. If Great Britain is serious in her declaration that the goal of Indian advance is responsible government, full and complete, and if she is sincere in her profession that she will see to it that this goal is progressively reached, then, the difference between her and Indian nationalism reduces itself to a difference as regards the kind of start to be now made and the pace at which things are to move. The existing order may decline to be hustled and rushed and may complain if it is made to run at a pace which does not suit it. This is but natural. It may be like the hare and the tortoise in the story running a race. The hare jumps and flies at the goal, but it may not be sure and steady. The tortoise creeps and crawls, but though slow, it may be sure. And, quite possibly, as in the story, the tortoise may win. The result is a question of fact which one cannot predetermine by theory or speculation one way or the other. Apart from accidents met or sought on the way, the chances are ninety-nine to one that the hare will win. Steadiness is a virtue that stands one in good stead no doubt, but virility and forcefulness are traits that are necessary to move things

forward in a world in which the goal is far-off and the way long-where, as the poet says, art is long and life short. Speed and expedition are, very often, important, and in some cases, deciding factors in the race. The course is long and neither straight nor smooth. There are unsuspected pitfalls to engulf the bulky tortoise, but which the agile, light-footed hare may either jump across or jump out of; there is much uphill work along the path which will arrest the tortoise but which will put the hare on its mettle; and there are wolves and blood hounds prowling near about which may not overtake the flying hare but which may finish the tortoise. To put it in short, agility and speed are, in most cases, the factors that decide whether the goal will be reached at all. The slow but sure tortoise of British foreign policy failed absolutely in America and the result was the American War of Independence. The tortoise, again, led practically nowhere in Ireland. It is the hare that won. It has been so nearly in every case in history. Emancipation of peoples and nations has not come seated on the back of the snail or the tortoise. It has been like the eagle that loves to ride the storm. Even British history has moved through an evolution accelerated and expanded by many a revolution.

## XVII. TO CRAWL OR JUMP ?

The fact of the matter is that no life here below is permitted to run its course by crawlings alone or jumpings alone. Evolution is never evolution in the easy, comfortable and safe sense of the term. Nature does not work on an easy, comfortable and "safe" plan. What actually prevails is the rhythm of alternate expansions and contractions, crawlings and jumps. A period of comparative immobility is followed by one of dynamism, one of storing and guarding followed by one of sharing and distribution. Each phase is necessary, and each is the complement of the other. Heterodoxy in religion, science, literature and politics is as inevitable as orthodoxy. The two hundred years of British rule in India have been mainly a period of guarding and consolidating a process that, if continued, is bound to culminate in a great upheaval. Macaulay and some other far-seeing statesmen of the last century foresaw what was coming and they thought that it would be a proud day for England when it should come. The present century has proved a fitful as well as a fateful century. It has proved fateful in the domain of thought as well as in that of action. A new science and a new ideology have come into being and function. The Great War has been in the nature of a fateful warning that the old order of social, political and economic corporation has already outlived its day of usefulness—and, it is time we left this and moved into a new order. What this new order is we do not yet clearly see. Perhaps, as we hinted before, it is a spiritual order first and a social or economic order next. Perhaps, others would like to begin at the other end. But whatever it is, we must get ourselves free from a quake-shaken old order of things which now refuses to safely accommodate us. The War, though temporally crippling the entire structure of "human civilisation," also served as a safety-valve letting off much pent-up steam. But its warning has not been generally heeded, and "steam" has again been allowed to accumu-



late at a tremendously high pressure threatening to completely blow up the machinery of "civilisation" at any moment. What is needed is a thorough overhauling and renewing of the machinery itself.

### XVIII. THE EXISTING ORDER

The political and economic structure which, for some time, proved useful in this country seems no longer to fit us at any rate, not to the same extent as before. Maladjustment has long been manifest. The existing order appears to be no longer adapted to the requirements of actual or ideal fitness and justice, whether we deal with the India of to-day apart from or with reference to the context of world situations. New adaptations have to be made. New devices have to be adopted. We cannot simply sit tight over the old, rusty boiler putting its safety-valves permanently out of action or trying to feverishly screw them down. It is a business unsafe for us and unsafe for the Government. The nationalist movements in India, both violent and non-violent, have let off some pent-up steam, and they have been, in spite of some of their unwelcome features, an warning that steam has for some time been accumulating at a high pressure in a rusty, huge, old-fashioned boiler which has been out of date and out of repair for half a century. Those who are in charge of this machine seem to have been hopelessly behind "live" in their reading of the meter indicating the rise and fall of pressure. When, for instance, the civil disobedience movement started by the Congress is checked by their steam-roller, they heave a sigh of relief and imagine that the engine has been relieved of so much pressure. It is this misreading of the meter that is responsible for the flattering unction being comfortably laid to the bureaucratic soul that the Congress is dead and finished. The official attitude in relation to the violent and communist movements also is, in part, due to this misreading and miscalculation of the real efficiency ratio of the machine that is being worked—a ratio determined by the actual strength and configuration of the machine and the actual and potential power generated by it or otherwise brought to bear upon it. Government has been trying to keep down some of this power as represented by the violent and communist commotions in the country by applying a kind of break which is likely to fail us at the critical moment. An wise engineer must enquire about the *what, how and why* of the disturbance before applying the break or unscrewing a valve. Of course, disturbance of a certain kind and assuming certain proportions has to be checked by all means. And this has to be done not only consistently with safety of the machine but with the requirements of the ultimate end which the work of the machine should have in view. For, after all, the end is greater than its means. And for this reason—whenever a disturbance or something untoward happens, the engineer must try to carefully examine his machine and put it in order. This repairing and renewing must be, in every case, sufficient unto the purpose. It is only by putting the machine itself in order, adequate and sufficient for the purpose, that undesired disturbances can be effectively checked. It is like fortifying the constitution itself against the disease-producing germs and other causes of ailing. Now, the British Government has been proceeding apace with its Indian constitutional reforms. But has it been

wise and resourceful ? Resourcefulness is needed more than bull-dog tenacity.

### XIX. AN OPEN MIND AND OUTLOOK

Not only resourcefulness but also straight forwardness is needed. A straight, heart to heart talk is the first step to there being heart contact which, more than any thing else, is needed for real cooperation.

Want of straight talk and of straight dealing has been responsible for much of the muddle in which international affairs now find themselves. Those affairs will considerably simplify and the issues involved clarify themselves when nations will learn to discard more and more the old regime art of hypocritical cant in their relation to one another and return more and more closely to methods of openness and sincerity. And this is not a mere truism. Perhaps the last war would not have happened if nations, as distinguished from their ruling oligarchies, had known more intimately of one another. But this precisely they were, and have not been, allowed to do. Under the existing regime, democracies are only in name their own masters or managers. They are practically ruled by exclusive class interests. And it follows from this that nations are, in many respects, misinformed and misguided dupes. They hate or love, fight or federate, as they are, by the subtle ways of modern statecraft, led to. It is this kind of leading—which is often misleading—which constitutes the modern art of governing. The art is cultivated to perfection in some of the most "progressive" countries of the world.

### XX. AN ILLUSTRATION

For illustration one may take the war between Italy and Abyssinia—both of them Christian Powers (if the latter can be dubbed a "Power") and both members of the League. Frantic efforts are being made by some of the other powers—notably by Great Britain and France—to localise the conflict. In these efforts they are, naturally, sincere. Another European war will, surely, spell the end of European Civilisation and European history. No body of war-profiteering oligarchy will dare face a situation so abysmal as this. European democracies—deceived and duped and docile though they may be—cannot just now be duped into a bloody or asphyxiating extinction. So the people who run the show are now thinking of a new device by which the "fire" may be not only allowed to burn but actually fed at a safe distance from their own doors and from which they may expect and arrange to draw their own share of nuts safe. Such a device has come handy enough in the shape of the League of Nations. A great deal of parade is accordingly made of the League Covenant and Sanctions. Governments, most interested in their nuts in the fire, are now most vocal in their professions of love and loyalty to the League Principles.

### XXI. PUBLIC UTTERANCES AND REAL INTERESTS

The public utterances of Sir Samuel Hoare, M. Laval and other actors in the international lime-light overflow with sentiments which would put even the saints and sages of the world to shame. But such sentiments are seen to flow chiefly at the bidding of imperialistic

interest and convenience. Japan and China were both members of the League. Yet when Japan made an war of aggression on China, no solicitude worth the name was evinced in high quarters for redressing the injury done to the League cause by an application of the military or economic sanctions. Japan was allowed to create a precedent in defiance of the League Principles which Mussolini has now followed. The re-arming of Germany is a fact which, again, is considered by many as a violation of the Principles of the League. But France and England and other Big Powers had to swallow it as best they could. Britain has never been slow to draw her nuts safe in any manner of fire that may burn. She has recently concluded, presumably behind the back of the League, an Anglo-German Naval Agreement. Yet the League Idea was to especially forbid the making of private pacts and alliances which have always been found to entangle inter-national relations. On many a critical occasion in the past the League has been quietly sabotaged. Powers bent upon securing their ends have joined or left the League according as the one course or the other would best subserve their ends. Even now, when Italy has steadily been closing its death grip on the neck of poor Abyssinia, our modern saints and sages, who were swearing by the Cross of the League Idea, are quietly tucking the Cross away in their inner garments, presumably very near to their hearts, whilst their hands have automatically flown, not indeed as yet to the side where the sword may be hanging, but to their pockets where their class or imperialist interests are safe-custodied. Already the cry has been heard that the League has been or is going to be side-tracked. And although the stage actors, especially in view of the elections ahead, have been loudly protesting their innocence, there seems to be hardly a room for doubt that, behind the screens, plots are maturing whereby each Big Power draw its share of nuts, proportionate to its bigness, safe out of the fire, while allowing the crude ore of Abyssinian independence to be burnt in the furnace of an exterminating modern war, so that it may be speedily sublimated into a "sphere of Influence" to be influenced by the pact and plan of the plotting Powers. Really, it is the strategic and economic importance of Abyssinia from the British imperialist point of view—its importance with reference to Egypt and Sudan and British Somaliland in Africa and its Empire and trade routes in the East and the Far East—which has made British statesmen so ardent apostles of the Cross of the League. It has been suggested, and not perhaps quite unjustly, that the present conflict is only ostensibly a conflict between Italy and Abyssinia; that, in reality, it is a conflict between British Imperialism already in actual flesh and blood and the Imperialism of the ancient Roman Eagle of which Mussolini now feverishly dreams and which, in the womb of Destiny, seems to be already in the throes of its birth. The good things of the world are not too many for the greed or need of two rival Empires. And one of the best things of the world is England's Indian possession—the brightest jewel in the Crown. Egypt, the Red Sea with its two lock-gates at Suez and Aden, have also an importance all their own. A First-Class Power like Italy perched on the salubrious, strategic and commanding heights of Abyssinia, will, obviously, be too menacingly a powerful factor for the security and "safe sailing" of the

British Empire. The position of France, also, is peculiarly complicated and difficult. Sandwiched as she is between two powerful neighbours—Germany and Italy—France can ill-afford to dispense with a strong alliance with another Power, presumably England, in the event of hostilities breaking out with one of her great continental neighbours. And it is more than likely that sooner or later she will have to square and settle her accounts with Germany who has been, till recently, held under with the iron grip of France closing on her throat. With this sword of Damocles hanging perpetually over her head, she can ill-afford to quarrel either with England or with Italy. Yet, as we have seen, this Abyssinian conflict is, at bottom, a conflict between British Imperialism and Italian Imperialism. France, therefore, cannot be expected to be an whole-hogger in respect of any application of the League Sanctions, economic and military, with a view to make Italy desist from what appears to be an war of aggression.

## XXII. PROPAGANDIST DEVICE

These self-regarding considerations, which really determine the situation, do not find any expression in the public utterances and reports of responsible statesman. These utterances seem to be, nearly in every case, conceived in the spirit of the Sermon On The Mount : they are broadcast as modern expositions based on the old Sacred Texts. Such device may, for a time, serve the purpose of propaganda, of the immense potentialities of which, for evil more than for good, we had an inkling and earnest during the last war. But the device has proved a fecund source of incalculable international misunderstanding and mischief. It has prevented nations from knowing and understanding one another, truly and unsophisticatingly, and this, more than any thing else, has prevented a permanent frame work of neighbourly agreement among nations from being practically settled.

## XXIII. THE MAN AND THE SYSTEM

One need not, at the same time, assume that in the inter-national green-room, behind the scenes, the unmasked, unpainted world actors sit and consort in their true features and colours only as perfect villains. They put on, no doubt, a great deal of mask and paint to make them appear other than they are in reality. It is a part of their job. There is no escaping from it so long as they are in it. It is the system which makes them pose and act in the manner they commonly do. Apart from it, they are or may be quite natural or even estimable men. We referred to late Mr. Arthur Henderson who was believed to have a hand in the process that led to the making of the Locarno and Kellogg Pacts. But the system proved too strong for him, both in office and out of it. Again, Mr. George Lansbury, who has just now laid down Labour leadership, is a truly christian statesman, who has made or tried to make the dry bones of his socialism instinct with the celestial fire of the Sermon On The Mount, and is deeply sincere when, as a confirmed, out-an-out pacifist, he denounces munition-making as "devil's work". Yet what a pathetic touch is given by Robert Barneys M, P. (in an article recently written) to the above evangelic pen-picture.

I remember one occasion when he stated that he would like to close down every recruiting station in the country, and added that the making of munitions was "devils work" and appealed to the working men to throw up their jobs rather than lend a finger to it.

I was myself speaking in the House of Commons a few days later and ventured to remind him in this connection that when in office he had voted on three different occasions for all the Army, Navy, and Air Force Estimates and had, therefore, himself sanctioned expenditure of something like £450,000,000 worth of "devils work".

Mr. Lansbury, in fact, involved himself in an impossible position.

On far too many questions he had one policy and his party pursued another.

As he himself said in his apologia at the party conference at Brighton: "During the last six years first in the Labour Government and then as leader of the party, I have been in a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position."

It is one that no man with the high sense of honour of Mr. Lansbury could tolerate indefinitely.

For he is a man who, throughout his life, had sought for the truth. When he has found it—or thought that he had found it—whatever the cost he has stood up for it.

And one might add that not only in Home affairs but in the most vital matters concerning the Indian Dependency, Mr. Lansbury, and possibly also, Lord Irwin, the "Christian Viceroy", found themselves "in a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position" when, under the Labour Government, they were fighting and trying to hold in a strangling grip Indian Nationalism.

#### XXIV. DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE

It is this Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position in which many of the world actors find themselves which is especially unfortunate. Many, again, have not imagination enough to see that they are in this position, and they play in their double role without even a stray flash of lucid intuition showing them that they personify downright self-contradiction. Poor Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the socialist author of "The Awakening of India", continued to speak in the same socialist strain, while, as the Chief of the Labour and the Nationalist Governments, practically his every public act was given the lie direct to his lofty utterances. Was he also in the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position? The question is not of mere dual personality in many cases: it is one of multiple personality. And the beauty as well as the pathos of the thing often is that the two or many personalities, rolled apparently into the same high, right honourable personage, are in function at the same time blissfully unconscious of the fact that it is so. So the right hand not only knoweth not what the left giveth, but the one taketh away what the other giveth. Often the one arrests the other, and the result is that nothing is given. But we need not here delve deeper into the depths of this profoundly interesting imperialist branch of psycho-analysis.

Apart from the gang of international war-profiteers who manage "the devil's work", and their many henchmen in the political, economic and journalistic fields who "have sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage", there are few normal people who would like to disturb the peace of the world for the sheer joy of it. They are too mortally hit by wars to think of their spoils. Even the ex-service men who actually passed through the terrible fire in the last war are, as a body, against a repetition of the same terrible experience. And His Excellency the Governor of Bengal was, obviously, right when he was

thus speaking of ex-service men in connection with the Armistic Day Celebrations :—

The ugly spectre of war is again brooding over the world and it behoves all who can picture the dangers that loom ahead—dangers not to this nation or that but threatening civilisation itself—to make their influence felt to avert any such disaster. I believe that the organisations of ex-service men throughout the world represent one of the most potent influences for peace to-day. I have never forgotten a remark that the late Sir Douglas Haig made to my Chief and me when we visited his Headquarters in France in July 1918. He said—I think he was deprecating the outcry in the press about certain alleged German atrocities—“you know the British soldier has no ill-will towards the Boche: he knows too well what he has been up against”. That is it. Wars are made in the main by people who hope to keep out of them and there is a bond between the ex-service men of different countries—a bond created by dangers run and hardships and privations suffered in common, which, I hope, will prove strong enough in the end to give the necessary reinforcement to the collective efforts that are being made in the interests of Peace.

## XXV. THE REAL INSPIRATION

Again, when these ex-service men of the different belligerent countries actually served in the field or in the munition factory, what, we think, was their real inspiration and motive? We shall give the answer again in the words of His Excellency—

After all, whatever the propagandists might have said, and whatever passions they might have aroused, who can believe that our men fought in the war out of a spirit of hatred or from pleasure in destruction? They fought and stuck to it, I think, because they believed in a decent, clean, deal all round and no non-sense either from brute force or subversive intrigues. Most men, I think, fought for simple, homely things—a farm somewhere in England, a plantation somewhere overseas, a business, a job in an office or a factory, perhaps even a best girl—a sane decent life without hate or frightfulness, a reasonably free existence, where a man could let his neighbour live in peace and not be interfered with himself. Those things and things like these were to ninety-nine men out of hundred their back-ground and their inspiration.

## XXVI. THE FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE

But if these things and things like these were their background and inspiration, the question to deeply ponder over is this: Why do simple men interested as they are most of all in simple, homely things, assail the simple homely things in which their neighbours also are most of all interested? Countless lives are lost and hearths and homes destroyed by the attack and counter-attack. And the simple folk who carry destruction and meet with it do not stand to gain. What, then, make them finish one another? The simple answer is that they are made to do this. In other words, they are made to grind and crush themselves into pulp and offer this as fuel to feed the monster of a System which chiefly profits an oligarchy and lives by the exploitation of democracy. The System has developed very powerful sanctions for ensuring that fuel, adequate and sufficient unto its purpose, shall unflinchingly be forthcoming, whether in peace or in war conditions. Whether the conditions will be those of peace or of war shall depend upon whether fuel, adequate and sufficient unto the purpose, are forthcoming to keep the thing going ever more merrily on. Whenever peace conditions do not suffice, war conditions must be brought about. And war fever or war frenzy are conditions of the mass nerves which, it seems, can be most easily brought about. Mass nerves have been so often accustomed to this kind of collective suicidal and homicidal excitement that they have developed a pathological mass predisposition

which may be aptly described as a kind of war neurasthania. Governments are believed sometimes to go on war to keep themselves in power. It has been suggested, for instance, that Mussolini has waged this war upon Abyssinia as an alternative to his own downfall. It may or may not be so. But one thing is certain. War is not merely a safety-valve for letting off superfluous steam that would otherwise imperil the Plant of the existing System, but it is often a god or a stunt to serve a variety of purposes which are not helpful or legitimate in view of the general good. We shall not discuss the general question whether war and pestilence are safety-valves which Nature must occasionally use to relieve the accumulated pressure of population upon available means of subsistence, or also, whether they are some of the means employed by the Powers shaping human destiny to effect a spiritual and moral purging and cleansing of the race which has been overdue. The *Bhagavad Gita* speaks of a Righteous War and the faltering hero is braced up by Divine Word to fight it. Many will say that this is not merely an inner fight between Good and Evil. Battles externally fought may also be righteous. At any rate, many continue to think that it may be so. Hitler and Mussolini have both sung hallelujah to the War-god. Many, again, think that though war is an evil, *per se* good will sometimes come out of it. That noble exiled son of Bengal—Subhas Ch. Bose—, for example, in an article recently contributed to the *Modern Review* says that the dark war cloud which now, perhaps “no bigger than the palm of your hand”, hangs menacingly on the African horizon, may not be without its proverbial silver lining.

They say that every dark cloud has its silver lining. So it is in the case of Abyssinia. Abyssinia will go down fighting, but she will stir the conscience of the world. On the one hand throughout the world of coloured races there will be a new consciousness. The consciousness will herald the dawn of a new life among the suppressed nations. All imperialists are feeling uneasy about this phenomenon and General Smuts gave expression to it in one of his recent speeches. On the other hand, thinking men in the imperialist countries have begun to ask themselves if the system of colonization is at all a justifiable one. Prof. Harold Laski once in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* suggested, for example, that all the African colonies of Great Britain should be handed over to the League of Nations. Of late, Mr. Lansbury has made a passionate appeal for pooling together all the raw materials of the world for the common benefit of mankind. And last but not least, even the die-hard Sir Samuel Hoare was forced to say at Geneva that he welcomed an investigation somewhat in the direction of the proposals of Mr. Lansbury. So even the imperialist “haves” have begun to feel a prick of conscience.

There are two ways in which Imperialism may come to an end—either through an overthrow by an anti-imperialist agency or through an internecine struggle among imperialists themselves. If the second course is furthered by the growth of Italian imperialism, then Abyssinia will not have suffered in vain.

## XXVII. “HAVES” AND “HAVE-NOTS”

Thus wars which are being fought between the imperialist “haves” and “have-nots”, may, under certain conditions and in some cases, lead to a kind of result which it would be difficult to otherwise bring about. Such wars may lead to the crash of the entire structure of imperialism itself—bringing down both its “Have” and “Have-not” wings into a common welter of destruction, out of which a more just and balanced order of society, not arbitrarily split up into haves and have-nots, will gradually build itself. The economically and politically suppres-

sed races or communities may thus, sometimes, hail as God-send an war that may blow up a System that has held them under.

### XXVIII. DEMOCRACY A MAYA

Generally, however, one may take it for granted that normal persons, left to themselves, are solidly for peace. Yet it is a fact that they are sometimes possessed by war madness. This is, mainly, because they are not left to themselves. In other words, because they are not free to think and act or even to feel. The freedom which they are supposed to enjoy even in a democratic country is *Maya* pure and simple. Democracy has degenerated into a slave-making and slave-driving device. So says the cynic. And he is not quite wrong. Whether war has or has not a biological basis—whether it is or is not in the blood—there is no gainsaying that the plain sense in the man in the street is to-day clear-sighted enough to make him see whether his pugnacious instinct, if unchecked, will lead him. But his plain sense is not merely clouded but camouflaged by the device.

### XXIX. "HIS FINGER IN THE PIE"

As regards those who are "driving" the device, some so clearly stand to gain from wars breaking out, that they may be regarded as forming a class apart—a very powerful class, having a large share of control over the international key-board of affairs. Others find themselves inwardly torn by the play of cross purposes and conflicting issues. Not unoften do they find themselves in the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position from which, however, they have not the courage or strength to free themselves. Thus the love of peace or the regard for the League Principle may not be all pretended in high international quarters. War has, of late, proved too confounding a business to make them dream of transacting it for its own sake. Much of the professed solicitude for peace is, possibly, genuine. The League institution is, also, some kind of an aid, however inadequate so far in practice, to promote collective security and peace. But all this love for peace avails not. Why? Because no imperialist nation—that is to say, those who manage its affairs in its name—can forget or forego the interests of its empire at stake. The "Haves" not only want to consolidate what they have, but they want to grab more and more, if possible. The "have-not", again, is not content with his simple, homely things. He is not happy with his own "best girl." He must have his neighbour's "best girl" also. In other words, he too must have his finger in some body else's pie. So the peace sense, without being actually feigned, becomes, in most men, pitted against the greed and grab sense. And the existing machinery of inter-national interaction being what it is, the latter is systematically stressed while the former finds practically very little scope for free play. Peace and Disarmament Conferences have, commonly, ended by doubling the rate of rearmament and progressively promoting war conditions, because those who have met to confer for the purpose have usually found themselves in the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position—one crying for peace and amity while the other guarding what he has already grabbed from others and preparing to grab more. In the present scheme, the former "self" is but a sleeping partner while the latter acts. The British Fleet is concentrated in the Medi-



terranean while the British Premier and the Foreign Secretary are rending the skies with their high-pitched sermons on the election platform or on the international stage. They are determined to maintain peace—which, of course, means Big White Peace—with the help of the League. The help of the League, however, was not “invoked” in some other post-War wars amongst League members which did not involve Big White Peace. Consistency is a hobgoblin only of “Little Powers”. Great Powers will have none of it. Their present attitude in relation to the responsibilities of the League and obligations of League membership is, nevertheless, most logical. But are they prepared to follow up to the “last ditch” their Logic in its most logical march to its most logical consequences? We quote below a few lines from Mr. Bernard Shaw—(*“Time and Tide”*)—

### XXX. GREAT POWERS AND LITTLE

It served us right for signing a cowardly, amateurish and impossible treaty with one hand, and, with the other, an equally impossible Covenant to which the Allies had not given a moment's thought, and never on any important occasion showed the slightest intention of taking seriously.

But this Italian business is much more complicated. When Signor Mussolini, like the village black smith, looked the whole world in the face and told it to go to hell, he split it into irreconcilable factions, in which Pacifists always the most ferocious of the sects clamour for blood and iron, and Militarists, always terrified, declare that we must keep out of it at all costs. The conflicting moral attitude make comedy on a grand scale. The noblest attitude struck is that the issue is not between Haile Selassie and Benito Mussolini, but between supernatural law represented by the League of Nations and predatory nationalism, Fascism, and the ambition of a would-be Napoleon.

Our love of exalted moral attitudes responds rapturously to this. But there is a catch in it. Such a case against Italy is nothing if not logical, and the complete logic of the situation would not only involve the excitement of sending our young men to drop bombs on Rome and Florence, Venice and Verona, Ravenna and Padua where we spend such delightful holidays, but transfer to the League of New Zealand, Canada, Australia, India, Ceylon and our South African Dominions; in short, of all these territories of the British Empire which we have annexed precisely as Italy proposes to annex Abyssinia.

“I am following your example, gentlemen”, said the Duce when the point was raised. He might have added that imitation is the sincerest flattery.

To this we have not a word to say except that if there had been a League of Nations when we did these things we should of course never have dreamt of doing them. In which case there would have been no British Empire.

### XXXI. THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

So our slipping, in a mood of absent-minded abandon, into the robe of imperialism in the predatory, pre-League days of yore has involved us in a curious vicious circle. The logic of imperialism has the logic of League Convention by the tail, and we shall not be surprised to find the former eventually finish the latter by eating it up, head and tail. In spite of their rather obtrusive ring of cynicism, the last words of the article from which a few lines have been quoted above, will bear reproduction—

I suppose the Negus must fight because if he does not the tribes will possibly kill him for cowardice; but in the long run the bourgeois will win; and what is more, the European powers must take the bourgeois side and put pressure on the Negus even whilst they profess to put it on Il Duce. They must willy nilly be loyal to their civilization, such as it is. The Italians must allow us to slaughter the Momands, because, if we do not kill these warlike hillmen they will kill us. And we must allow the Italians to slaughter the Danakils for the same reason.

Meanwhile Chinese good manners and what is called British hypocrisy, always so touching in its perfect good faith, demand that we shall stand like rocks by the Covenant and by Sir Samuel Hoare and one another. The plight of England must be kept, however heartily Irishmen all over the globe may laugh at that way of putting it. We cannot of course act alone, it would be treachery to the League to do so, but we shall go to war unhesitatingly in the interest of peace, the moment all the other League powers do the same. To prepare for that contingency we shall arm ourselves to the teeth with all possible haste. Vickers and Sir Basil Zaharoff will flourish; employment will increase; and I shall get doubled interest on my little savings. Meanwhile the Lion of Judah can depend on us to give the Duce a very severe lecturing from Geneva if he persists in following our example rather than our precepts. This will be our official attitude.

Our real attitude is summed up in Lady Houston's thrilling words, "Damn the League of Nations!" That is almost unlady like; but it is thoroughly sound. The League will have to be born again and born differently, before it can deal with resolute men who know its present importance—( or impotence ? )

### XXXII. "WHITE HYPOCRISY"

For our part, we do not believe that the public homage so lavishly paid, to the League in Great Britain or elsewhere, is chiefly attributable to British or other White hypocrisy. Of course, under existing conditions, a great deal of stage-acting or playing to the home or international gallery must be there. But the existing complications are only 25 p. c. due to stage-acting and 75 p. c. to the irresistible pull and push and utter helplessness. The actors are only in a very restricted sense and sphere free agents. They are bound hand and foot to the System and must slave to make pulp and fuel for it. Else, they will be cast away as so much "slag" or rubbish. The first step in the world's redemption from this slavery is to turn the light inwards, discover the vital tie-knots and locate the inner centres and fibers of its civic being in the grip of the moral paralysis which, so seriously, interferes with the human corporation seeking to express itself in normally healthy attitude and courageously correct behaviour.

### XXXIII. A DIFFERENT KIND OF CIVILISATION

This is the first step—making a clean breast of it all. This is not so easily done as said. But it has to be done. And the first step will have to be followed by others. We must return to an ethics which is not summed up by "Chinese good manners and British hypocrisy." Primitive sincerity combined, if need be, with savage manners will be better. That will hardly consist with "civilisation" such as it is. But what is civilisation such as it is worth if it hold us prisoners in the cracking and bursting crater of an all-world volcano? We require a different kind of civilisation.

### XXXIV. "A TIMELY LEVER"

In this Introduction we have introduced matters which do not, ordinarily, find a place in introductions of this kind. But we have no apology to offer for this. India, with the rest of the East and Far East, has already found herself in the cracking and bursting crater of the volcano. She has, of course, still her own ancient civilisation which, had it been free to function, would have kept her out of it. But that civilisation has not been free to function, and even if it were, the present entanglements of world forces would not permit any country or civilisation, however pacific in its intent or content, keeping out of

the fray. But if it be vital and true to itself, it may be used as a timely lever by which the world can be lifted out of the bottomless pit into which it has been fast sinking. India should, therefore, beware how she allows her noble and still alive civilisation to act and be reacted upon by modern forces. Her cultural subjection and her economic and political dependence will continue to make her a prime strain and stress centre in the present imperialist framework as she so long has been. It has been contended, and rightly so, that the subjection of India is a fact that has been at the bottom of much of the international dis-equilibrium and unrest and trouble. Not only British Foreign policy but nearly the whole of White (and recently also of Yellow) policy has been conceived and framed directly or indirectly with reference to India. If Britain must keep her Indian possession—with all the power and prestige and good things of the earth which this possession means—then, the sheer logic of the circumstances requires her to acquire sanctions, military or diplomatic, whereby her possession can be adequately safe-guarded. And if she acquires these sanctions, her neighbours cannot be expected to be merely looking on. And if they arm, plan and manoeuvre, we cannot expect the rest of the world to be merely looking on. So there is, naturally, a race not only in armament but also in diplomacy. France or Italy or Germany or Japan or any other country for the matter of that can not afford to live in isolation, cultural, political, or social, unconcerned and undisturbed.

#### XXXV. ISOLATION AND IMITATION

Every country claiming current value for its own distinctive civilisation and culture, should, therefore, create conditions under which its genius may be given a free play to evolve a Plan which, while realising all that is best in it, will, in the same act, make its contribution to the general good of the greatest possible value. Such a Plan keeps clear of isolation which is not possible and of imitation which is not desirable. There is no sense or value in India making herself "in the image of" Soviet Russia or Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany. Let hers be an original Self and Urge. Only such a Self will be of any value. The Indian National Congress, if it still dreams of its being the future Indian State, should so constitute itself, in spirit, in being and in becoming, that it may more and truly and vitally represent the Self and Genius of this ancient land. Indian Mussalmans, Christians and others can, without much difficulty, be fitted, along with the Hindu majority, into the framework of a common Indian Spirit and Purpose, if only the factors, external or internal, which cause, apparently more activity now than before, their disintegration and discord, can be counteracted. So far neither the Indian National Congress as a body nor the Socialist and other parties that are evolving inside or outside it, have bestowed a serious thought on the supremely vital question of what the distinctive nature of the Indian Genius may be and what Plan—comprehensive Plan—should naturally grow out of a healthy functioning of that Genius. In the last century, the Congress started its children's drill of political exercises under British Liberal drill masters. Lately, she has been taught some radical or socialist exercises too. But these exercises, though they have created a great deal of stir, health-giving

or otherwise, do not seem to have quite well suited her. She has been taught what has not altogether proved good and helpful to her constitution, because, throughout the course which has now extended over half a century, no thought has been given to what her constitution may be really like and what may really do good to that constitution, whatever it is in reality. She has been taught to move her limbs just as others are moving theirs. And even in imitation she has not been keeping abreast of others. Even in this she is hopelessly lagging behind. She is taking up what others have already discarded and left on the way. But this whole imbecile, humiliating and profitless business of imitating must cease. Terrorism, so flagrantly anti-Indian in spirit, method and outcome, has cropped up here because, for the last half a century or more, we have cowardly chosen the soft, dirty, flock-driving path of imitation, and while increasingly crying for freedom and self-determination, have systematically sold ourselves into slavery. We are selling ourselves into slavery still. Our "leaders," practically in all fields of activity, are still men who have ceased, for the most part, to believe in the Indian Genius, its current or prospective value, its distinctive methods. For the most part, they have switched off the current from their truly Indian batteries. Yet this current is, truly and vitally, the current of life. Their hastily improvised connections with the modern power houses of the West have not really made them or others live. The home current must be in full switched on—which, of course, does not mean that foreign connections must be severed or weakened. Nationalist Movements should be truly nationalist in inspiration and outlook, in plan and method. And in Indian Nationalism—the essence of which is a culture of utmost spiritual depth and breadth—will be found the deepest and broadest foundations upon which True Internationalism, as distinguished from the loose shaky unsound type of it now witnessed, will be based. It behoves our leaders to search for such foundations of greatest depth and breadth. That search has so far not been made. They have been looking about the other way.

### XXXVI. THE REALITY INDIA IS

The Congress has, so far, represented Indian Nationalism. But its representation has not so far been adequate or faithful. Because it has been largely out of contact with the Reality that India is. It has not conceived or executed its plans directly and intimately with reference to *this* India—her masses and classes, her ideals and methods, her traditions and temperaments, her conditions and needs, her possibilities and limits. The Congress has been a limited kind of success mainly for the same reasons which have made Indian Universities an indifferent success. Both have lacked ampler and more vital contact with the Reality. Both have suffered from an original sin of ignorance, and, therefore, of imagination and sympathy and power such as knowledge gives.

### XXXVII. ESSENTIAL CONTACT

If the Congress should fail to establish points of essential contact with the vital dynamism of Indian Reality and Potentiality—with all the past and future glory and all the present wretchedness, all the latent strength and all the patent weakness, which that Reality means—then,

she should be prepared for an end which, one way or the other, will not be deemed worthy by its conscience which still sits in judgment over its acts and tendencies. Its Council-entry programme will gradually gather momentum, and, in due course, weighted down with the policy of Office-acceptance, it will find itself moving irresistibly down-hill into the cool, sequestered vale of sanity and sobriety strewn with the shady and secluded graves of many an easy-going Indian "ism", basking in the sun of official favour in its day and will possess but an antiquarian value and interest in the fossil wings of the museum of living history. In that case, as it moves farther and farther on in this course of softening in life and hardening in death, it will be a factor of increasingly dwindling power index, for good or for evil, until, at the natural completion of the course of degradation, it will have become a cypher in the Indian calculus of vital probabilities. Even as that it will have, however, some value. Indian moderatism, though (as its critics allege) practically a cypher in some respects, proves, nevertheless, a sort of trump card sometimes in the hand of the Indian Dispensation. It can depend upon it that, after due protests and petitions, it will fail us not when the time comes for work and no more talk with respect to any scheme, good, bad or indifferent, that may be offered. Recently, another trump card, amazingly decisive in the game, has come handy. It is Indian Communalism. But it is not a cypher apart from bureaucratic backing. It is often a factor of positive mischief. Now, the question is this—Is the Congress—a national institution of power and promise—going ultimately to be a cypher? That will depend upon whether it is going to make elections and offices its main concern for the present and its sole concern ultimately. Will it permit itself to forget in the artificial heat of the Legislative Chamber that the Dynamo that must evolve sanctions, sufficient and adequate unto the purpose of Indian Swaraj, *Purna* or naturally growing into such, cannot be possibly fed and worked by the "energy" which the Council Chamber or even the Polling Booth under existing or proposed conditions can be expected to generate. Do you or do you not practically turn your back upon the door of the power house where the required energy must be generated to work the Dynamo? If you do, the artificial heat of the Chamber will not long arrest your freezing into death, and transforming ultimately into mummies or dummies. Then, like some other cyphers, both here and elsewhere, you will count only when "on the back" of real numbers.

#### XXXVIII. OTHERS WILL COUNT

But the Dynamo will still be operated by others. And these others will then count. Either the Left Wing of the Congress, growing in bulk and power, will devour the Right and the Centre, just as Indian Extremism grew to devour Moderatism and Liberalism. Or, as it is more likely, the Congress will cast off its worn-out brown bureaucratic skin, and continue to live and thrive as a new Thing. In either case, the grown Thing or the new Thing will be an essentially different Thing. It may discard not only the skin of present-day Congress methods but even the skeleton of present-Congress ideology. This transformation has already set in. There is no denying it or stopping it absolutely. But Congress should have the vision to visualise what has been coming and the strength to guide and control the process. Because its form will

otherwise be such as the Congress should not like. What will be its form and its function?

### XXXIX. THE SOCIALIST WING

It is always unsafe to hazard a prophecy, but unless the signs and indications are quite misleading, we are going fast in for a future Indian unrest and movement which, unless wisely guided and effectively controlled, will burst its present dams and leave its present channels, and overflow into others which the Congress, chiefly under the leadership of Gandhiji, has so far, with no mean success, tried, to lock out. The Socialist Wing of the Congress has been growing for some time and fluttering its young feathers. Indian Socialism has already dragged the Congress into the fire of radical criticism. Its capitalist outlook and bourgeois methods have offended its more radical critics, and even its great prestige has not made it immune from attack, directed both from within and from without. The revolt from within is still within the bounds of organisation and discipline. But unless the Congress as a body is prepared to move faster than it has done in the direction of the Karachi Resolution on the Fundamental Rights, the probabilities are that it will be ultimately left on the road to vegetate and stagnate as a narrow and effete class organisation. And it is quite likely that Indian Socialism, severed from the Congress, will itself overstep the bounds--as regards both ideology and methods--to which it has so far thought fit to confine itself. It will be more and more assimilated to Western Communism, and this may hold on to non-violence not as a creed but only as a matter of policy. Between Indian Radicalism of this new brand and the Violence Party which already exists, the difference as regards ideology may continue to exist, and may be accentuated but the difference as regards *modus operandi* will, perhaps, gradually diminish until it becomes practically nil. It is quite possible, for instance, that whilst the ideology of the one will be Communist, that of the other will be Fascist. But both may think of cutting with violence and not peacefully untying the Indian gordian knot. The Congress has been there not only to keep balance between the opposing extreme tendencies, but to inspire the Indian ideology with the best visions of the True, Good and Beautiful in the individual and in society which the Genius of India has realised in its philosophy and religion and culture and, in the light of that vision, to purify and ennoble the Indian method of emancipation and achievement which, in its turn, will purify and ennoble the method of emancipation and achievement all over the world. This is a high mission. But the Congress must take it up. Only thus can it justify its existence. And for this it should not only revise and re-earn its political, economic and social sanctions, but also others that are moral or spiritual. The Congress had, perhaps, been given the right orientation to move right up to this achievement, but it was knocked a side. Is it likely that it will be shunted and side-tracked while the Mail of Indian Liberation steams past and tears on to its destination?

### XL. MOTHER CONGRESS

The Socialist Party still forms a limb of the Congress. But already there seems to be precious little love lost between the young limb and the old parent organ. Yet there are reasons why the one should not be separated from the other. The connection with the young, vigorous

socialist limb will, evidently, mean a supply of ever fresh blood to the half-a-century old Congress Body. It will not permit the attention or the energy of the Congress to be diverted from an earnest grappling with the problem of all problems—a just and equitable readjustment of the economic and social relations of the classes and masses in India. Apart from such effort being constantly made, Congress political activity is likely to gradually degenerate into futility and impotence. The springs of the Congress Urge will, in that case, be less and less ample until they dry up altogether. On the other hand, Indian Socialism will be wise to allow itself to be hatched under the wings of Mother Congress. Those wings will shelter and nurse. Refusing their shelter, the young brood can hardly be expected to be able to weather the "storm" that has been blowing all the world over.

#### XLI. FIRST REASON

In the first place, there is the danger of its drifting, before its time, into the whirl-wind of inter-nationalism and, there, finding its existence as a distinct Indian entity engulfed, shattered to pieces and quite lost. In other words, it may find itself braving the "cosmic elements" without first having provided itself with timber and metal duly seasoned in nationalism, and with rudder and compass tested and tried in the same work-shop. The Ottawa Pact, for instance, may be a good idea so far as the politically and economically equal partners of the British Empire are concerned. But what sense is there in a brass vessel and an earthen vessel making a pact to float tied together in the stream? India must first earn the necessary political and other sanctions, before she can expect to be a factor that shall tell in the international sphere. She now already enjoys the position of an "original" member of the League of Nations. But this does not avail her. Germany or Japan can get out of the League or get in without much ado according as the one act or the other best suits her. She has sanctions for either. Italy is still in the League and kicking at it because she has, or believes she has, sanctions enough to counter the League sanctions that may be applied against her. Soviet Russia, in theory, is the most ardent apostle of Inter-nationalism to-day. But she has taken good care to first make her position secure and strong as a distinct national entity. She even refuses to muddle in others' affairs. In the case of India, where this entity is only in the process of being developed, a very substantial part of the available energy must be spent for the distinct purpose of completing the process and the requisite energy should not be diverted from it and thrown, for example, into what is called class struggle. Class adjustment may be your final objective; but you cannot march up to it without taking up your first, second and third lines of movement, and consolidating each as you advance. At the same time, you cannot take your eyes away from the final objective; and you must make sure at each point as it is reached that you are really making for the goal. No Socialistic thought and programme should not only be suffered to remain in Congress Counsels, but they should be invited and justly entertained.

#### XLII. SECOND REASON

In the second place, though as regards its method, the Congress has been accused of sometimes straying from the path of constitutiona-

lism, yet, in the main, it has kept as close as possible to non-violence, and clean, strait and open dealing. In this respect, it has, on common admission, opened up new avenues of possibilities as regards human societies striving to move on towards their goal of freedom, justice and brotherhood. It is up to all communities and classes to earnestly try these new avenues of human political and socio-economic approach. In the past, even the path of religion has, in many places, lain through strife, discord and bloody persecution. Political and economic settlement has, in the last resort, been effected by the arbitration of the sword. Can it possibly be effected by the method of sacrifice and voluntary suffering? Congress activities have, of late, sought to bring the issue down to the realm of practical proposition. Of course, the Congress has not reached its objective. Nobody can say when it will. Swaraj in a year or a decade or a century, is not a categorical but a conditional proposition. But whatever be the actual time table, the Congress has demonstrated—some will say, demonstrated to satisfaction—at least this that there is an way to the goal on which you can move without having to return in kind the fire and brimstone which those who may bar your way and oppose your advance hurl at you. The Violence Party, here or elsewhere, whether Fascist or Communist, do not believe that this is, in the long and desperate run, practical proposition. They, in India, have not booked with the Congress. If Indian Socialism book with the Congress, it will think it at least prudent and convenient to travel with the Congress and not with violent revolutionism. But if it do not book with the Congress, it is more likely that it will not be so particular as to the kind of route it should decide to follow or the kind of conveyance it should prefer to choose. And this is a prospect not desirable from the point of view of those who think that, in having to march towards our goal, we shall do well to be particular as to the kind of route, conveyance and fellow passengers we choose.

#### XLIII. ANOTHER REASON

There is another reason why Socialism should not think of breaking away from the Congress. The Congress is, or hopes to be, a national organisation which will not only represent all factors and all tendencies devoted to the service of common national interests, but it will co-ordinate them with one another, so that they may all act helpfully in a concerted manner. Apart from such an organising and co-ordinating power, they cannot be expected to act in discipline and harmony for the furtherance of the national interests. They may even fight and defeat one another. And India has fared so badly in the past, and is faring so badly to-day, because of the absence of a sufficiently strong and accommodating harmonising power. It is for this that the so-called Round Table Conference has failed; it is for this that the so-called All Parties Conferences have failed; and it is for this that the so-called Communal Decision is still sitting tight on our back and gripping our neck with its logs like the old man of the island in the Sindhabad story.

#### XLIV. STILL ANOTHER

As a corollary to the above we have this. As the Congress must include all parties, it must try to come to an understanding with them. all. And this we mean not in the ordinary business or diplomatic sense.



The Congress must define its fundamental position, which should be reasonably broad enough to accommodate all parties that are open to conversion, where and to the extent necessary, by a reasonably comprehensive and sound common national ideology and plan. In this sense, even the party of violence may be accommodated within the common national framework, provided it holds itself open to persuasion and conversion in the manner indicated. In other words, it should be the constant endeavour of the Congress as the common national organisation to convert all refractory factors and divergent tendencies to a common, dynamic national belief and action. Its attitude in relation to violence, communism, communalism, and so forth, should not be passive. It should seize upon them all and try to transmute and assimilate them all. Else, they will grow independently—and, possibly, as foes and not as friends of the Congress and of one another.

And there is this last consideration. We have spoken of the Genius of India and the distinct, original contribution it made in the past to the store-house of world civilisation, and the distinct, original contribution it is destined to make to the civilisation and well-being of the future. This is no mere idle dream. If the Congress is to pass the final test, it must, in its heart of heart, dream this dream, make others dream it, and prepare itself and others to realise the dream. This should be its chief inspiration. It should share this inspiration with all the workers in the field. The field is as vast as it is interesting. We are all working—those of the Congress and those not of it—without making anything like a comprehensive and intensive survey of the field. We do not know the Reality that India is. And we have hardly a suspicion of the Power that India is. We are still in the frog hole of ignorance and self-deception. We have, sometimes, heard the Call of the Ocean or fancied that we have heard it, but, in any case, we have heeded it not. We have not yet put ourselves in the right track that shall lead us to it. The Congress hole has been a big hole, but still it has been a hole. Of late, it has been stagnating. The Congress should now be out to find the track leading to the Sea. And so long as the Sea is not reached, there will be no real, free and open commerce with the rest of the world. A programme to restore a vital, intensive contact with the Reality and Power that India has been and still is—is the supreme need of the hour. Will the Congress fail us in this hour of need? If it should, a New Spirit and a New Form will arise which will prick the half a century old Congress bubble into unsubstantial nothingness. If the Congress do not throw itself heart and soul into the kind of releasing, restoring, reforming and reorganising work of which we have spoken, the chances are that, ere long, it will find itself made into a kind of new *Dohu ka laulu*. Or, will it prefer to be a Simla fog? Or, both?

#### XLV. CONGRESS OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

That the shade we have laid on the above dark prognosis is not needlessly too thick, will appear from the observations of those who are in the "thick of the battle." Babu Rajendra Prasad has, recently, described the official programme of the Congress in these words:—"The Congress is wedded to a constructive programme and it is two-fold. One is the promotion of mutual good will, harmony and friendship amongst the people of the country, and the other is the redemption of the poverty

of the people by the revival of the dead or dying industries." This is very good. But commenting on this the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in a recent issue writes—

Assuming that a war-like programme like Civil Disobedience, or non-co-operation, beyond practical politics at the present moment, it does not follow that the Congress has no alternative but to be welded to a programme the working of which leaves no difference between Congressmen and the social service workers. Promotion of mutual good-will, harmony and friendship among the people of the country cannot be achieved by repeating it as a slogan. When we come to realities what do we find? There is at the present moment an acute communal tension in some parts of the country. The Communal Award has originated it and has been accentuating it. But what does the Congress propose to do to have the Award withdrawn or neutralize the effects of the Award? There is no move of which we are aware to explore the possibilities of minimizing the evil effects of the Award. The much talked of Constituent Assembly has receded far into the background. It has even ceased to be mentioned in Congress circles. The atmosphere is not favourable for it. What, however, can be done to induce the proper atmosphere? In none of the speeches of Bahu Bexandra Prasad or any Congress leader do we find the suggestion of any practicable means.

Then, again, the following lines from the same paper and the same article will also bear reproduction—

However difficult the situation may be, it will not do for the premier political organization to look on helplessly. Mahatma Gandhi has withdrawn from leadership of the Congress. It was his exclusive privilege to do all the thinking. But is thinking to be done by nobody else in Congress leadership to-day? How long can the Congress hope to thrive on past memories and achievements? It must either be forward or decay. There can be no halt for it. If the so-called constructive programme is to be pursued, let it be pursued with vigour and energy and on well thought-out lines. The country looks to the Congress for a lead. Indulgence in platitudes is not a lead.

## XLVI. THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

The constructive work—in both the parts—will have to be done principally in the villages. Very little of real, enduring work can be done by mere wire-pulling (propaganda as it is called) from the urban centres to which most of the leaders cling leech-like, and which have cast their siren spell even on the rank and file of the army of Congress workers. The vast rural desert continent of India must be watered and made an earthly paradise by working the hoses from the ample springs of exuberant nationalism and philanthropy located in the few scattered urban oases! The whole mentality has to be transformed. Mahatmaji himself has recently made some very pertinent observations on this mentality. But it is not merely a 'fear complex' that makes the worker shun the village. He is still sub-consciously in love with the city, and, in spite of his protests to the contrary, he has not yet seriously thought of transferring that love to the village. If his love were in the right place, he would not mind much the 'privations' of a life in the village to which Mahatmaji refers. As a matter of fact, for an ordinary worker with his half-a-penny ever vanishing from him, the city life usually means a life of privations of a more graceless, merciless and cheerless kind. In the city he must usually live in a dirty dingy, smoky hovel from which God's light and air and sky have been externed; and he must dine in a public den which has made a speciality of the culinary art with the cheapest of food futilities and the wildest of food toxins. The atmosphere is unredeemably dark, but it is charged with undying thrills. Those thrills are the very vital breath of his young nostrils, and he lives on them and for them. The thrills spread over a variety

of psychic notes—in fact, over a whole gamut. The countryside is so dull, so uninteresting! We so much miss the thrills. But we do not propose to play on them. We reproduce the following at length from Mahatmaj's "Fear Complex":—

Many workers are so frightened of village life that they fear that if they are not paid by some agency they will not be able to earn their living by labouring in villages, especially if they are married and have a family to support. In my opinion this is a demoralizing belief. No doubt, if a person goes to a village with the city mentality and wants to live in villages the city life, he will never earn enough unless he, like the city people, exploits the villagers. But if a person settles in a village and tries to live like the villagers, he should have no difficulty in making a living "by the sweat of his brow". He should have confidence that if the villagers who are prepared to toil all the year round in the traditional unintelligent manner can earn their living, he must also earn at least as much as the average villager. Thus he will do without displacing a single villager, for he will go to a village as a producer, not as a parasite.

The fact is the villagers have lost all hope. They suspect that every stranger's hand is at their throats and that he goes to them only to exploit them. Divorce between intellect and labour has paralysed their thinking faculty. Their working hours they do not use to the best advantage. The worker should enter such villages full of love and hope, feeling sure that where men and women labour unintelligently and remain unemployed half the year round, he working all the year round and combining labour with intelligence, cannot fail to win the confidence of the villagers and earn his living honestly and well by labouring in their midst.

"But what about my children and their education?" says the candidate worker. If the children are to receive their education after the modern style, I can give no useful guidance. If it be deemed enough to make them healthy, sinewy, honest, intelligent villagers, any day able to earn their livelihood in the home of their parent's adoption, they will have their all-round education under the parental roof and withal they will be partly earning members of the family from the moment they reach the years of understanding and are able to use their hands and feet in a methodical manner. There is no school equal to a decent home and no teachers equal to honest virtuous parents. Modern high school education is a dead weight on the villagers. Their children will never be able to get it, and thank God they will never miss it if they have the training of the decent home. If the village worker is not a decent man or woman, capable of conducting a decent home, he or she had better not aspire after the high privilege and honour of becoming a village worker.

#### XLVII. SANCTIONS FOR SWARAJ

Of course, the Congress must possess a virile programme—"fighting" as well as constructive. Fighting the elections and the bureaucracy is but the least part of the "fight". The kind of political education which the country may be given by such fight is of secondary importance apart from a process being carried out simultaneously which really creates, develops and organises its fighting power. Apart from this process, and not as part and parcel of this process, the so-called fight in the polling booth or in the Council may even produce results contrary to those desired. It may actually distract, dissipate and weaken. By such a 'mock fight' alone you cannot create or earn the necessary sanctions for Swaraj. It is like providing thrills and excitements to a constitution with a weak heart and poor nerves. More attention should be paid to the building of the heart and nerves. This is not to say that you are to let alone the elections. There are fighters who fight their very best in the Councils and only their second best elsewhere. Others fight equally well when and so long as there is something like fight going on; but they cannot breathe their full anywhere behind the 'front', where reserves and supplies are stocked and developed, and where plans and preparations are made and perfected. For such of them we must

provide a Parliamentary Board. Otherwise, with some of them, Othello's occupation will be quite gone. But the war front is not the most vital part of the war. Irrespective of reserves and supplies, plans and preparations, it is a mere bluff which leads nowhere save to ridicule and grief.

The only alternative to fighting the elections is not civil disobedience or any other form of direct action. It is so only to those who must live on perpetual thrills. In some cases at least, it only shows the "nerves". It is well to remember that Swaraj cannot be "rushed" either through Councils or through prisons or gallows. It has got to be earned. And it will be earned when full qualifications for it have been earned or the full price for it has been paid. So stated it is a platitude, but even platitudes have sometimes to be driven home. Russia, Turkey or any other country may have "rushed" its Plan in recent times. But the qualifications have been ready or nearly ready in every case. The most notable latest case is that of the Nazi revival of Germany after its smash during the Great War. But we should not run away with mere appearances. The "smash" of Germany after the War was terrible, but it was the fall of a giant only stunned by a heavy blow. But India has been suffering from a wasting disease for centuries, and is to-day, not only the sick and skinny man of the East, but the sickest and skinniest man of the whole world. We believe he still possesses untold reserves of vitality and strength. But we do not yet know where to look for them. We have tried some massaging and have given even some subcutaneous injections of late. The result has been a great deal of peripheral excitement which, however, has proved both spasmodic and short-lived. It has been followed by even depressing reactions. We ought to be sure by this time that we are following not the right treatment. We must think out a course of radical treatment, and have the courage to follow it up.

#### XLVIII. THE REAL FIGHT

The real fight is with the deep disease spots in the constitution itself. Communalism, Terrorism, Defeatism among a host of others, are the obtrusive symptoms. These can be palliated and ultimately removed only by promoting and developing powerful "anti bodies", some of which Mahatmaji is never tired of suggesting, but of which, of late, we are having a most unfortunate and depressing dearth of supply in us. Communalism or Terrorism or any other unfavourable feature cannot be removed by mere talk in twos and threes or even in hundreds and thousands. Heart and soul contact with communities, parties and persuasions must, to some extent, be established before parleys and conferences will be productive of fruitful and helpful pacts. And contacts can be established only through day-to-day work and service side by side. Nothing else will open the eye or draw the heart. Communalism and other troubles are cropping up precisely because old ties of fellowship, established through centuries of mutual understanding, co-operation and service, have been snapping under the strain and stress of modern conditions, while the cement of new bonds which modern conditions should favour, has not been allowed to set. In a typical Bengal village, for instance, communalism had almost been transmuted and untouchability almost sublimated by the touchstone of the community of village social and cultural life and by living and

ver-active heart-touch and soul touch all round, before the process was disturbed and counteracted by some of the discordant modern factors. A Brahmin and a Chundala would not then usually mix in the sense we are now mixing in railway cars or even in restaurants. But both formed—in consciousness, feeling and action—members of one *family*. They shared their joys, and sorrows, and were united in life and death. One would not eat his meal allowing the other to starve or starve himself. One could not suffer without the other caring for him and looking after him. This is heart-touch. The touch of this touch-stone had almost transmuted into gold the base metal of so called untouchability in Bengal. We have lost the touchstone and are now throwing out the gold in exchange for what? Let Dr Ambedkar answer, if he will. Almost the same remarks will apply to the Hindu and his Moslem brother.

It is true that some sort of disturbance in the old, "happy" order was inevitable in any case under the action of the modern ferment which has stressed the right, more than the duties of every individual, group or community. We have now tasted the fruit of the forbidden tree and are smirking under a sense of injustice done *to* us, but the sense of injustice done *by* us has been comfortably kept in abeyance. In other words, we are not just as keen on what *we* owe to others as on what *others* owe to us. There has been too much ignorance and so much injustice for the old order to remain a permanent framework for adjustment. Still the old brand of cement that held together even "so much ignorance and injustice" in concord and peace was good. We are not sure that the new foreign brand will be better or even equally good when both ignorance and injustice are supposed to have been considerably lessened. As a matter of fact, a great deal of ignorance and injustice is sure to remain over after any deal in any case. An ethics of duty and service and not one of right and barter should prove our last solvent.

#### XLIX. THE FOUR FOLD PROGRAMME

At the end of the General Introduction—in which we have, for reasons which need not here be set forth, mainly dealt in "pious generalities"—we can hardly undertake anything like a charting of a definite programme for our public bodies to follow. As to the general lines again, we may just conclude our remarks by saying that such a programme must be four-fold to cope with the actual reality and to be effective as a lead to what we aspire to make it. The four parts of the Plan are inter-dependent, and so, must be worked together. First, the Political Part. Politics is a modern obsession, still it is essential. It is essential even in the teeth of the dictum that a subject nation has no politics. It must learn to swim in political waters, placid or troubled, by actually being in them. Part of the political work will consist of election and Council work. But only the ~~part~~ part part of it. The more vital part will consist of a ceaseless endeavour being made to teach the masses and classes to be self-reliant and to manage their own affairs as far as possible without let or hindrance; to promote a community of interests and a co-ordination of efforts: and by their combined

capacity and cohesion of the Indian masses, classes and communities have to be developed by intensive work. Lots of political thinking together with the kind of intensive work all over the field will be needed. Our organisations must be equal to the task. We do not make a particular mention of the "outdoor" work in Indian politics—that is, work to be carried on outside India.

The Second Part is Economic. This should consist of work—both legislative and field work—whereby not only economic relief and amelioration, so badly needed, can be brought to the people, but their material relations to one another can be readjusted on a just and equitable basis. That is to say, without actually adopting the Communist programme—which must be re-inspired and revised with respect to the Indian genius and Indian conditions—we should try to take as much good and "wild" wind out of the Communist sail as possible. We should prepare and be ready with our alternative solution of the Communist Problem. The Third Part is intensive Social Service Work. For rendering such service, we must put ourselves into actual living contact—touching all vital material and spiritual points—with the people for and with whom we mean to work. The Fourth Part relates to the work of consolidation and conciliation. India, from time immemorial, has been the home of diversities. But Indian Culture and Civilisation have been found to possess the "magical" virtue by which diversities have been made to round off their angularities and smooth their surfaces of contact so as to form components of a Grand Synthesis. This has been a special gift of the Indian Genius. But conditions have materially changed now. The diversities, instead of being components, are becoming opponents of one another. Illustrations will be found everywhere. Now, our great task is to see to it that they remain helpful components and exponents of one another. Forces and tendencies have to be reconciled where necessary, and brought to a vital focus. Connected with this is the supreme task of National Education in the broadest and soundest sense of the term. And the leaders and workers must educate themselves first and most of all. The school of actual service, which, in the real sense, must mean sacrifice and suffering, is, of course, the best school. But besides this, one must get oneself to *know* the Indian Soul and Constitution and *love* and *cherish* what is true, good and beautiful in them. Without such knowledge and such love, one cannot *truly* serve India or the rest of the world. At present, Indian leadership, for the most part, has not earned the necessary qualifications for this kind of service. It is a service which *all* Indians can render, if and to the extent they are *fit*. Even foreigners—and most of all the Britishers—can and should render this service by earning the necessary qualifications. The supreme test by which our British connection must be judged lies in this. Whether England's past achievements in India of her future plans in regard to India should or should not be judged to be of value, is also an issue that must be similarly decided. Indian Nationalism and Indian Government must both live upon real credit and by real sanctions. (*Specially contributed by Prof. Pramathanath Mukhopadhyay.*)

**Proceedings of**

**The Legislative Assembly**

**The Council of State**

**and**

**The Provincial Councils**

**JANUARY TO JUNE 1935**





# THE COUNCIL OF STATE

## LIST OF MEMBERS

*President* The Honourable Sir  
MADHUL PRASAD PRASAD

### *Nominate* (a) Officials—(11)

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. D. MAHAJAN
2. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. W. CHANDRA
3. THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. SHARMA
4. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SHARMA
5. THE HONOURABLE MR. B. L. CHANDRA
6. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. C. THAKUR
7. THE HONOURABLE MR. T. SINGH
8. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHARAJA
9. THE HONOURABLE MR. J. N. G. JOHN
10. THE HONOURABLE MR. J. N. G. JOHN
11. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. G. JOHN
12. THE HONOURABLE MR. T. M. DOW

### From Berar—(1).

THE HONOURABLE MR. GANESH CHANDRA KHAPARDE

### (b) Non-officials—(14)

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
2. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
3. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
4. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
5. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
6. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
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11. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
12. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
13. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.
14. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. D. D.

### *Elected* Non-officials—(33)

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. ANNA-  
NATH CHANDRA
2. THE HONOURABLE MR. YARLAGADU  
RANGASWAMY NAIDU

3. THE HONOURABLE MR. V. C.  
VILLINGRI GOVINDAR
4. THE HONOURABLE MR. BANADUR  
G. NARAYANA SWAMI
5. THE HONOURABLE MR. SAHAB MOHAMMED  
PANDIT SAHIB BANADUR
6. THE HONOURABLE MR. SARDAR SHRI  
JAGANNATH MAHARAJ PANDIT
7. THE HONOURABLE MR. SANTIDAR  
A. KIRAO
8. THE HONOURABLE MR. PHIROZ C.  
SINGH
9. THE HONOURABLE MR. SARDAR SAHIB SIR  
SOLIMAN CAJIM HAJI MIHA
10. THE HONOURABLE MR. KHAN BANADUR  
ALI BUKSH MOHAMMED HISSAIN
11. THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER
12. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAGADISH  
CHANDRA BANTRIFE
13. THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMAR NRIPENDRA  
NARAYAN SINGH
14. THE HONOURABLE MR. SATYENDRA  
CHANDRA GHOSH MAULIK
15. THE HONOURABLE MR. KHAN BANADUR  
SYED ABDUL HAFEEZ
16. THE HONOURABLE MR. MAHMOOD  
SHARAWARDA
17. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. R.  
CAMPELL
18. THE HONOURABLE MR. BANADUR LALA  
MAHENDRA PRASAD MEHROTRA
19. THE HONOURABLE MR. BANADUR LALA  
JAGADISH PRASAD
20. THE HONOURABLE MR. PANDIT PRAKASH  
NARAYAN SINGH
21. THE HONOURABLE MR. KHAN BANADUR  
HAJIZ MUHAMMAD HALIM
22. THE HONOURABLE MR. SHAIKH MUSHIR  
HOSSAIN KIDWAI
23. THE HONOURABLE MR. BANADUR LALA  
RAMSARAN DAS
24. THE HONOURABLE MR. SARDAR BUTA  
SINGH
25. THE HONOURABLE MR. KHAN BANADUR  
NAWAB CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD DIN
26. THE HONOURABLE MR. RAJA GHANSHYAM  
ALI KHAN
27. THE HONOURABLE MR. BANADUR  
KAPKA KRISHNA JALAN
28. THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMA RAGHUNANDAN  
PRASAD SINGH
29. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSEAIN  
JAM
30. THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V.  
KALIKAR
31. THE HONOURABLE MR. SRIJIT HERAMBA  
PRASAD BARUA
32. THE HONOURABLE MR.
33. THE HONOURABLE MR.

# Proceedings of the Council

**BUDGET SESSION—NEW DELHI—11th. FEBRUARY to 17th. APRIL 1935**

The Budget session of the Council of State opened at New Delhi on the **11th. February 1935** with *Sir Maneji Dadabhoy* in the chair.

After questions Mr. *Hallett* introduced the Bill to further amend the Cinematograph Act of 1918, after which the Council adjourned.

**J. P. C. REPORT DEBATE.**

**12th FEBRUARY**—The three-days debate in the Council of State on the J. P. C. Report commenced this morning with nine amendments on the agenda.

The Progressive Party, which constituted the chief opposition in the House, tabled the following amendment last night in the name of their leader, *Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das*. That for the original motion the following be substituted, namely,

(1) That the scheme of Constitutional Reforms formulated in the J. P. C. Report is entirely unacceptable to this Council and to the bulk of the people of India and this Council, therefore, recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he may be pleased to inform His Majesty's Government that the Council deems that legislation based on the report should not be proceeded with.

This Council further urges that immediate steps should be taken to frame a Constitution which would establish real responsible government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

(2) This Council does not deem it expedient to express any opinion on the Communal Award.

**13th. FEBRUARY**—*Raja Gharunfarali Khan*, who had moved an amendment similar to that of Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Assembly, was the first speaker to-day.

Referring to provincial autonomy, the speaker recognised that the proposals were a definite advance over the existing conditions inasmuch as the removal of the official bloc and nominated members and the widening of the franchise were some distinct feature. He, however, objected to certain unnecessary safeguards and hoped that, in the face of a strong Cabinet of responsible Ministers, with a thumping majority behind them, the special powers of the Governors would become useless.

Dealing with the Central scheme the Raja felt that indirect election to the Federal Legislature was most objectionable and he wished that the British Government had even now realised the Indian demand and introduced direct election. The speaker emphasised that a Federal Legislature constituted by indirect election would be a nominated House of the Provincial Legislatures with no popular sanction behind it.

As for the Princes entering the Federation, the speaker did not object to their entry, but the method whereby the States would be represented in the Federal House was most objectionable. Firstly, the All-India Federation contemplated the elimination of the official and nominated bloc, but this alteration was vitiated by the Princes sending nominees to the Legislature.

*Syed Abdul Hafeez*, while acceding that the scheme was a great advance over the existing administration in the provinces felt that the powers reserved for Governors were too stringent. He objected to the Second Chamber in Bengal, where there was no landed aristocracy as in the United Provinces or Bihar.

*Raja Raghunandan Prasad* welcomed the scheme as a distinct improvement on the present reforms as it widened the franchise which would be helpful to raise the political consciousness of the masses. But the absence of Dominion Status in the preamble wounded the feelings of Indians who desired that India should remain within the Empire.

Mr. *Yamin Khan* (nominated U. P.) moving his amendment for working the scheme recalled the fate of the Report. Amid voices questioning his statements Mr. Yamin Khan maintained that Indian delegates at the Round Table Conference made a poor show and failed to produce an agreement. Even Mr. Gandhi who was the acknowledged leader of the great party failed hopelessly to come to an agreed solution on the communal problem.

Mr. *G. S. Khaparde* said whether they rejected or accepted the scheme the British Government's will would prevail and so the wisest course was to ignore several zigzags in the constitution and wait for the next opportunity.

*Sir N. Choksy* wanted insertion of Dominion Status in the preamble of the Act.

*Rai Bahadur Mathra Prasad Mehrotra* said that the proposed scheme taken as a whole was very unsatisfactory and it was hedged in by numerous safeguards and reservations directed definitely against Indian interests making the position of legislatures illusory and shadowy. The future railway authority would be under the Governor-General and popular Ministers would have no voice in the matter. The scheme proposed was dictatorship and not self-government. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

**14th. FEBRUARY** —The Council of State to-day rejected *Lala Ramsaran Das's* motion of not accepting the proposed constitutional reforms, by 36 against 10 votes, and accepted by 32 to 14 votes *Mr. Yamin Khan's* motion, which would give a fair trial to the new reforms.

*Sir Phiroze Sethna's* amendment for modifications of the J. P. C. proposals was negatived without division.

The first part of *Mr. Ghaznafar Ali's* motion accepting the Communal Award, until a substitute was found was passed by 31 to 13 votes whilst the other two parts of his amendments as regards the unsatisfactory character of the provincial scheme and the unacceptability of the Federal Scheme were rejected by 31 to 9 and 31 to 10 votes respectively. The three parts of his amendments like that of *Mr. Jinnah's* in the Assembly were voted on separately.

*Mr. Chari* then moved his amendment which ran into three clauses and on which debate was held separately according to the President's previous ruling.

The first clause stated that the council was opposed to the separation of Burma.

The second clause regretted that the council's recommendations made in the resolution of August 15 last regarding free entry of Indians into Burma and safeguards for Indians, Indian shipping and Indian companies on the same footing as British subjects and companies after separation has been ignored.

The third clause objected to the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary committee regarding the Governor-General's special responsibility as regards tariffs on Burmese goods, and the powers given to the Secretary of State to fix duties on goods imported and exported to and from India and Burma.

All the clauses were separately voted upon. The first clause was lost without a division and the second and the third were lost by 25 to 11 and 36 to 10 respectively.

*Mr. Yamin Khan's* motion for working the new reforms and *Mr. Ghaznafar Ali's* motion for accepting the Communal Award were then put to the vote together as a substantive motion and carried without a division. The House then adjourned till the 16th.

#### EXEMPTION OF CO-OP. SUGAR FACTORIES

**16th FEBRUARY** :—*Rai Bahadur Mathuraprasad Mehrotra* to-day moved his resolution urging exemption of the sugar factories established on co-operative lines from excise duty. The mover stressed that as the co-operative sugar factories stood to better conditions of the agriculturists engaged in cane cultivation by giving them a better price and advancing loans to them without interest for developing the cultivation of cane, it was highly desirable to give some assistance to those factories. That would promote the co-operative movement in the country and benefit the agricultural masses.

*Mr. V. C. V. Gounder* and *Diwan Bahadur Chetty* supported the motion.

*Mr. Talents*, replying, said that the revenue involved in the proposal was inconsiderable, but the principle underlying was of great importance. Co-operative factories were receiving sufficient protection as other factories and as they were meant for mutual benefit and not for profit, they should not get this special concession, as in that case, they might come in competition with other factories and give them cause for legitimate grievances.

On the Home Secretary's assurance that the representations received in this connection through local Governments would be considered by the Government, *Rai Bahadur Mathra Prasad Mehrotra* withdrew the resolution. The House then adjourned till the 18th.

#### INDIAN NATURALIZATION ACT AMEND. BILL

**18th. FEBRUARY** :—*Sir Guthrie Russell*, Chief Commissioner of Railways, presented the railway budget after which on the motion of *M. G. Hallett*, Home Secretary, the Bill amending the Indian Naturalization Act as passed by the Assembly was passed.

## CINEMATOGRAPH ACT AMEND. BILL

Mr. *Hallett*, moving consideration of the Bill to amend the Cinematograph Act, explained the necessity of censorship of cinema posters. He pointed out that with the increase of cinema houses in the country advertising by obscene posters in the street had become common which injuriously affected the morals of the people, particularly the younger generation. The Government had consulted various local governments and censoring authorities in India and he claimed that the measure was a simple one and would not cause any undue hardship to the cinema trade. The penalty for an offence under the Act extended to a fine of Rs 500 which was not unreasonable.

Concluding, Mr. *Hallett* urged the passage of the measure which intended to remove a very obvious evil.

*Syed Hossain Imam* asked the Government to postpone consideration by a fortnight to enable them in the meantime to consult the industry concerned, which suggestion was, however, not accepted.

Mr. *P. N. Saprú* on principle objected to censorship either of posters, pamphlets, films or books as censors were often proved to be eccentric in their views. Though India was backward inasmuch as not having self-government, she could at least progress in respect of social and other aspects with the rest of the world.

Mr. *Chait* supported the previous speaker. Raja Ghaznafar Ali asked whether the Government had information that indigenous films were exhibiting objectionable posters.

Mr. *Hallett* replied in the negative.

Raja *Ghaznafar Ali* urged that the indigenous industry which was of recent growth should not be penalised for an offence by foreign films. Therefore he asked for an assurance from the Government to confine the operation of the Bill for the present to foreign films only.

Mr. *Yamin Khan*, Mr. *Narainswami Chetty*, Sir *David Dwyer* and Sir *N. Chetty* supported the bill and held that delay would be harmful. Such censorship was an urgent necessity, particularly as India was not advanced like America or England.

The Bill was passed. The Council adjourned till Thursday, February 21.

## DEBATE ON RAILWAY BUDGET

**21st. FEBRUARY :—**Mr. *Hossain Imam*, initiating the debate on the railway budget, criticised the fact that the railways had increased the capital-at-charge without increasing their earning capacity. He urged that if no provision for a sinking fund was made they at least ought to augment the amount allotted to the depreciation fund. The speaker criticized the railway debt policy and the exchange rate on which the sterling debt operated. Mr. *Hossain Imam*, referring to the wagon purchase policy criticised that the accounts supplied to them did not show the distribution of wagons between the railways. He stressed the necessity to pursue economy in every department and at every step, even during the years of prosperity as they had large commitments to meet. Dealing with Muslim representation in the railways, the speaker held that the principle of 25 per cent. representation was not carried out to their satisfaction. In effect, it worked out at half of that percentage. The only way to remove this inequity was to fix a definite quota of 25 per cent, and those promoted to the upper grade should be limited to a certain proportion.

Mr. *Mahmood Suhrawardy* appreciated the reduction in the freight of coal, but asked the Railway Board to remember that coal was not the only article in goods traffic. There were so many, on which freight should be reduced. Efforts should be made to encourage both the importer and the exporter to use railways in preference to other carriers. Alluding to the communal representation in the services, he complained that the Bengal Muslims were generally ignored and preference had been given to the Punjab and U. P. Muslims.

Raja *Ghaznafar Ali* said that whatever improvements took place in the railways were due to the effect given by the Railway Member and the Chief Commissioner to the suggestions made in the central legislature. Such salutary control over the working of the railways would disappear with the proposed setting up of a Statutory Railway authority, which would be more an executive department than a commercial one. Regarding the loss on the strategic lines, he drew the attention of the Commander-in-Chief to Sir *Guthrie Russell's* observations in the budget speech. Raja *Ghaznafar Ali* wanted a separate department in the Railway Board to co-ordinate the efforts at seeing the redress of communal grievances in the railways of the country. He was not satisfied with the amenities provided for third class passengers on the N. W. Railway as compared with the G. I. P. Railway, the B. B. C. I. Railway and the E. I. Railway.

and said that something should be done to see that the agents of railways were more amenable to public criticisms.

Mr. *E. Miller* congratulated Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir Guthrie Russel on the financial result of the railways. Referring to tariffs, while he welcomed the forthcoming review of the classification of goods, he was concerned at the delay regarding the simplification of tariffs. He wanted the non-official opinion of commerce and trade to be consulted in this matter and asked whether this would be done before the final report of the special committee was presented to the Government or after that. As regards the manipulation of railway freights in competition with carriage of goods by sea between Indian ports, Mr. Miller said that it was not only unfair but financially unsound, as it struck at the very lifeblood of ports which depended for their very existence upon the seaborne trade. Referring to the rail-road competition, Mr. Miller welcomed the recent efforts at co-ordination. He said that where roads existed which ran parallel to the railway these would have to be maintained up to a standard to carry motor transport and missing links should be joined up. Without these arterial roads it would be impossible to develop feeder roads to link up interior towns and villages with the railway. All railways should welcome the decision of the Transport Advisory Council which would bring increased freight to the railway system. In future, however, the construction of roads should not be carried out parallel with the railway lines except for short distances through towns and villages where necessary to connect up with railway stations. Similarly, new railway lines should not be constructed parallel to the existing roads. Here, Mr. Miller pointed out the necessity of a Ministry of Communications with a view to ensuring co-ordination. Alluding to the expenditure on the rolling stock, Mr. Miller considered it was too small. He regarded third class passengers as the most paying of travellers and wanted a scheme for the modernization of the rolling stock spread over a period of years. As for the ticketless traveller, Mr. Miller considered that action was urgent and suggested an amendment of section 113 of the Railways Act in the current session, imposing a deterrent penalty. Concluding, Mr. Miller paid a tribute to Sir Joseph Bhore for his broad vision and hoped that he would hold a further important office in another part of the empire.

*Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das* hoped that a Ministry of Transport would be established as early as possible. He criticised the restoration of the salary cut even in railways which were a commercial proposition and which were yet running at a deficit. He pointed out that if the salary cut had not been restored and the loss on strategic lines borne by the Army department the Railway Budget would have been balanced. It was not merely a matter of sentiment or accounting but a matter of commercial necessity if the railways were to be run on a business proposition. Proceeding, *Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das* said that there should be no necessity of wagon construction for another year. As, however, construction had been sanctioned, he urged the authorities to see how far the carriage manufacturing industry in the country had benefitted by this new programme. He welcomed the reduction in coal surcharge but wished that this concession had been given an immediate effect. As regards the Muslim representation, the speaker complained that a bigger percentage had been given to them than the proportion allowed. (Several Muslim members interrupted but the President asked the speaker to proceed with his speech.) Concluding, *Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das* said that if the railways revised their policy of vending on railway stations they should not ignore the claims of those individual vendors who had been rendering service to the public for scores of years.

*Sardar Buta Singh* criticized the attempt that the railways in order to meet and remove road competition raised motor service into a monopoly. This was detrimental to the public interest. As regards the rolling stock, he did not see why railway workshops after nearly 100 years' experience should not produce all the requirements within the country itself. As they adopted the policy of standardization, this was much easier and such a course would be of great benefit for removing unemployment. Concluding, *Sardar Buta Singh* urged for greater co-operation among the railways and the local administrations to meet the traffic requirement.

*Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad* thought that the restoration of the salary cut was premature and unjustified. As regards the project on Kumaon railways he hoped that the Railway Board would take up the project at the early date. He complained of overcrowding in second class compartments and suggested certain improvements.

Mr. *Jagdish Chandra Banerjee* related at length the grievances of the third class travelling public and said: 'I know these will fall on deaf ears because the present railway administration in India is too wooden and too rotten from top to bottom,

Unless and until the Government changed their heart and tried to understand the public viewpoint the representatives of the people could never allow the Railway Budget to be passed. In the form wherein it was presented the budget would only be pampering the already pampered railway officials.

Mr P. N. Saprú pleaded for the cause of workers and suggested that the recommendations of the Whitley Commission regarding recognition by railways of trade unions and appointments of a joint standing committee be given effect to. He hoped that Sir Joseph Bhoré before retirement would make this contribution to ensure industrial peace (Applause). Mr. Saprú subjected the budget to a scrutiny from both the commercial and utility standpoint and said that strategic lines which were maintained for army purposes should be shown as a separate expenditure for defence which was the only straightforward system of accounting. He asked the Commerce Member to explain when and how the Government proposed to implement the Washington Convention regarding hours of work. As regards the road-rail competition, Mr. Saprú supported the recommendation of the Kirkness-Mitchell Committee. Referring to the Railway Authority, he thought that the future of Indian railways as envisaged in the Government of India Bill was not very bright and feared that the Governor-General would have a full sway over every detail and the Indian legislatures in future years would have lesser opportunities of criticism so far as railways were concerned. After describing over-crowding in third class traffic, the speaker pointed out the commercial opinion were emphatic in the unanymous condemnation of the policy of rates and fares. He hoped that the Railway Board would pursue the policy and act as a national organization in the national interest which must be the supreme consideration. Concluding, Mr. Saprú said that travelling had a greater educative value and every effort should be made to afford greater facilities and cheap return travel and greater amenities.

Sir David Devadoss said that considering that India was a poor country the Government should scrutinize every expenditure and spend only on productive works. He suggested that each railway should show the profit and loss account separately to enable them to form an opinion that the administration was run on a really commercial basis.

Mr. Haramba Prasad Barua urged the reduction of fares and related the grievances of the travelling public in Assam and Eastern Bengal Railways where many stations had no waiting rooms or other facilities. He also complained of the paucity of employment of the people in Assam on Railways.

Sir Joseph Bhoré, winding up the debate, made what is believed to be his last speech. He often times struck a personal note and assured the House that the points raised during the debate would be investigated. He emphasised that the lessons of economy learnt during the depression would prove enormous benefit to the railway administrations from year to year in future and that from the next year there would be no more deficits even though there might be temporary set-backs in railway finance. As regards the job analysis, he pointed out that by spending Rs. 3,36,000 on five railways they had saved over Rs. 20,00,000. These savings would be of a recurring character.

Referring to Raja Ghaznafar Ali's question about communal representation in services, Sir Joseph Bhoré said that definite instructions had been issued as regard percentages of Muslim recruitment. The Chief Commissioner would discuss with the agents of railways next month the machinery required to enforce these orders regarding recruitment.

#### REDUCTION OF BRITISH SOLDIERS

**25th. FEBRUARY :—***Rai Bahadur Mathura Prasad Mehrotra's* resolution urging a substantial reduction in the strength of British soldiers in India was defeated by 26 votes against 15 to-day.

Moving his resolution, Mr. Mehrotra urged a substantial reduction in the strength of the British soldiers in India. He said that India was spending the largest amount on the military forces compared with the Dominions, and not commensurate with her revenues. Sir Shadilal stated in the Capitation Tribunal report that India had been made the training ground for British soldiers at the expense of the country. "Why should this arrangement continue when Indians are too poor to afford this huge expenditure? Indianisation must be speeded up. Since 1917 there have been a total of 7,000 officers in the army, but of these only 195 Indian officers as compared with 7,000 British officers." Mr. Mehrotra referred to the Shea Committee's view that complete Indianisation in Army was possible, and asked why that view had not been

given effect to. Then, again, there was the Skeen Committee's recommendation that 50 per cent. of India's Army was to be Indianised in 20 years? During the war India was left out 15,000 British soldiers. Now, in peace time, could they not arrange to reduce the strength from 60,000 to 30,000? This was his specific request.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* said that Government as well as the people were powerless with regard to the cost of defence and the strength of British soldiers in India, as these questions were determined by the War Office and the Committee of Imperial Defence. The army in India was used only for Imperial purposes, and an independent judge would never hold that the present strength was maintained in the interests of India. India was not in a position to dictate the nature of duty which the Indian army was to perform. The least she could urge was that the British Army be substantially replaced by Indian army. The speaker complained that at present recruitment was confined to the northwest corner of India. If the present ratio of two to one was altered, there would be a great saving in the army budget. He urged the Government to make a representation to His Majesty's Government that India was unable to bear the burden any longer. He disfavoured the idea that Indian armies should remain in Burma when Burma was separated from India.

The *Commander-in-Chief* spoke for half an hour opposing the resolution. He said that it was not in the power of the Government of India to recommend to His Majesty's Government that either the rate of Indianisation be increased or the proportion of British soldiers to Indian soldiers be reduced.

Proceeding, His Excellency referring to the argument that the air force could be strengthened to reduce the land forces said that other nations had practically retained the same force of ground troops as they did before the War. And other nations were in a much graver danger of war in the air than India.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* had referred to the bogey that the scale of India's army was dictated by His Majesty's Government especially by the Committee of Imperial Defence. Mr. Imam asked whether the report of the Export Committee on which the recent decision was taken would be published.

The *Commander-in-Chief*: No. I can't do that any more than I can publish the report of the Rawlinson Committee. Both are confidential. In fact the Indian members of the Government in 1922 wanted that the report not to be published.

*Rai Bahadur Mehnatra* briefly replied and the resolution was rejected by 26 votes to 15.

#### PREVENTION OF FOREIGN RICE IMPORT

**27th. FEBRUARY:**—The Council of State carried without division the resolution of Mr. *Narayanaswami Chetty* urging Government to take immediate steps to prevent the import of foreign rice into this country and adopt other substantial measures to improve the present low prices of rice with a view to alleviate the lot of agriculturists. The amendment of *Syed Hossain Imam* definitely suggesting the imposition of a prohibitive import duty was rejected by 28 against 11 votes. Several members including a few from Madras either voted against it or remained neutral.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**2nd. MARCH:**—The galleries were well occupied to hear the general discussion of the budget to-day.

*Sir Phiroze Sethna* said that he had received telegrams from the commercial communities of Bombay and Calcutta welcoming Sir James Grigg's first budget as a very favourable one. He, therefore, discounted the press opinions on the budget. Sir Phiroze Sethna suggested that the new Finance Member should take up the question of fixing the rate of exchange at a figure which would prove to be of interest to the taxpayer as well as the agriculturists. Whatever motives might be attributed to the allotment of one crore of rupees for village uplift, it was a welcome decision and the speaker hoped that the figure would increase annually (hear, hear). Discussing the surcharge and income tax, Sir P. Sethna wished the reduction of the surcharge had been half instead of one-third and as regards the salary cut he wished it had been 2 and a half per cent. this year with a definite promise of complete removal next year. Incidentally, he referred to the interest on Government Paper and said that 3 and a half per cent. was popular and should remain so on irredeemable scrips. Several charitable organisations, including the Indian Research Fund Association, had invested their money in these papers and he hoped this rate would not be reduced. Generally speaking, the income tax and super-tax were higher in India than in any other country, except perhaps England, and this was the testimony of several life insurance com-

panies. There should, therefore, be an effort made to reduce the burden as occasion permitted. Lastly, Sir Phiroze Sethna alluded to Sir James Glegg's announcement that the additional import duty on salt would continue for one year but if the Assembly wished to remove it, he would have no objection to the removal. The speaker disputed this view as positively unfair to Indian merchants, who had sunk half a crore in Aden and also to salt manufacturers in the west coast of India. Aden had not been transferred out of the Indian control and why should this discrimination be made against Aden merchants? If anything like this was done, it would be against the assurances of the Secretary of State given to the British Indian delegation, headed by H. H. the Aga Khan in London. Aden salt was the best, baring Liverpool and in the interests of Indian consumers this duty should continue. At any rate, the duty should not be removed until a conference of Bengal consumers and salt manufacturer of Aden and India was held.

*Syed Hossain Inam*, speaking on behalf of his province, at the outset thanked the Government for what they had done for the relief of distress-stricken Bihar. He complained of the short interval given to members to study the budget before discussion and accused the Finance Member of being discourteous in not attending the Council while the Assembly was not sitting. Continuing, he spoke at length on the Government's Debt policy and urged hard accounting to enable the ordinary people to understand its implications. Referring to the sterling obligations, he wished that every maturing loan should be paid from the Treasury balance or by rupee loans and they should stop floating loans in future altogether. Dealing with the allocation of a crore for rural uplift, the speaker said that he had bitter experience in the past of how such beneficial schemes run by Government hardly reached the masses. Out of the sums, over seventy-five per cent was wasted in pampering officials and hardly, if any, twenty-five per cent reached the masses. Turning to the phenomenal gold export, Syed Hossain Inam pointed out that it was not beneficial to India but only helped England to have a favourable balance in comparison to other foreign countries. Referring to the cut in University grant, particularly the Benares and Aligarh Universities which were held dear to the public heart, the speaker charged the Government of callousness. While they had restored salary cuts amounting to over a crore, they failed to restore the cut in University grants, which hardly amounted to a lakh.

*Mr. B. K. Basu* said that the grant of a crore of rupees for rural uplift and setting apart of funds for aviation and broadcasting were pleasant features of the budget. The general discussion, he suggested, should be directed towards the proper gauging of the fundamental Indian finances. He hoped that the inauguration of the Reserve Bank would result in the financial machinery in India being in the hands of persons who had experience and knowledge of finance. The Governor of the Reserve Bank would surely make a striking departure in its credit policy, recognizing, as it was done in England, that cheap money was vital to the interests of the country. After the creation of the Reserve Bank, some of the present duties of the Finance Member should be transferred to the Reserve Bank and he would thus have time, which should be devoted to a detailed study of the Indian taxation system for making it more scientific. He should find new avenues of taxation, with particular reference to tobacco and matches monopoly and death duties as in England. Countries like Japan and France had tobacco and matches monopoly in a complete working order, yielding substantial revenues and furnishing an important basis for raising loans when necessary. If these were tapped then the misgivings about the reforms wrecking on the financial rock would disappear. There might be objection from some vested interests, but they would surely have to yield as they did in other countries. Financiers with imagination were not the same individuals as the imaginative financiers referred to by Sir James Grigg.

*Mr. Miller* welcomed the grant of forty lakhs for the Road Development Fund and the grant of twenty five lakhs for roads in the Frontier, also repayment of Bombay Development loans. He suggested the reduction of duty on motors and lorries which would after a short interval assist rural development and reduce unemployment.

*Mr. V. V. Kalikar* said that he would not regard the budget as surplus until all the emergency taxes were removed. The salary cut should not have been restored before an equilibrium was established, not only in central but also provincial budgets.

*Mr. P. N. Saprú* expressed gratification that it was a surplus budget and the position had been achieved by maintaining the taxation at a high level. He realised the distribution of the surplus was a difficult task, but the earmarking of a crore of rupees for rural uplift was a step in the right direction. This money should be spent with the advice of a



non-official committee at both the Houses. As regards the money to be spent on broadcasting, he asked whether the broadcasting programme would be for the benefit of the rich, or the poor. If for the rich he would oppose it. Similarly the salary cuts should have been restored in the case of the poorly paid officials.

*Rai Bahadur Lala Ramchandras* said that on the whole it was a disappointing budget. It was proposed to give the much needed succour to the agriculturists, but the greatest factor which worked against them, namely, the 1-6 ratio remained unaltered. He wanted a thorough overhauling of salaries of superior services.

The *Commander-in-Chief* intervened by a brief speech regarding the military expenditure. He was surprised at the non-official members saying that the military budget instead of decreasing, had slightly increased. *Sir Philip Chetwode* said: "To such members I have to say that we have never concealed for a moment the fact that during the last three or four years we had a forced budget, a budget to meet emergency and we were then enabled by a fall in commodity prices. Now there is some rise in commodity prices, and naturally it affects the budget. India is fortunate in that she is the only country where the military budget has not gone up anything by two to five times what it was before the War. On the contrary we have made permanent reductions. The budgets during the last few years were made not only to meet emergency crisis, but also as genuine attempts to reduce cost. In fact in regard to repairs to buildings and stores and ordinances, we kept things at a dangerous level."

*Sriput H. P. Barua* said that his province was in difficulties due to unfair treatment by the Central Government. While Assam was made to pay heavily to the Central Government under the Meston Award and for the defence of the Frontier, it lost revenues from its best sources of revenue, namely, excise duty on petrol and oil.

*Mr. P. C. Tallents*, Finance Secretary, in the absence of *Sir James Grigg* wound up the debate. He expressed cordial sympathy with the members for their want of time in studying the budget papers. He promised to keep in mind their complaint in future years in fixing the date. Regarding the allocation of one crore for village uplift work, the speaker said the Government's idea was to examine every scheme that might be submitted by provincial Governments and so he assured the Council there was no prospect of money being wasted. The Council adjourned till 5th. March.

#### PROTECTION TO WHEAT GROWERS

**7th. MARCH:**—Three non-official resolutions, and one Bill were on the order paper when the Council of State re-assembled after five days' recess.

*Mr. Yamin Khan* moved the first resolution recommending continuance of protection to wheat growers by (a) extending the period of import duty on foreign wheat and (b) reducing the railway freight on wheat from U. P. and the Punjab to the ports of Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta. He said that unless the prices of wheat were kept high, the prices of other commodities would fall, thus causing further hardship on the producers.

*Sir Guthrie Russell* said that the Government realised the very great importance of cheap railway freight to wheat and other food grains, not only for the agricultural population but for the country at large, but the resolution as it stood suggested protection being given by reduction in the freight charges on wheat. *Sir Guthrie Russell* continuing said that he did not imply that the railways were always averse to rate reduction. They were prepared to make reduction if by so doing they could increase the traffic. He, therefore, advised *Mr. Yamin Khan* to withdraw his resolution.

*Mr. Yamin Khan* replying to the debate said that in view of the promise of *Mr. Stuart* to make an announcement regarding the first part of the resolution at an early date and since the second part of the resolution was merely a corollary to the first part, he wanted to withdraw the resolution.

The opposition members, however, opposed the withdrawal.

The *President* thereupon announced that he in exercise of his discretionary powers, he would split the resolution in two parts. He put to the House the first part relating to the extension of the Wheat Import Duty Act. The Government supported the members who insisted on division which resulted in the motion being passed by 34 votes to nil. Four members remained neutral, when the second part of the resolution relating to reduction of freight was put to vote, Government opposed it. The House again divided and the motion was defeated by 21 votes against 8.

#### INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

*Rai Bahadur Lala Jagadish Prasad* moved the next resolution recommending to the Governor-General to take suitable steps to build up an Indian mercantile marine

at an early date with a view to adequate participation of Indian shipping in coastal and overseas trade of India. He traced the history of the Indian agitation for reservation of coastal trade for Indian shipping and recounted the pledges given from time to time, particularly by Lord Irwin as Viceroy. Proceeding the speaker referred to the commercial safeguards under the new constitution and asked how the Government proposed to carry out their declared policy in this respect. He urged substantial bounties to Indian concerns.

Mr. J. C. Banerji moved an amendment urging the Government to give contract for carrying coastal mails between India, Burma and Singapore to Indian steamship companies for the purpose of helping the growth of a sufficiently large Indian mercantile marine to participate in Indian overseas trade. He claimed that mail subsidy and contract was an important form of State aid to shipping and had been resorted to by all maritime States to develop their national shipping.

Mr. Stuart said that Government did not propose the resolution. This acceptance must not however be taken to imply the recognition of the proposals or the programme mentioned by the mover. The most important suggestion was the reservation of coastal trade of India for Indian mercantile marine. Thus, he said, was demonstratively unacceptable.

Lala Jagadish Prasad replying to the debate said that he was glad that Government in principle had accepted his resolution.

#### HINDU TEMPLES' BILL

Mr. Narayanaswami Chetty introduced a Bill to provide for better administration and governance of Hindu temples in Madras City and the endowments attached thereto. The Bill generally follows the lines of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Act with suitable modifications.

#### INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

Mr. P. N. Saprú moved a resolution urging the establishment of an industrial council on the lines suggested by the Whitley Commission on Labour. He said that India was becoming slowly industrialised and labour problems were becoming more acute.

Mr. D. G. Mitchell on behalf of the Government expressed sympathy with the resolution. He did not deny that the creation of such an industrial council would be of very great value, but held that there was no great hurry for it. As regards labour legislation, Mr. Mitchell quoted the procedure proposed in the Government of India Bill and stated that the creation of such a council at this stage would not be desirable.

Mr. Saprú replying said that the new constitution as proposed would be very conservative and he was not sure whether the question would be satisfactorily tackled by the new Government. He recommended the creation of an industrial council at this stage because it would at least preserve what had already been done.

The resolution was negatived by 22 against 7. The Council adjourned till 13th March.

#### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

**13th. MARCH :—**Lala Jagadish Prasad moved a resolution to-day urging Government to take adequate and effective steps to relieve unemployment in the country. He said that unemployment was felt not only amongst the educated and middle classes, but also among the masses. Only a few days ago a Bengalee youth driven to desperation committed suicide at Lucknow by throwing him before an engine. This was not a rare instance and the tale of woe was growing daily.

While the distress was universally acknowledged, Government, which was the custodian of the welfare of the people, had done practically nothing to tackle the problem. In the United Provinces they had appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Sir T. B. Saprú. It remained to be seen what would come out of it.

In other countries their governments had found a solution in many ways. In Russia they had the Five Year Plan. There were schemes like slum clearance and subsidised housing scheme and road development on an extensive scale.

The Government in India should first reorganise the educational system with a view to give education a vocational bias and make it less literary. Why not have a five year plan of economic reconstruction in India and why should not Government raise a loan for starting new industries and employing Indians?

Sir Phiroze Sethna agreed that the system of education in India should be changed so that thousands of graduates now being manufactured by so many universities might receive vocational training to equip them in life. At the same time unemployment should be relieved partly at least by the abolition of social customs like early marriage

and reduction of marriage expenses. But Sir Phiroze did not agree with the mover of the resolution that the development of cottage industries, a five year plan of economic reconstruction and establishment of industries could be undertaken on an extensive scale by the Central Government. These should be undertaken more by provincial governments. But funds were not easily available. The mover had suggested the raising of loans. But the taxpayer had to pay interest on loans.

#### ALGAH MUSHIM UNIVERSITY ACT AMEND. BILL

**14th MARCH** :—In the Council of State to-day Sir *Faiz Hossain* introduced the Bill to amend the Algaah Muslim University Act whereby the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor shall be permissive, and not obligatory. By this arrangement it will be possible for the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor to be filled at a time when the University considers such action to be desirable, but the University will not be compelled (as now) to fill the post at a time when the Pro-Vice-Chancellor does not appear to be required.

#### SAYID MUSLIMS IN ARMY

*Raja Ghaznafar Khari* moved a resolution, urging the removal of the restrictions which had been placed on the enlistment of the Sayid Community. *Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan* said that he was not asking for any favours to be shown to the Saiyids in the Army, but demanded that the restrictions of disqualifications against them should be removed. He pointed out there should be a soldier's board in every district in the Punjab and various Muslim organisations had passed resolutions to this effect. As for the restrictions, the speaker said that the Army Department issued in 1921 a confidential circular to the recruiting officer of Rawalpindi that the Saiyids should no longer be recruited under the head "Punjab Mussalmans".

The *Commander-in-Chief* said that *Raja Ghaznafar's* enlistment of the Saiyids had no relation to facts for there had been no restrictions placed on their enlistment by the Army Headquarters. The general policy regarding recruitment was to prescribe an area in which Punjab Muslims were recruited for any one particular unit but there was no restrictions whatsoever as to any particular class. The discretion as to the sub-classes was left to the Commanding Officers who were free to decide whom they should recruit. The units naturally selected recruits from those sub-classes which had done their best in the past. Every sub-class had thus an opportunity to prove its worth as any other. The number of the sub-classes depended on how far they proved themselves desirable from the point of view of unit control. Concluding Sir Philip Chetwode said that if *Raja Ghaznafar* would send him any letter issued from the Army Headquarters directly giving his orders that the particular class of Saiyids should be restricted in enlistment he would see that the officer who issued it was adequately dealt with.

*Raja Ghaznafar* withdrew the resolution and hoped that, as military officers generally did not read newspapers, their attention should be drawn by the Army Headquarters to the *Commander-in-Chief's* statement that there was no restriction to the recruitment of the Saiyids.

#### KHEWRA SALT RANGE

**18th. MARCH** :—Resuming the discussion on his resolution moved on March 13 urging a Committee of Enquiry into the damage caused by Khewra Salt Range in the Punjab to the neighbouring lands and the villages, *Raja Ghaznafar Ali* stressed the damage done to the neighbouring lands through sanitation of a very great affected area extending about 50 miles. People living there were extremely loyal to the Government and desisted from starting undesirable agitation despite unspeakable hardships. Although a greater amount of damage could not be attributed directly to the working of the Khewra Salt mines, still it was the moral duty of the Government of India, who collected over fifty lakhs annually from this source, to make a substantial contribution to improve the area.

*Raja Ghaznafar Ali* concluded stressing the need for appointing at least an official committee, presided over by the Finance Member.

*Mr. P. C. Tallents* opposed the resolution as the Government did not admit that the damage in the neighbourhood of Khewra was due to the way in which the salt mines were worked. There was no cultivable land within about one and half miles of the mine. The Commissioner of Northern India Salt Revenue Department had stated he had received no complaint from the villagers. *Mr. Tallents* referred to the discussions held on the subject since 1926, and pointed out how in one of them *Raja Ghaznafar Ali* did not press the matter. *Mr. Brayne*, whom *Raja Ghaznafar Ali* had mentioned, also did not think that the working of the mines could produce sanitation

effect on the country around. The presence of the mine in the area afforded a distinct advantage to the population there. Two Committees, already appointed, did not produce any result.

*Raja Gurnafar Ali* thought that if the whole of Mr. Brayne's opinion was read out it would be found that he was for some relief to the agriculturists. The speaker wanted an official committee, and indeed his object was to bring the Punjab officials and the Central Government officials together, so that some relief might be obtained.

Mr. Tallents promised to send a report of the debate to the Punjab Government.

The resolution was pressed to a division and lost by 27 votes to 22.

#### RECRUITMENT TO I M S.

*Mr. M. P. Mehrotra* moved a resolution urging that Government recruit I. M. S. officers by an open competitive examination in India and to put a stop to the present method of recruitment by selection. He complained that preference was being shown to British medical qualification in selection and asked while the Government accepted the ratio of fifty for I. C. S. why similar proportion be not accepted in the case of I. M. S. in which service the ratio worked at two British to one Indian officer. If the Commander-in-Chief was opposed to the reduction of British medical officers in the army, he would urge separation of Civil and military branches of the medical service.

*Major General Sprawson* claimed that the army required a definitely preponderating proportion of British medical officers and if the army was mobilised, this number would have to be increased. It would be an unfair burden on the provincial Governments to compel them to engage Indian I. M. S. officers, who had war training. The majority of British I. M. S. Officers who worked as civil officers were there because the local Governments asked for them. Therefore they had to serve the military and civil needs. As for recruitment, Major General Sprawson believed that selection was the best method as candidates who appeared before the Selection Board had seven or more years' training to their credit and had been appearing at examinations similarly to the one suggested by the mover. Why he thought recruitment by examination unnecessary was that in many cases it gave fictitious results and men recruited were often fresh from colleges.

Mr. Mehrotra's motion was rejected by 35 against 12 votes.

#### MILCH CATTLE PROTECTION BILL

*Raja Rayhunandan Prasad* introduced a Bill to protect the milch cattle. The operative clause of the Bill provides that any person who sells milch cattle to a butcher or to any other person with knowledge that such cattle are going to be slaughtered be punished with imprisonment for six months, or fine upto Rs. 500 or both.

#### ENQUIRY INTO ASSAM'S FINANCIAL CONDITION

*Mr. H. P. Barua* (Assam) moved a resolution for a committee of experts with three non-official members of both Houses of the Legislature to enquire into the financial condition of Assam and find out the ways and means of giving immediate necessary financial relief to the province.

*Mr. P. C. Talents*, Finance Secretary, said that in pursuance of the J. P. C. Report a body of experts would be appointed. The Government of India assume that the appointment of the committee would be made very soon. There was no possibility that the case of Assam which was known to be badly in debts going by default.

*Mr. Barua* withdrew his resolution.

#### HINDU TEMPLES' BILL

*Mr. Narayanaswami Chetty's* motion for circulation of his Bill providing for better administration of Hindu temples in the Madras City and endowments attached thereto was agreed to without discussion. The Council then adjourned till 21st.

#### ALIGARH UNIVERSITY AMEND. BILL

**21st. MARCH :—**On the motion of *Sir Fazli Hussain*, the Council passed the Bill amending the Aligarh Muslim University Act, enabling the University to fill the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor at times when it was found desirable.

#### LEAGUE CONVENTION FOR WORKLESS

*Mr. D. G. Mitchell*, Secretary for Industries and Labour, moved a resolution urging non-ratification of the draft convention for regulating the hours of work in automatic sheet glass works adopted at the eighteenth session of the International Labour Conference.

Mr P. N. Saprú moved an amendment that the matter be brought forward after the publication of the Tariff Board report on glass industry of India. He added that, though the report was submitted in 1932, it had not been published so far, with the result that the industry was suffering by reason of Japanese competition.

Mr. Mitchell said that the report was still under the careful consideration of the Government and would be published as soon as possible.

Mr. Saprú withdrew the amendment and Mr Mitchell's original resolution was adopted.

#### UNEMPLOYED RELIEF

Mr. Mitchell moved another resolution urging non-ratification of the draft convention ensuring benefit or allowances to the involuntarily unemployed and also urging non-acceptance of the recommendations concerning unemployment insurance and various other forms of relief for the unemployed adopted by the International Labour Conference at its eighteenth session.

Mr Saprú moved an amendment, urging the Government to take such steps, legislative or otherwise, for the relief of the unemployed as would lead to a ratification of the draft convention and acceptance of the recommendations as soon as practicable. He emphasised that such legislation was long overdue and that at least a modest beginning in the protected organised industries should be made by introducing the scheme of unemployment insurance.

Mr Mitchell, replying, contended that the conditions at present in India would not justify ratification of the Convention. It would be impossible for the Government to create such industrial conditions as would make it easier for the introduction of unemployment relief schemes, but if those were created by the industries themselves then the Government would consider the possibility of taking suitable action.

Mr Saprú's amendment was rejected by 26 votes to 8 and Mr. Mitchell's resolution was adopted without a division. The Council then adjourned.

#### TARIFF & TEA CESS ACTS AMENDING BILLS

**8th. APRIL :—**The secretary presented the Bills amending the Tariff Act and the Tea Cess Act as passed by the Assembly, after which Sir Maneckji Dadabhoi, President read the following message from the Governor-General :—'I send herewith my certificate and recommendation of the Indian Finance Bill, 1935, which the Legislative Assembly has failed to pass in the form recommended by me.'

The secretary then laid on the table the Finance Bill which had been certified by the Governor-General 'as essential in the interests of British India'.

#### WHEAT & RICE DUTY BILL

**10th. APRIL :—**In the Council of State to-day Mr. T. A. Stewart moved that the Bill amending the Indian Tariff Act (Wheat and Rice Duty Bill) as passed by the Assembly be taken into consideration. He repeated what Sir Joseph Bhoré had stated in the Assembly. The position of Indian wheat, he said, vis-a-vis Australian wheat which to-day was 15 annas per cwt. was better than the price of 1931. Therefore the reduction of eight annas in the duty would still give Indian wheat an advantage over Australian wheat.

As regards rice, he said, that the duty had been imposed on broken rice which had been found to be a real danger against Indian rice. He assured the Council that if after sometime it was found that the duties required to be raised in the interests of India, they would be raised by the Governor-General by notification.

Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das agreed that the duty of Rs. 1-3 proposed in the Bill was sufficient, but the duty on flour was small and requested Government to come to the rescue of Indian flour mills in view of the dumping of foreign flour in India. The Bill was passed.

#### TEA CESS BILL

Mr. T. A. Stewart moved that the Bill amending the Indian Tea Cess Act, as passed by the Assembly, be taken into consideration. He said that the international tea control scheme, now into operation, did not provide a solution of the problem of disposal of the excess stocks of tea in India, but as India had a large potential market it was intended to sell the excess tea by conducting a propaganda. For this purpose the Bill proposed to increase the tea cess collected on the export of tea from eight annas to twelve annas per hundred pounds.

The motion for consideration was passed as also the Bill in the shape it emerged from the Assembly.

## THE KARACHI FIRING—ADJ. MOTION

*Raja Ghazanfar Ali* moved the adjournment motion urging a public enquiry into the Karachi firing incident and said that so far as the firing was concerned, it was unrivalled and despicable and as a loyal subject he was the most anxious that Government should infuse confidence amongst the public. He called it a tactical move on the part of the Government to issue their statement just a day after the Assembly had adjourned sine die. Referring to the issue before the House *Raja Ghazanfar* personally condemned the action of *Abdul Qayum* and appealed to the House to avoid introducing communal considerations into the debate. He pointed out that the leading Muslims of Karachi had refused an opportunity of placing their viewpoints before the authorities and that the statement issued after the visit of the Home Member of the Bombay Government to Karachi and thence to Delhi with the Governor was purely the Government version and would not satisfy the public. The casualties showed that thirty-seven were killed and 133 seriously injured including a woman and seven boys of whom five died later. If Government were convinced that they had taken the necessary precautions and acted rightly, then why should they hesitate to face an enquiry.

*Mr. Khaparde* supporting the motion said that he did so in the hope of being able to discover the third party which usually brought about these troubles and escaped. He wanted the Government to punish properly this third party.

*Mr. Hallett*, Home Secretary, supplemented the information already given in the Bombay Government's communique and said that the main reason why the Government had come to the conclusion that it was unnecessary to have an enquiry was that the facts in this case were comparatively simple. They had been fully ascertained from local officials by the Home Member of the Bombay Government who arrived at Karachi on March 28 and left on 30th and as the event had occurred within a limited time and a limited area the facts were easily obtained. On the other hand when the Government appointed an enquiry in riots like those at Cawnpore the reason was that they had lasted long and spread over the entire town. He had no reason to suppose that Bombay Government were in any way concealing facts. They had stated the casualties which occurred both in Government hospital and outside and had not concealed the regrettable fact that five small boys were killed, probably accidentally. The local officials in view of the excited state of feelings had rightly decided on secrecy regarding the execution.

As for the charge why local leaders had not been taken into confidence, the Home Secretary recalled how the District Magistrate had earlier consulted the local leaders but found he was unable to accept their suggestions. Secondly, considering how a section of the mob at the cemetery removed the body it was certain that local leaders would not have exercised sufficient control over the mob.

When it was found that a mob of twenty thousand was advancing towards the city, policemen armed with lathis and the British regiment were posted to interrupt their progress. The policemen were driven back. Then the platoon of British soldiers advanced with fixed bayonets. They drove the crowd back to a short distance and returned to the original position and fired only one shot first. If the crowd had been peaceful they would have dispersed, but the way they attacked a police sergeant and the honorary magistrates and advanced showed that they were not peaceful. It was only when the platoon stood the danger of being overwhelmed that firing was ordered and by doing so the authorities saved the town of Karachi from a far greater disaster than the loss of lives caused by the firing.

*Pandit P. N. Sapru* condemned the habit of extolling a murderer were he be a religious fanatic or a patriot. He felt Government would have been in a stronger position if they had agreed to an enquiry.

The speaker—I would condemn the crowd collected to honour a murderer.

*Rai Bahadur Mathara Prasad Mehrotra* said that at present communal feelings in Karachi were very high and it was not advisable to hold an enquiry now and rake up the embers and possibly have another communal riot. He wanted Government to give reasons for the police leaving a crowd of two to three thousand at the graveyard.

*Mr. V. V. Kalikar* said that he could not support the motion as after reading the communique he had come to the conclusion that the Karachi authorities took proper action at a time when communal feelings had run high.

*Syed Hossain Imam* said that the question before the House was the mishandling of the situation and not a communal issue and he still believed that if Government had adopted preventive measure the situation would have been averted.

*Syed M. Padshah* said that it was perfectly clear that the explanations contained in to-day's statement were not satisfactory. Even responsible publicmen who had every

regard for the maintenance of law and order felt that firing was excessive and they were not questioning the legitimacy of the Government taking adequate even forcible preventive measures in a difficult occasion, but that they genuinely felt that the precautions taken in Karachi were insufficient and required to be thoroughly enquired into.

*Sir Henry Craik* gave reasons why the Government decided not to hold an enquiry. He said that Mr Hussain Inam's speech provided one argument against the enquiry, namely, that Mr. Hussain Inam had already made up his mind that the Government had first fomented trouble and then fired on a defenceless mob to establish another Jallianwalla Bagh. Answering Mr Mehrotra's points, the Home Member said that the nature of the area round the graveyard proved that it was perfectly useless for the police to attempt to disperse the mob. Secondly, the fact that only two rounds were fired by each soldier at a time when the mob was practically on the top of them showed that minimum firing had been used. *Sir Henry* recalled the story of Delhi riots of 1927. In this case, concluded *Sir Henry*, a most careful enquiry had shown that no mistake was made in handling this most deplorable and unfortunate incident. More over the Government were convinced that it would be impossible within a reasonable space of time to establish an atmosphere of impartiality and communal cordiality in which alone such an enquiry could successfully function.

The debate was talked out and the House adjourned.

#### DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

**11th. APRIL :—**The certified Finance Bill was discussed in the Council to-day when the non-official attendance was fair.

With a brief speech Mr. *P. C. Tallents*, Finance Secretary, moved the second reading of the Bill. He referred to the delay in the passage of the Bill in the Lower House and drew attention to the crop of amendments now tabled.

Pandit *P. N. Saprú* entered a protest against the procedure adopted by Government regarding the Bill and wondered what effect the speeches in the Council would have on it. The fiat had gone forth that the Bill should become a law of the land.

Pandit *Saprú*, proceeding, refused to share the responsibility for a certified bill and laid the responsibility for the deadlock created over it on the shoulders of Government. He contended that Government could have postponed the restoration of the salary cut and made a permanent surplus or have utilised the revenue surplus of 1934-35 for reducing the burden of taxation as desired by the Lower House. Or better still Government could have convened a conference with the party leaders in both Houses and accepted the most essential demands before resorting to certification.

Government had instead ignored the views of every party, whether obstructive or non-obstructive, including even the European group, and thus encouraged disbelief in constitutional action and Parliamentary methods of Government.

Coming to the Finance Bill the speaker wanted the reduction of the salt duty and exemption of tax on incomes below two thousand and reduction of postal rates. If the Finance Member was not prepared to accept those suggestions, they would have no alternative but to vote against the Bill at this stage and at subsequent stages.

Sir *N. N. Sircar*, Law Member, rose to remove the impression created by Pandit *P. N. Saprú's* speech that Government had intended a slight on this Council by adopting the procedure of certification. He gave the instances of recommendation and certification resorted to since 1923 in regard to the Finance Bill and in the case of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill in 1925. Any other course would, Sir *N. N. Sircar* maintained, have led to a further waste of time and further necessity of feelings. Referring to Pandit *Saprú's* remark about Sir James Grigg's speech in the Assembly, Sir *N. N. Sircar* said that Sir James Grigg had never refused to accept the decision of the Assembly because the Opposition was prompted by methods of obstruction. On the other hand, Sir James Grigg had made it clear that he was not accepting the decisions of the Assembly because, in his opinion, they were unjust on the merits of the case. On the question of cooperation Sir *N. N. Sircar* advised Pandit *Saprú* to read the speech of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai that the British Rule ruined India and therefore the Opposition there would not do anything to help that rule (the present Government of India). The sole desire of the Opposition in the Assembly was to create situations which would render resort to emergency powers necessary and that in the name of "exposing the naked autocracy of the Government".

Mr. *S. D. Gladstone* (Bengal Chamber of Commerce) supported the motion for the consideration of the certified Finance Bill. But he criticised the Government attitude in not accepting any of the amendments adopted by the Lower House. Sir James

Grigg was no doubt an expert in his line of business, but his unbending attitude towards all forms of counter suggestions was not one which would promote the atmosphere of co-operation. Sir George Schuster was wrong in giving a pledge of restoration of the service salary cut, but Sir James Grigg did not seem to have made as great an effort as was possible to rectify the position. The mercantile community had been passing through a period of depression. Not only had they all suffered salary cuts, in some cases reaching twenty-five per cent. of their salaries, but many thousands of European and Indian employees had lost their posts and their entire means of livelihood. The European community was in favour of the restoration of salary cut, but there had been a grave miscarriage of justice in the manner it had been restored.

*Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra* said that it was an insult to the House to bring in a certified measure. Emergency taxes were resorted to for a short period, and there was no justification for continuing them. Why there was hurry of spending money on broadcasting and restoring salary cuts when the people were suffering under taxation?

*Raja Ghazanfar Ali* feared that the Government had bungled over the Finance Bill by adopting an attitude of ignoring every single amendment pressed by the Assembly. He did not agree that the Congress party was obstructive in its attitude in the Assembly, for many Bills were approved by that party without calling a division. Was not the Independent party obstructive? Was not the European group obstructive?

*Kunwar Jagadish Prasad*, the new Education Member and leader of the House defended the Government's position in a brief maiden speech at the conclusion of which he was cheered.

Taking the case of salt tax the Kunwar Sahab related the political history and sentiment behind it, but how were the Government to make up the loss of three and a half crores that would have resulted had the Government accepted the Assembly's decision to reduce it to twelve annas per maund. He asked the zamindar members of the Council whether their tenants at any time had complained that the salt tax had sat heavily upon them. As for the export duty on raw skin, were the Government to prejudice the export trade merely because of a vote cast on grounds of something said during the course of a protracted debate?

*Mr. J. C. Banerjee* said that this year the House was being asked not even to dissect, but to carry the carcase of the Finance Bill to the usual destination. The Bill in its recommended and certified form was nothing but a dead horse.

*Sir James Grigg* said that in order to justify reduction in taxation, it must be ensured that the finance of the current year and several years to follow provided a sufficient ground for that reduction. Continuing Sir James denied that there was any deliberate under-estimating of the revenue. Referring to the amendments made by the Assembly to the Finance Bill the cost of which ranged from six lakhs to three hundred twenty-five lakhs, Sir James Grigg pointed out that the Chancellor of Exchequer in any democratic government could not but have adopted the course he had followed.

Referring to the amendments in respect of postal rates, on letters and book packets, Sir James said that those amounted to sixteen lakhs and while this loss would have to be borne by the Exchequer, it would not have benefited the poorer classes and in the case of a public utility department working on commercial principles and which had already a deficit of fourteen lakhs, it would have meant introduction of vicious principles. The House then adjourned till the 16th.

**16th. APRIL :—***Mr. V. V. Kalikar* charged the Government of India with abusing the powers conferred on them under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In fact the action of the Government amounted to insulting both the Assembly and the Council of State.

*Mr. Hossain Imam* criticised the currency policy and accused the Government of flouting the unanimous desire of non-official opinion in the matter of purchasing gold in the open market. The speaker wanted de-linking of the rupee and he calculated that the sellers of gold would have received nearly thirty crores more for the same amount of sterling which they sold.

Continuing Mr. Hossain Imam criticised the gross under-estimating of income from sources transferred to the Reserve Bank and asked what the necessity for a Controller of Currency was when the Reserve Bank was entrusted with the task.

*Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das* complained that the budgetary income had been during the past few years under-estimated, while the expenditure was over-estimated and suggested that Government should present the budget after the close of the financial year as was done in the British Parliament drawn on the actual receipts,



*Mr. P. C. Tallents*, Finance Secretary, replying to the debate answered the points raised by *Syed Hossain Inam*. He pointed out that the control of the currency was now in the hands of the Reserve Bank. He expected the rate of interest on Government Provident Fund next year would be lower than this year. There was no need for more silver being in possession of Government as they already had ninety crores worth of silver and that was why sales of silver were taking place.

The Finance Secretary's motion for consideration of the certified Finance Bill was passed, ten members of mostly of the Progressive Party opposing it, two members (*Syed Mahomed Palshah* and *Mr. Mahmud Suhrawardy*) remaining neutral and thirty members voting for it.

*Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das* then made a statement as leader of the Progressive Party. He said: "The Bill is a certified and recommended one. Under the present Government of India Act it cannot be changed even by the Governor-General unless he is prepared to withdraw the present Bill and introduce a fresh measure. We shall take no further part in the discussion of the Bill. We shall of course record our vote against it at all stages."

Accordingly no amendment was moved and in less than two minutes all the clauses to the Bill with schedules were put and carried, about ten members crying dissent every time.

On the third reading of the Bill as recommended by the Governor-General thirty-two members voted for and ten against.

*Raja Ghaznafar Ali* voted against the motion for consideration but voted for the passage of the Bill.

*Mr. Mahmud Suhrawardy* who remained neutral in the second reading voted for the passage of the Bill.

The Council at this stage adjourned.

#### SALT IMPORT DUTY ACT

**17th. APRIL.**—*Mr. P. C. Tallents* moved consideration of the Bill further to extend the operation of the Salt (Additional) Import Duty Act of 1931. He said that it merely extended the operation of the existing Act for one more year without prejudice to any of the interests concerned. If any representation was received on the subject during this year it would receive full consideration.

After adopting a motion conveying message of loyalty to H. M. the King, the Council adjourned *sine die*.

# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

## LIST OF MEMBERS

*President* :—THE HON. SIR ABDUR RAHIM

**Elected—Non-Officials—(105)**

(1) *Madras—16*

1. S. SATYAMURTI
2. V. V. GIRI
3. K. NAGESWARA RAO
4. PROFESSOR N. G. RANGA
5. M. ANANTHASAYANAM  
AYYANGAR
6. T. S. AVINASHILINGAM  
CHETTIAR
7. C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDA  
LIAR
8. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN
9. P. S. KUMARASWAMI RAJU
10. SAMUEL AARON
11. UMAR ALY SHAH
12. MAULVI SYED MURTUZA  
SAHIB BAHADUR
13. H. A. SATHAR H. ESSAK  
SAIT
14. F. E. JAMES
15. RAJAH SIR VASUDEVA RAJAH
16. M. R. RY. SAMI VENCATACHE-  
LAM CHETTY GARU

(2) *Bombay—16*

17. DR. G. V. DESHMUKH
18. SIR COWASJEE JEJIANGIR, BART
19. DIWAN LALCHAND NAVALRAI
20. BHULABHAI JIVANJI DESAI
- 21.
22. KESHAVRAO MARUTIRAO  
JEDHE
23. N. V. GADGIL
24. S. K. HOSMANI
25. MAHOMED ALI JINNAH
26. NABI BAKSH ILLAHI BAKSH  
BHUTTO
27. SETH HAJI ABDoola HAROON
28. W. B. HOSSACK
- 29.
30. MATHURADAS VISSANJI
31. SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAY-  
ATULLAH
32. SIR HORMUSJI PEROSHAW  
MODY

(3)—*Bengal—17.*

33. N. C. CHUNDER
34. DR. P. N. BANERJEA

35. BABU AMARENDRA NATA  
CHATTOPADHYAYA

36. PANDIT LAKSHMI KANTA  
MAITRA

37. SURYYA KUMAR SOM

38. AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA

39. SIR ABDUR RAHIM

40.

41. SIR ABDUL HALIM GHUZNAVI

42. A. K. FUZZUL HUQ

43. MD. ANWAR-UL AZIM

44. M. A. BAQUI

45. G. MORGAN

46. THOMAS CHAPMAN-MORTIMER

47. J. A. MILLIGAN

48. SRIJUT DHIRENDRA KANTA  
LAHIRI CHAUDHURY

49. BABU BAIJNATH BAJORIA

(4) *United Provinces—16*

50. DR. BHAGABAN DAS

51. CHOUDHRI RAGHUBIR NARAIN  
SINGH

52. PANDIT SRI KRISHNA DUTTA  
PALIWAL

53. PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH  
PANT

54. SRI PRAKASA ESQ

55. PANDIT KRISHNA KANT  
MALAVIYA

59. SHRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA

57. SIRDAR JOGENDRA SINGH

58. MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

59. QAZI MOHAMMAD AHMAD  
KAZMI

60. MUHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN

61. MAULVI SIR MOHAMMAD  
YAKUB

62. DR ZIAUDDIN AHMAD

63. MOHAMED AZHAR ALI ESQ

64. J RAMSAY SCOTT ESQ

65. MAHARAJ KUMAR VIJAYA  
ANANDA GAJAPATIRAJ

(5) *Punjab—12*

66. SHAM LAL ESQ

67.

68. BHAI PARMA NAND

69. SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

70. K. L. GAUBA ESQ

71. H. M. ABDULLA ESQ

72. NAWAB SAHIBZADA SAYED  
SIR MOHAMMAD MEHR

73. KHAN SAHIB SHAIKH  
FAZL-I-HAQ
74. KHAN BAHADUR MAKHIDUM  
SAYAD RAJAN BAKSH SHAH
75. SARDAR MANGAL SINGH
76. SARDAR SANT SINGH
77. M. GHASUDDIN ESQ  
(6) *Bihar and Orissa*—12
78. SATYA NARAYAN SINHA ESQ
79. B. B. VARMA
80. B. DAS ESQ
81. PANDIT NILKANTHA DAS
82. ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINGH
83. SHRI KRISHNA SINHA
84. DEEP NARAYAN SINGH
85. BABU RAM NARAYAN SINGH
86. MUHAMMAD NOUMAN ESQ
87. MOULVI BADIUZ ZAMAN
- 88.
89. RAJA BAHADUR HARIHAR  
PROSAD NARAYAN SINHA  
(7) *Central Provinces*—5
90. DR NARAYAN BHASKAR  
KHARE
91. SETH GOVIND DAS
92. GHANSHAM SINGH  
GUPTA ESQ
93. KHAN SAHIB NAWAB SHIDDIQUE  
ALI KHAN
94. SETHI SHEODAS DAGA  
(8) *Assam*—4
95. SRIJUT NABIN CHANDRA  
BARDOLOI
96. BASANTA KUMAR DAS
97. ABDUL MATIN CHOUDHURY
98. F. W. HOCKENHULL  
(9) *Burma*—4
99. U THEIN MAUNG
100. DR. THEIN MAUNG
101. U BA SI
102. F. BURTON LEACH  
(10) *Delhi*—1
103. M. ASAF ALI  
(11) *Ajmer-Merwara*—1
104. RAI BAHADUR SETH BHAGCHAND  
SONI
- (12) *North-West Frontier Province*—1
105. DR. KHAN SAHIB  
Nominated—(40)—Berar—1
106. M. S. ANEY  
(a) *Officials*—(26).
107. THE HONOURABLE SIR  
NRIPENDRA SARGAR
108. THE HONOURABLE SIR PERCY  
JAMES GREGG
109. THE HONOURABLE SIR HENRY  
CRAIK
110. THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAM-  
MAD ZAFARULLA KHAN
111. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G.  
MITCHELL
112. SIR LANCELOT GREGHAM
113. SIR GHEA SANKAR BAJPAI
114. G. R. F. TOTTERHAM
115. A. G. CLOW
116. J. G. ACHESON
117. P. R. RAY
118. A. J. LLOYD
119. A. S. HANDS
120. K. SANJIVA ROW
121. M. R. RY. RAO BAHADUR A. A.  
VENKATARAMA AYYAR AVARGAL
122. M. R. RY. DIWAN BAHADUR  
R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR AVARGAL
123. D. MACLACHLAN
124. MADHUSUDAN DAMODAR BHAT
125. J. M. CHATTERJEE
126. P. J. GRIFFITHS
127. L. OWEN
128. KHAN BAHADUR MIAN ABDUL  
AZIZ
129. P. P. SINHA
130. D. J. N. LEE
131. S. P. DEFAI
132. TOM LESTER  
(1) *Non-official*—(13)
133. SARDAR BAHADUR SARDAR SIR  
JAWAHAR SINGH
134. RAI BAHADUR SIR SATYA  
CHARAN MUKHERJEE
135. RAO BAHADUR M. C. RAJAH
136. R. S. SARMA
137. N. M. JOSHI
138. DR. R. D. DALAL
139. DR. FRANCIS XAVIER DESOUZA
140. HONY. CAPTAIN RAO BAHADUR  
CH. LAL CHAND
141. CAPTAIN SARDAR SHER MOHAM-  
MAD KHAN
142. MAJOR NAWAB AHMAD NAWAZ  
KHAN
143. KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB MALIK  
ALLAH BAKHSH KHAN TIWANA
144. E. H. M. BOWER
145. J. H. BLACKWELL
- Deputy President—AKHIL CHANDRA  
DATTA
- Secretary—MIAN MUHAMMAD RAFI,  
BAR-AT-LAW
- Assistant Secretary—RAI BAHADUR  
D. DUTT

# The Legislative Assembly

## Introduction

The opening day of the Budget Session of the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi was an eventful day by reason of the presence (in white Gandhi caps) of the Congress Party which had stayed away from the Legislature for some time, and been engaged in a fight with the powers that be with its weapon of civil disobedience. On the very first day, Mr. Satyamurti of the Congress Party brought a censure motion on a confidential circular that had been issued by the Government of India regarding the activities of the proposed Village Industries Association of Mahatma Gandhi. The motion was talked out, the Chairman having refused to apply the closure asked for by the Congress and Nationalist Parties. But the debate was interesting, and we shall do well to let the main actors say in part their own parts.

Said Mr. Satyamurti—

The assumptions underlying the circular were either untrue or misleading or exaggerated. It was clear that the Government had expected Bombay Congress to split on the Council-entry programme the Nationalist Party move of Pandit Malaviya, the Socialist programme and lastly on Mahatma Gandhi's retirement from the Congress. On all these the Government to their surprise found the Congress did not split but on the other hand found the Congress by the changes made in its constitution that it was better equipped to carry on political or Parliamentary work. And then it feared that the Congress would by the Village Industries Association identify themselves with the masses. The circular proceeds to give instructions to frustrate it. Mr. Gandhi had affirmed that the village industries work was non-political but the Government through the circular most unjustly and unfairly attributed a motive.

On the Government side Sir Henry Craik did not deny the issue of the confidential circular and said—

that the circular was confidential and contained tentative views of the Government of India and as one newspaper described it, it meant that the Government were talking in private. Sir Henry Craik claimed that he had chapter and verse to prove the facts mentioned in the circular. However, he confined his attention to the gravamen of the charge that Government were not justified in treating with suspicion and distrust this new feature of Congress work, namely, the All-India Village Industries Association and that Government should treat it as a non-political economic body.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, had also stated in the Press that the Association was aimed at creating revolution to proceed from the villages. This was direct from the horse's mouth. Could then the Government be blamed for taking the view it had taken and pointing out the dangerous potentialities of the organisation? If, however, later developments showed that the organisation was purely economic, Government would not withhold co-operation from it. But so long as the Congress maintained its present attitude towards civil disobedience, Government was justified in asking its agents to watch the move carefully.

Another debate of interest was that on the adjournment motion of Mr. N. C. Bardoloi regarding the detention of Mr. Sarat Ch. Bose, a duly elected member of the House, who had been summoned by the Governor-General to attend the session. The motion raised the question of privilege, constitutional precedent and propriety. The mover said (we give the Press summary)—

As a matter of fact, despite no proof against Mr. Bose, despite his challenge to the Government for adducing any proof substantiating their charges against him, despite the finding of a tribunal consisting of a High Court Judge and the law members of the

Government of India and the Bengal Government, Mr. Bose had been still detained under regulation III. The mover asked—under what law was he summoned to attend the Assembly? The Regulation III was enacted by the Government of India, but how could it supersede a Parliamentary Act? Under the provision of the Government of India Act, he was called upon to join the Assembly duties, but the Government of Bengal set it at naught. Could the Bengal Government do that, and if so, under what law, asked the mover. Proceeding, Mr. Bardoloi said when a man was detained on suspicion, he sometimes was allowed to live as a free man in another province. The speaker did not understand why it was not possible in Mr. Bose's case. What would be the harm if he was permitted to come to Delhi and perform duties as a member of the Assembly?

Sir Nripen Sircar, the Law Member, said in reply :—

Sir N. N. Sircar said that the question of privileges had been raised. According to Maye's Parliamentary Practices it had been laid down over and over again that no subordinate legislature created by the Imperial Statute enjoyed the powers and privileges beyond those given by the Statute.

Sir Cowasji—Then does it mean that we have no privileges above those of ordinary citizens?

Sir N. N. Sircar—The Act has conferred the right of freedom of speech to members and as a result of the Muddman Committee Enquiry an amending Statute was passed giving members immunity from arrest in certain circumstances. That amendment showed that any privileges to be acquired must be sanctioned by the Statute and the British Parliament's privileges based on custom did not accrue to a subordinate legislature.

The Law Member proceeded to add that if Mr. Bose thought that his personal rights had been infringed under circumstances, it was open to him to move the court for redress. He also denied that the summons of the Governor-General had any legal force: it was merely an invitation to attend.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai ably contested the position as taken up by the Law Member. We would, however, only refer to the summary of his arguments as given in p. 108. He distinguished between two kinds of privileges—those of the House and those of an individual member. "The privilege of a member was implicit and inherent in the very position to which he had been elected under an Act of Parliament."

The motion was carried by 64 votes as against 58—the first Congress victory.

Sir Abdar Rahim was elected President of the Assembly by 70 votes as against 62 secured by the rival Congress candidate.

On January 24, His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the House. The speech traversed a very wide ground beginning with King's Jubilee Fund, and such vital matters as Indians in South Africa, India's Educational System, Agricultural Research, Dairy Industry, Sugar, Telephone and Air Transport, Labour Legislation, Exchange etc. As regards Indo-British Trade Agreement, we shall do well to quote H. E.'s observations :—

As hon'ble members of this House are no doubt aware, the trade agreement between India and the United Kingdom which was concluded at Ottawa in 1932 related only to such goods as were subject to non-protective or non-concessional rates of duty. There was signed on the 9th of this month a supplementary Agreement between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which covers the important field of protected commodities which was left untouched by the main Agreement of 1932. It is in the nature of things that the later Agreement should differ in its character from the earlier one. It relates not so much to the tariff treatment of specific commodities as to the general principles governing the exercise of our present policy of discriminating protection. It is the hope of my Government that the clear and unequivocal statement of the tariff policy contained in

the new Agreement will remove any lingering doubts or suspicions and help to inaugurate an era of goodwill and friendliness with profound benefit to the trade and political relations of Great Britain and India.

In this connection we should like, however, to the debate on this question on the 29th January and following, P. 117.

As representing the general non-official position, we shall reproduce the summary of Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerji's (Congress Nationalist) observations :—

" though the Curzon Government and the Fiscal Commission had refused to endorse the policy of Imperial Preference and the Assembly protested against its introduction by back door in 1927 and 1930 the Agreement had introduced three new principles. Firstly, the application of the principle of discriminatory protection had been restricted ; secondly, India had been committed to a principle of safeguarding British industry and thirdly, India had parted power to negotiate a trade agreement with other countries on a free basis ;

**To return to the Viceroy's Speech.**

It made an optimistic forecast of the possibilities of the new India Constitution Bill based on the J. P. C. R.

Free your minds of these and let your thoughts centre on the great principles which have increasingly asserted themselves, until they have dominated the scheme. They are the foundations on which the scheme is built, Provincial Autonomy in British India and Federation comprising the whole continent.

Then having claimed that the latter idea had the support of the Princes, the speech was thus concluded :

I am satisfied that the scheme gives to India the opportunity to which she so earnestly aspires to mould her future nearer to her heart's desire. Parliament may make modifications in this or that direction during the period, while the scheme is under their consideration in the ensuing months. Let Indian leaders work to secure changes or improvements on points to which they attach importance but I counsel them in all earnestness to take the scheme as the only likely path in any period of time that we can yet foresee to bring within their reach the great ideal of All-Indian Federation.

In the beginning of February there was a lively debate (made lively by reason of the Communal Award) on the J. P. C. R. We shall merely refer here to Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's following observations :

There are four aspects of every good constitution, namely, the right of external and internal defence, the right of control of external relations, the right of controlling the Currency and Exchange, the right of the fiscal policy and the right of the day-to-day administration. But by a stroke of the pen these important features have been put under Reserve Subjects and what is left to us ? We cannot even control our Currency and Exchange. Then we are left at the discretionary powers, special responsibilities and the Right of Veto of the Governor-General. Added to these, there are the two Chambers. In fact, there remains no responsibility at the Centre. The constitution shuts out all possibility of the growth of Indian talents although we possess talents. As regards the provinces, Mr. Desai said : "There is nothing to choose between the Provinces and the Centre. India is being taxed to the utmost capacity. Yet under the proposed Provincial Autonomy, we shall have to find some twenty crores more by way of taxation. Ministers will be placed between the devil and the deep sea with the Governors with their extraordinary powers on the one side and the protected services on the other. They will be put in a position of utter helplessness. Why confer this provincial autonomy, he asked ?

Mr. Jinnah, as representing the Mohammodau Ground, stuck to his communal gun and would not budge from it. We quote below the final results of the three-day debate .

The first part of Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai's* amendment, which only referred to the J. P. C. Report and not mentioned anything about the Communal Award, was put to vote and defeated by 72 against 61 votes.

There were altogether 4 divisions. The second part of Mr. Desai's amendment neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award, which he moved as an amendment to the first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment was lost by 84 to 41 votes.

The first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment accepting the Communal Award was carried by 68 to 15 votes, Congressmen remaining neutral. The second and third parts of Mr. Jinnah's amendment i.e. Provincial Autonomy and Federation were passed by 74 votes to 58 votes.

The Congress Nationalist Party, headed by Mr. Aney, took an uncompromisingly hostile attitude in relation to the Communal Award and the Congress attitude of neutrality ("neither accept nor reject") in relation to it.

We need not in particular refer to the Non-official Bills introduced, but pass on at once to the Budget. On P. 132 begins an account of the discussions on the Railway Budget for 1935-36 presented by Sir Joseph Bhore. "For 1935-36 budget anticipates deficit on commercial and strategic lines taken together of nearly 2 crores...the commercial lines alone show a balanced budget." The general position was thus envisaged by Sir Joseph :—

That the results of last year and the estimates he was placing before the Assembly had justified his optimism and the confidence expressed by him in previous years in the essential strength and soundness of the financial position of Indian Railways notwithstanding successive deficits since 1930-31. He said :—

"A review of results, if it is to be of any value, must extend over a sufficiently lengthy period to eliminate the distorting effects of temporary causes and give a true picture of the whole. Taking broad results, it will be seen that in the 12 years ending with 1935-36, 6 years of prosperity and 6 of the adversity, the net result of the working of all State-owned lines, commercial and strategic, will, if our present estimates prove correct, be a surplus of 14 crores and an accumulated balance in the depreciation fund of 41 and half crores. In other words, during the long period of varying future, we shall have earned a net income of over a crore a year after meeting working expenses, providing for accruing depreciation and paying interest in full on borrowed capital.

Works programme for 1935-36 is bigger than in recent years. Total sum provided is 15 crores after allowing for reduction of stores balances by three-fourth crore.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who carried, his motion reducing to one rupee the estimates for the Railway Board, said :—

That the present Railway Board had outlived its usefulness and some other machinery must be set up. "We Indians," he declared, "maintain these railway and we insist on our claim to manage them and determine their policy." Mr. Desai directed his attack to the proposed Statutory Railway authority.

On Feb. 28, Sir James Grigg introduced the Financial Statement for 1935-36. See p. 143 and following for estimated Revenue and Expenditure under different heads.

The final position for 1935-36 is thus as follows :—

Revenue	90.19 lakhs
Expenditure	88.69 "
	<hr/>
Surplus	1.50 lakhs

Then the Finance Member proceeds to explain his proposals for dealing with the surplus of 1.50 lacs anticipated in 1935-36 and with the accrued balance of 3.89 lacs left over from previous years.

We need not say anything here on the general discussion on the budget. One or two typical lines of criticism may, however, be indicated. Thus Mr. H. P. Mody

maintained that if the economic condition of India was to be strengthened the only way to achieve it was to raise the internal purchasing power and drastically cut down the bloated military expenditure. The Government should adopt an active policy of industrial development and the present method of tariff enquiry and legislation was too slow and unsuited to the changed conditions. He wanted protection against industries in Indian States dumping goods in British India. Mr. Mody pleaded for cinema industry for which there was enormous future. He warned the Government if the salt import duty was abolished they would be inflicting a great injury on the industry developed in Aden by the toil and capital of Indians. He said the export of distress gold was stinking in the nostrils of every Indian. He feared that the one crore granted for rural uplift might be flattered away in showy undertakings. Concluding he said the limit of taxation had reached and the spectre of middle class unemployment devour them all. Sir James Grigg is a realist. What sort of economic future does he envisage for the country if his balance sheet is to be overweighted by one single item, namely, military expenditure and if industrial development is not to be vigorously pursued and if agricultural indebtedness is to be continued. Let him adopt a vigorous policy of industrial development and save India from the stronghold of military budget.

Then, another sample—

*Sir Leslie Hudson*, leader of the European group, while congratulating Sir James Grigg on the budget the style of which was reminiscent of Lord Snowden's referred to the financial position of Bengal and said Bengal could not expect a return to solvency unless it received the whole or a larger percentage of jute export duty. Financial instability was one of the most potent causes of political unrest in that province. Sir Leslie Hudson paid a tribute to Sir Philip Chetwode for having reduced the military estimates by nine crores and 32 lakhs or 17 per cent. helped by the low price of grains which could not be expected to continue much longer. Referring to the disposal of the non-recurrent surplus, Sir Leslie Hudson remarked that this balance had resulted from emergency taxation. The proper course would have been to restore half of the salary cut and remove the surcharges by half.

In conclusion we should like to draw pointed attention to the general trend of the budget speeches from the Opposition benches, the amendments moved and carried by them, and to the closing remarks of the Finance Member re : Congress responsiveness and co-operation. The following words of the Finance Member may be here reproduced .

*Sir James Grigg* contended that it could not be denied that the Opposition had been trying to make public business difficult and asked : "It is unreasonable to hold that so long the policy of the Opposition is obstructive and destructive so long must the Government resort to special powers conferred upon them by law ?" (*Pandit Pant*—Then it is all a case of political motive. That's why you have adopted this attitude. The cat is out of the bag).

*Sir James Grigg* : "Our position is clear. When there is a change of heart (*Mr. Satyamurthi*—That's a Gandhian phrase) and we are satisfied that they (Opposition) are prepared to co-operate with us in the true interests of the people then, Sir, but only then are we prepared to consider meeting their view to the maximum extent consistent with the discharge of our own responsibility." Sir James Grigg, proceeding, said it was true that the position both of the Government and the Opposition was intractable under the present constitution. Under a democratic Government the Finance Member brought a measure with a fair assurance of majority support. Here the Government had no party of their own.

We can all agree that the existing constitution is the most unsatisfactory. (*Mr. Satyamurthi*—What's coming is worse). Whatever its shortcomings, the new constitution will place a far larger measure of responsibility on the ministers answerable to legislatures. That is after all the burden of complaint of the Opposition that you can neither make us what you wish nor turn us out under the new constitution. You will at least be able to see that the real moral of this discussion is that the Opposition, instead of blindly rejecting a very definite advance on the present position, should think not once or twice but again and again before they maintain their proclaimed attitude. (Loud applause)."



# The Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—21st. January to 9th. April 1935

## GOVT. & MAHATMA'S VILLAGE SCHEME\*

Scenes reminiscent of the old Swarajist days minus the presence of outstanding stalwarts like Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. V J Patel were witnessed at New Delhi on the 21st. January 1935 when Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* and his party in white Gandhi caps as also other members of the House took the oath on the opening day of the first session of the fifth Legislative Assembly under the Montford constitution Sir *Henry Gidney*, nominated by the Viceroy as Chairman pending the presidential election, was in the chair. Mr. *Satyamurthi's* adjournment motion introduced to censure the Government of India for the issue of a circular\* in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's Village Industries Association was accepted by the Chairman, Sir Henry Gidney. Sir *Henry Craik* did not deny the issue of a circular and, on behalf of the Government, welcomed a debate.

After a heated debate the motion was talked out, the Chairman having refused to apply the closure asked for by the Congress and Nationalist members.

In the course of the debate Mr. *Satyamurthi* quoted extracts from the circular and contended that it betrayed an amount of suspicion unworthy of any decent Government. He criticised the attitude of the Government which was never tired of asking the people to co-operate with the Government in working for the masses and when popular leaders attempted to throw themselves seriously in work they would suspect their move and order Government officials not to give co-operation to them. It would be impossible to carry on any work in India if the Government were to judge popular leaders not by what they said and did but what they imagined to be the motives of leaders.

The assumptions underlying the circular were either untrue or misleading or exaggerated. It was clear that the Government had expected Bombay Congress to split on the Council-entry programme the Nationalist Party move of Pandit Malaviya, the Socialist programme and lastly on Mahatma Gandhi's retirement from the Congress. On all these the Government to their surprise found the Congress did not split but on the other hand found the Congress by the changes made in its constitution that it was better equipped to carry on political or Parliamentary work. And then it feared that the Congress would by the Village Industries Association identify themselves with the masses. The circular proceeds to give instructions to frustrate it. Mr. Gandhi had affirmed that the village industries work was non-political but the Government through the circular most unjustly and unfairly attributed a motive. The circular proceeded to state that Mahatma Gandhi had succeeded to bring divergent elements if not under one organisation at least under one leader.

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\*According to the Bombay correspondent of the "Hindustan Times" the Government of India took a serious view of Gandhi's programme of rural uplift through the recently formed Village Industries Association and that they also issued circulars to their officers throughout India directing that every effort should be made to forestall Congress activities. He stated on reliable authority that the Government of India had communicated to the British Government that the new programme adopted by the Congress of organising village industries coupled with parliamentary work was nothing but an astute move on the part of Mahatma Gandhi to find employment for his men and to regain the prestige lost by the failure of Civil Disobedience movement. It was also represented by the Government to be a well laid plot to revive civil resistance on an unprecedented scale with the support of the rural masses which had been lacking in former campaigns. The circular was said to represent the Bombay Session of the Congress as the greatest personal triumph Mahatma Gandhi had ever had. The correspondent concluded: "What the circular will ultimately lead to is as yet too early perhaps to say. But as it is also said to emphasise the need for an effective propaganda especially by district officers explaining to rural audience what the Government have so far done to improve their lot we may soon see some increased activity reflected in higher petrol consumption by such officers' cars carrying among other things copies of the report of the Agricultural Commission with Lord Linlithgow's

*Sir Henry Craik*—Is that not true?

*Mr. Satyamurthi*—Not only true but correct. If you in the Government benches follow one leader and vote to order why should not we? All your talk about peace and goodwill is tall talk and when we co-operate in village uplift you suspect our motives.

*Sir Henry Craik* took the earliest opportunity of explaining the Government position. He claimed that he did not follow the example of his predecessor in a similar case in 1929 and avoid a debate on a circular which had obviously been stolen or sold or obtained through some illicit process. He welcomed the debate and added: "There is nothing in this circular of which we are ashamed and which we intend to withdraw. The Home Member said that Government were enquiring as to how the matter had leaked. So far as enquiries had gone it did not happen in Delhi. However, if the culprit was discovered he would exact the retribution allowed by law. *Sir Henry Craik* said that the circular was confidential and contained tentative views of the Government of India and as one newspaper described it, it meant that the Government were talking in private. *Sir Henry Craik* claimed that he had chapter and verse to prove the facts mentioned in the circular. However, he confined his attention to the gravamen of the charge that Government were not justified in treating with suspicion and distrust this new feature of Congress work, namely, the All-India Village Industries Association and that Government should treat it as a non-political economic body.

*Mr. Jinnah* asked—If the circular was not to be put into effect by district officers what was the object of the circular?

*Sir Henry Craik* replied that the object was to elicit local extracts from an article in "Tribune" by Sardar Sardool Singh, a member of the Congress Working Committee, which showed that in the Sardar's opinion Government's appreciation of the Village Industries Association was correct. Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, had also stated in the Press that the Association was aimed at creating revolution to proceed from the villages. This was direct from the horse's mouth. Could then the Government be blamed for taking the view it had taken and pointing out the dangerous potentialities of the organisation. If, however, later developments showed that the organization was purely economic, Government would not withhold co-operation from it. But so long as the Congress maintained its present attitude towards civil disobedience, Government was justified in asking its agents to watch the movement carefully (applause).

*Dr. Banerji* (Bengal Nationalist) said that in India the welfare of the people depended on the economic welfare of the villages and it was unfortunate that Government had so far done nothing to reconstruct the villages. The Congress representing a large section of the people had come forward to take steps to revive village industries and it was not proper that Government should take up a hostile attitude.

*Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant*, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, described *Sir Henry Craik's* speech as containing quotations which were distorted and divorced from the context. *Pandit Pant* denied any intention to indicate that *Sir Henry Craik* intentionally wanted to give the House a deliberately wrong impression, but the fact remained that the impression he (*Sir Henry Craik*) had given was perverted. However, it was good that Government were submitting to the force of world opinion and were keeping themselves to wring in the Indian section of the Press. Finally *Pandit Pant* quoted from the rules of the Village Industries Association wherein every member of the Associa-

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photograph and deviating after every ten miles from the beaten track into the officially untrodden paths. Moreover, I am told, the circular has some very interesting remarks to make about the good that cometh out of official tours and detailed suggestions to offer about how they should be conducted even where money is scarce and the rural landscape is uninviting. There is a constitutional point which must not be overlooked. Does not the subject of village industries fall within the sphere of the transferred departments in the provinces? How do ministers feel with regard to the circular which trespasses most frequently upon their domain?"

It was also understood that the U. P. Government took steps to impress upon Collectors and Sub-Divisional Officers the necessity of their making extensive tours in their districts or Sub-Divisions with a view to knowing more about the rural conditions. The Government was understood to have further ordered that officers should go into the interior of the rural areas instead of camping on roadsides. It was emphasised that the Sub-Divisional Officers should have their own horses for touring purposes. The Local Government offered to move the Government of India to so amend the rules about grants of advances for the purpose of conveyances that they would apply to the purchases of horses also. Coinciding with Gandhiji's village revival scheme this move of Government was regarded as significant.

tion was pledged not to participate in any campaign of civil disobedience but seek co-operation of all those capable to give assistance, irrespective of politics.

#### INDIAN MINES ACT AMEND. BILL

**22nd JANUARY :—***Sir Frank Noyce* introduced a Bill to-day to amend the Indian Mines Act which was the result of a resolution passed by the Central Legislature recommending the Government to examine the possibility of reducing statutory limit of hours in mines. After this resolution was passed the local Governments and interests were consulted. Clause 2 of the Bill raised from thirteen to fifteen years the minimum age for employment in mines. The Labour Commission had recommended the age of fourteen, but the Government of India considered fifteen as desirable in view of the fact that full adult day can be worked by all who were not children and they believed that the change proposed would give rise to no serious difficulty. Clause 3 made representation of mine workers on mining boards equal to that of employers and followed the recommendation of the Labour Commission. As for hours it was proposed to reduce the work above ground from sixty-hours a week to fifty-hour and from twelve hours daily to ten hours daily. The below ground hours were reduced from twelve per day to nine hours. A spread over of eleven hours for workers above ground had been provided in order to permit the grant of adequate rest intervals.

#### INDIAN NATURALIZATION ACT AMEND. BILL

*Sir Henry Craik* introduced the Bill to amend the Indian Naturalization Act. It related to the national status of married women. It provided that a married woman whose husband acquired British Indian nationality during the marriage shall only acquire such nationality if she made a declaration of her desire to do so. It also protected such a woman from the loss of British Indian nationality as a consequence of loss of such nationality by her husband unless by reason of the acquisition of a new nationality by her husband she also acquired that nationality.

#### MR. SARAT BOSE'S DETENTION

The Assembly then took up the discussion of the adjournment motion of *Mr. N. C. Bardoloi* regarding the detention of *Mr. Sarat C. Bose*. The mover asserted that the Government in preventing *Mr. Sarat C. Bose*, an elected member of the Assembly, from joining his duties as a member of the House, had seriously infringed the privilege of the House of having the services of a member elected by a constituency and had infringed the right of the constituency which elected him of being represented in the House. Referring to the history of *Mr. Bose's* detention, the speaker stated that the facts of *Mr. Bose's* imprisonment were well-known. He had been detained under Regulation III of 1818 for a long time. At the time of the Assembly election it was found that there was nothing in the Government of India Act which prevented *Mr. Bose* from seeking election. He filed nomination paper and was unanimously elected which was gazetted by the Government.

Finally, he was summoned by the Governor-General to come and take his part as a member of the Assembly. This was the state of things, added the speaker, which occurred just before the Assembly commenced its session. But when *Mr. Bose* was about to come to attend the Assembly, he was not allowed to do so, because he was detained under Regulation III. Why was he then allowed to file nomination, asked *Mr. Bardoloi*. The Government of India Act, continued *Mr. Bardoloi*, is a foreign legislation. It prescribed qualifications, and there was no disqualification assigned therein to a man detained under Regulation III. When the Government has suspicion on a man against whom they have no proof, the Government find it convenient to net him in under Regulation III. As a matter of fact, despite no proof against *Mr. Bose*, despite his challenge to the Government for adducing any proof substantiating their charges against him, despite the finding of a tribunal consisting of a High Court Judge and the law members of the Government of India and the Bengal Government, *Mr. Bose* had been still detained under regulation III. The mover asked under what law was he summoned to attend the Assembly. The Regulation III was enacted by the Government of India, but how could it supersede a Parliamentary Act? Under the provision of the Government of India Act, he was called upon to join the Assembly duties, but the Government of Bengal set it at naught. Could the Bengal Government do that, and if so, under what law, asked the mover. Proceeding, *Mr. Bardoloi* said when a man was detained on suspicion, he sometimes was allowed to live as a free man in another province. The speaker did not understand why it was not possible in *Mr. Bose's* case. What would be the harm if he was permitted to come to Delhi and perform duties as a member of the Assembly.

Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutt* described Government's action as a breach of faith, so far as Mr. Bose himself and his constituency were concerned. Mr. Bose was duly nominated. His nomination was duly held valid after security, his election was gazetted and he received summons from H. E. the Viceroy to attend the session (Mr. *Sreprakash*—His name was even called out yesterday by the Secretary). During all this time the Government raised no objection. But now after the session has started, they would not allow him to come here.

Sir *N. N. Sircar* said that the question of privileges had been raised. According to Maye's Parliamentary Practices it had been laid down over and over again that no subordinate legislature created by the Imperial Statute enjoyed the powers and privileges beyond those given by the Statute.

Sir *Cowasji*—Then does it mean that we have no privileges above those of ordinary citizens?

Sir *N. N. Sircar*—The Act has conferred the right of freedom of speech to members and as a result of the Muddiman Committee Enquiry an amending Statute was passed giving members immunity from arrest in certain circumstances. That amendment showed that any privileges to be acquired must be sanctioned by the Statute and the British Parliament's privileges based on custom did not accrue to a subordinate legislature. The legislatures of Tasmania and Ceylon had raised the question and found a similar position. The Law Member maintained that even in England persons detained under the law similar to the Regulation had no privilege of the kind claimed for Mr. Bose.

Mr. *Bardoloi*—But can any detainee stand for election in England?

Sir *N. N. Sircar* proceeding said that as for summons by the Governor-General if Mr. Bose thought that his personal rights had been infringed, then it was open to him to move the court in the same way as the Assembly was not a forum to protect a member who though immune from arrest under the Act of 1925 was yet arrested. In this case the court should be moved. Again, what was the legal force of the Governor-General's summons which though called a summons was no more than an invitation to attend the session? If the summons was dissolved the Governor-General could not force a member to attend.

He asked was it suggested that if a member summoned from Madras committed a murder in train (voices—Why? not Bengal?)—if a member from Bengal committed a murder in a train would the officer who came to arrest be warned off because the Governor-General had summoned the member to attend the House? That showed the absurdity of the argument that there had been a conflict between the Governor-General and Government authority.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Opposition, said that the Leader of the House had shown by his own quotation that privileges could arise by custom and precedent. He emphasised the word precedent. Even though the Government had failed to respond to the vote of the House on the last occasion, precedent was definitely established that in the opinion of the House a member should not be detained. Privileges was a term to be used in two senses. Firstly, privileges of the House as the supreme court at whose bar those who committed a breach could be called. It was a pity it was this privilege that was made much of, but there was a distinction between the privilege of the House and the privilege of an individual member. The privilege of the House might not be respected by the Government but the privilege of an individual member was implicit and inherent in the very position to which he had been elected under an Act of Parliament. The facts of the case were not disputed by the Law Member. Parliament when prescribing a disqualification was not unaware of the existence of these lawless laws and I did not omit the inclusion of this disqualification by inadvertence, but even if it did, the fact remained that he was not disqualified. He did not base his claim on the strength of privileges enjoyed in the House of Commons, but that so long the Statute did not deny the inherent right, it must be conceded. In any case a precedent had been created and he asked every member of the House to support the motion so that privileges might grow (cheers). Mr. Desai maintained that the act of the Executive in preventing Mr. Bose's attendance was a sign not of courage but of growing diffidence to let persons duly elected from giving assistance the House was entitled to have (applause). He concluded: "May I point out that even in the case of a convicted person prison doors open if the convict needed help in course of justice. (cheers). Here is a person not convicted and the privileges of this House are not less than those of an ordinary court, but greater and higher, and yet the executive refuse to let one of the members attend its sitting." (Applause).

Mr. *Jinnah* said that even if privilege did not exist, the Assembly could censure the Government for detaining a person so long without trial.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* demanded immediate release of Mr. Bose, or in the alternative, to put him on trial or convince him by giving substantial reasons that the Government had justification in detaining him any longer. The speaker said trust begets trust, and the Home Member was forgetting that the people on this side of the House would be members of the Treasury Benches to-morrow when they would get to know information now withheld.

Then followed a series of interpellations during the *Home Member's* speech by *Sir Jehangir* and Mr. *Jinnah*, the latter pointing out that if the House were to confine its remarks only to privileges in the technical Parliamentary sense, the motion should not have been admitted at all. If the Home Member did not explain the reasons of preventing Mr. Bose from coming, he would vote against the Government.

*Sir Henry Craik*, referring to the Law Member's speech, said that Sir N. N. Sircar had completely demolished the theory of privileges, and he, therefore, maintained that when there was no question of privilege, the question of infringement did not arise at all. The Congress might win in division, but in debate, victory was Government's.

Closure was then applied and the motion was carried by 58 to 64 votes, which was his first victory for the Congress in the present Assembly which then adjourned till 24th.

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

**24th. JANUARY:**—The election of the President was held to-day. *Sir Abdur Rahim* was elected President by 70 votes as against 62 secured by his rival Congress candidate Mr. *T. A. K. Sherwani*. The Chairman then adjourned the House for half an hour. On reassembling, the Chairman read a message from the Viceroy, which the members heard standing. The message accorded approval to Sir Abdur Rahim's election.

#### H. E. The Viceroy's Address

Members assembled again at 3 p. m. to hear the Viceroy's address. The Viceroy arrived in procession and took his seat on the golden throne. His Excellency spoke feelingly, especially when referring to the constitutional question. The speech lasted 55 minutes and on conclusion was cheered by all sections of the House, except the Congress Party. The following is the text of His Excellency's speech:—

Gentlemen! In rising to greet the Hon. Members to this, the first session of a new Assembly, my first very pleasant duty is to congratulate you warmly, Mr. President, on your election to your important and responsible post. With some knowledge of your activities during the long years of public service, I am confident that you will carry out your duties with fairness and justice to every Hon. Member of this Assembly and I am equally confident that I can rely on every Hon'ble Member giving his full support to the chair.

My next duty is to welcome to the Legislative Assembly those who have been elected by their constituencies to represent their interests. Many of those who were members in the Assembly when I last addressed it have failed to secure re-election and though I and my colleagues cannot but regret the absence of those with whom we have been so closely associated during the life-time of the last Assembly, our welcome to those who have taken their place is none the less sincere. I trust that closer association with my Government will make those of you who come to this house for the first time appreciate more fully the difficult nature of the problems with which we all are called upon to deal and that the discussions, whether formal or informal, will make you realise that, even though we may differ as to the methods, we all have before us the same ideal—the welfare and advancement of India.

#### KING'S JUBILEE-FUND

Before I pass on to refer in greater detail to some of the matters which fall outside the realm of politics or political controversy, the year 1935 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of His Majesty the King Emperor's accession to the Throne. It is in accordance with His Majesty's wishes that May 6th is to be a day of special thanksgiving throughout the Empire. The local Governments and the local committees which they are constituting will, I feel sure, receive the cordial support of the members of all communities, classes and creeds in carrying out their thanksgiving celebrations in the manner most appropriate to the locality. You will also have seen the public appeal which I issued a few weeks ago with the gracious approval of His Majesty, suggesting that, in commemoration of this auspicious occasion, a Fund should be raised in India for charitable purposes and to be devoted to four institutions of an all-India character, which are well-known to all classes in the country as a constant source of relief to cases of suffering and want. The very ready response, which was given to the appeal to relieve the distress caused by the earthquake a year ago, makes me hope that once

again the Princes and people of India, will give proof of their devotion to the Crown and of their generosity to those in need of assistance. I profoundly hope that all members of the Assembly will do their share in helping on this work.

May I also say that I am glad to think that at the very outset of their association with the Indian Legislature, the Hon. Members will have an opportunity of seeing something of the work of the Army during the course of the manoeuvres that are now taking place in the vicinity of Delhi. It has always been the view of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and it is one in which I entirely concur, that the representatives of the tax-payer should have every right to see in every sphere as much as they can of the way in which their money is spent.

It is my custom on this occasion to give you a general survey of the situation in India under the various heads of our administration and to inform you of such legislative measures as we propose to lay before you for your consideration, in addition to the Railway and General Budgets, which are always brought up for discussion at this session.

Let me commence by saying, that, as regards Foreign Affairs, India's relations with her neighbours continue to be friendly. The undemarcated Frontier between Burma and China, to which I referred when I last addressed the members of the Assembly, appears to be on its way to a satisfactory solution by means of a Boundary Commission, which I hope will meet before very long. I also look forward within the next few days to receiving a visit from His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal as the guest of the Government of India. You will all, I am sure, join me in extending a hearty welcome to our distinguished guest.

#### ZANZIBAR

In the course of my address to the two House of the Central Legislature last August, I referred to the position of Indians in Zanzibar. Mr. Menon, who was deputed by my Government to this territory in order to study the effect of the legislation in question, presented his report at the end of September. A special meeting of the Standing Emigration Committee of the Central Legislature was summoned in the middle of November to consider the report. In full agreement with the advice of the Committee, which endorsed the recommendations of Mr. Menon, representations were made to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. In view of the close connection between debts and the security on which they have been advanced we have, acting on Mr. Menon's advice, decided to defer final comment on the Land Alienation Decree until the Commission appointed by the Government of Zanzibar to report on the question of indebtedness, has reported. As regards legislation relating to the clove trade, which appears to be of immediate and far-reaching menace to Indian trading interests, we have suggested drastic revision. The comments of the Resident in Zanzibar, to whom the Colonial Office referred Mr. Menon's Report, have been recently received. Both the report and the comments will be published shortly. Meanwhile, I would like to give the Hon'ble Members the assurance that the Government of India will continue to do their utmost to secure that the interests of the Indian community, which has long and honourable record of association with Zanzibar, are fully safeguarded.

Hon'ble Members will be aware of the anxiety which leaders of the Indian community in Kenya have, for some time, voiced regarding legislation to regulate the marketing of Native produce in that territory, which, they expected, would be introduced. Profiting by Mr. Menon's deputation to Zanzibar, my Government secured the concurrence of the Colonial Office to Mr. Menon's investigating the operation of similar legislation in Uganda and Tanganyika where it has been in force for some time and to assess its probable effect upon Indian interests in Kenya. On the basis of the report which Mr. Menon submitted, representations were made early in November. Hon'ble members will be glad to learn that pending consideration of Mr. Menon's views progress with the Bill which the Government of Kenya had gazetted has been deferred.

#### INDIAN AGENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Before leaving the subject of Indians overseas, I wish to refer to the impending change in the office of Agent of the Government of India in South Africa. For domestic reasons, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh has decided to return to India a few months before the expiry of the normal term, which is three years. My Government will be sorry to lose his services. His successor, the Hon'ble Syed Raza Ali, who is known to many of you personally, has already served in the Union as a member of a deputation which the Government of India sent there in the difficult days when the Class Areas Bill was under consideration. His previous knowledge of the country and general

experience as a man of affairs should enable him to continue with success the work of his distinguished predecessors.

Hon'ble members cannot but be familiar with, probably many of them have participated in, the discussions and enquiries which are afoot regarding India's educational system. I am not one of those who felt that the present system has served no useful purpose and that it is an unmixt evil. Social and economic changes, not to mention political changes, create conditions which necessitate the overhaul of educational as of other activities. They are signs of a progressive national life not necessarily accusers of what has been or exists. My Government welcome the keen interest which educational problems have aroused throughout India, the profound attention which they are receiving from Local Governments, from educationists and from leading public personalities. The constitutional framework has made education the responsibility of Provincial Ministers and local Legislatures. This is as it should be, but education is at the very root of national prosperity. The Government of India cannot, therefore, be disinterested and aloof spectators. They may no longer direct or control. They can help to provide machinery which will facilitate and promote interchange of ideas and information. For this purpose, my Government have decided to revive the Educational Advisory Board from the next financial year. The Assembly will be approached in due course to vote funds for the expenditure involved. During its last session the Assembly approved the proposal of my Government to locate the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research in a more central place. A suitable site has been finally chosen for the purpose and I hope to lay the foundation stone of the building next month. The new institute when ready will be within easy reach of this Chamber. Hon'ble members from all parts of India will thus be able without the effort or inconvenience of a tedious journey to familiarise themselves with the work of the Institute for India's staple industry. The Imperial Control of Agricultural Research has continued its efforts to assist, co-ordinate and guide agricultural research throughout India and has been appreciated and utilised to a steadily increasing degree.

As you are aware, the Hyderabad, Mysore and the Baroda States have participated in the work of the Research Council and contributed to its funds for some time past. Recently, the Travancore, Cochin and Bhopal States have joined the Research Council and undertaken to make suitable contribution to its exchequer. At the present moment, perhaps, most interest attaches to the steps which have been taken with the object of improving the financial return to the cultivator for his enterprise. When I addressed the House last August, I referred to some detail of the steps which my Government was taking for the improvements in the marketing of agricultural produce. I mentioned in particular intention to initiate at as early a date as possible marketing surveys for certain main groups and commodities, viz., cereals, oilseeds, fruit and vegetables, fibres and tobacco, dairy produce and poultry, livestock and livestock products. Since then, the public Service Commission has been engaged on the recruitment of 17 central marketing officers and assistant marketing officers and these gentlemen are expected to take up their duties under the marketing expert early next month. The details of the provincial sections of the scheme have also been completed and the work will start almost immediately in the various provinces. Simultaneously with the commodity surveys, the existing markets both primary and terminal will be studied and also the results of the previous efforts which have been made to organise producers and improve the markets open to them. It gives me great pleasure to add that we have also been assured of the active co-operation of a number of Indian States in the carrying out of this important project and that several of them are appointing special marketing staffs of their own for the purpose. As each survey is completed, the practical conclusions to which they are designed to lead will be examined in consultation with Local Governments, so that the active development work for the improvement of marketing may be undertaken without delay. For simplicity in the administration and the convenience of the public, the marketing expert to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been designated Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India and a separate office created and attached to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research Department.

#### DAIRY INDUSTRY

Another matter which came under consideration of the Provincial Economic Conference in April 1934 was the improvement and development of the dairy industry in India—a question of first class importance to producers and consumers alike in these days, when world markets appear to be too well supplied with every kind of grain. The better development of livestock industries is an avenue of progress which cannot be neglected in any attempt to develop the dairy industry. It is particularly important



that better methods of marketing and technical improvements in the industry should be introduced simultaneously. This question also has been studied by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and proposals have recently been approved by Government under which the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore will be supplemented by a Dairy Industry Institute, including a model creamery and a laboratory for research on the physical and chemical properties of Indian milk and its utilisations. Various methods of processing and transporting milk under Indian conditions will be studied experimentally as well as the manufacture of condensed milk powder and other milk products including butter and ghee. In this manner, we hope to give a definite stimulus to developments which should improve the supply of milk and milk products to the general population specially in the towns and be of financial benefit to a large number of Indian agriculturists. Our general proposals in regard to both the marketing and dairying schemes have already received the approval of the Standing Finance Committee.

#### SUGAR TECHNOLOGY

During the debates on the Sugar Excise Bill which was passed into law last April, the Government accepted a recommendation of the Select Committee of this House that adequate provision should be made for scientific and technological research designed to assist the Indian Sugar Industry and thus repeated the assurance given when the Sugar Industry Protection Act was passed in 1932. In fulfilment of this promise, my Government have not approved the broad outlines of a scheme for a Central Sugar Institute, prepared by the Sugar Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. This Institute is intended to provide for research work in sugar technology, suitable training for scientific and technical staff and for technological assistance and advice to the industry. The Sugar Committee recommended that the Central Institute should be established at Cawnpore and, if possible, the existing sugar section of the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute should be expanded to the extent required. Not only is Cawnpore a very suitable centre for this purpose but the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute is already the headquarters of the Sugar Technologist and the experimental sugar factory maintained by the Research Council in co-operation with the United Provinces Government. I am glad to say that the provisional concurrence of the United Provinces Government in these proposals has been secured and we are now at work on details.

The need for building up a really efficient Indian sugar industry during the 15-year period for which traffic protection has been given by the Legislature is self-evident and I need hardly emphasise the essential part which scientific Research and properly organised technical instruction must play in that process.

#### TRUNK TELEPHONE

In the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the past year has seen some notable extensions of the Trunk Telephone System of India and my Government intend to pursue their policy of expansion actively, as they feel that this rapid and effective means of communication must be of great benefit to the commercial community. You may be interested to hear that the Department under the instructions of my Government is now making arrangements to issue a special series of commemoration stamps in connection with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor.

#### AIR TRANSPORT

The great developments which have taken place in the last two months show the increasing importance of Air Transport in the country. A New Air Mail Service was inaugurated in December between Karachi and Lahore which will make connection with the Imperial Airways Service at Karachi and so bring the people of North-West India into closer relations with western countries.

An even more striking development has been the duplication at the beginning of this month of the Imperial Airways Service from Croydon to Karachi. I am glad to be able to say that this duplication has been supplemented in a praiseworthy spirit of co-operation by the Companies operating our internal air services. The Trans-India Service to Calcutta has been duplicated and the duplication carried on from Calcutta to Rangoon. The feeder services to Madras and to Lahore have also been duplicated. As a result of these expansions, the whole of India has now the benefit of two Air Mail Services a week and I trust that these increased facilities will be a factor in improving Indian trade. You will have gathered from the statements which have appeared in the Press that His Majesty's Government have now under consideration a



scheme of the very highest importance for the introduction of an Empire Air Mail Service, the adoption of which would bring about by far the greatest single advance which has yet been made in the speed and frequency of air services and incidentally bring India into much closer contact with Empire countries and with other countries lying on or near the Empire routes. My Government fully realise the extent to which India is concerned in these proposals and the part it is desirable that they should take in any scheme of Empire air routes. I am not in a position at the moment to say more than that they are giving the scheme their most serious consideration.

In connection with road development, two important events have occurred recently. In December last, an Indian Roads Congress was held which was attended by engineers from all provinces and important States in India and by a number of business men professionally interested in road-making. The object of the Congress was to enable those concerned with the technical aspects of road construction to pool their experiences and to learn how the problems which confront them have been attacked and solved in other parts of India. I understand that the general impression amongst those who attended the Congress was that this was successfully achieved and that it was felt that the meeting should be the first of a series which will keep road engineers in close touch with those methods of road making which have proved failures in the past.

The Road Congress was followed in January by the first meeting of the Transport Advisory Council, a body of an entirely different character and with a different purpose. It consisted of the Ministers in charge of roads in the provinces of their representatives with one or two Council advisers and its function was to arrive at a considered statement of policy, which could be generally acted upon by the Provinces for the furtherance of the co-ordinated development of road-rail and other forms of transport, a purpose which all must admit is of the very highest importance. I am glad to be able to say that the Council was able to formulate a statement of policy which covers many, if not all, of the major problems now facing us in connection with this very difficult subject and they also indicated definite lines for further investigation. This statement of policy will now be placed by my Government before the Provincial Governments and I trust that it will not be long before it is in active operation and that it will prove of great economic benefit to the whole country.

#### LABOUR LEGISLATION

While the constitutional issues naturally tend to occupy the leading place in our minds at present, the consideration of these should not hamper us in pursuing reform in other directions. The Whitley Commission, after quoting John Bright's maxim that "nation in every country dwells in the cottage", added that the well-being of the people must be the primary concern of every government, whatever its composition. The same is true of every legislature and it is satisfactory to find on looking back that although legislative assemblies have varied considerably in composition and outlook, they have all agreed in pursuing legislation designed to protect and ameliorate the condition of labour. We are at present pursuing an important programme of labour legislation, which follows the general lines suggested by the Whitley Commission and some Bills arising directly or indirectly out of that Commission's recommendations will come up for your consideration. One of these Bills is designed mainly to prevent certain abuses relating to the payment of wages and represents a beginning for India of what is known elsewhere as "truck legislation." A Bill for this purpose was introduced in the preceding Assembly and circulated for opinion. After these were revived, a motion for a select committee was tabled. It was unfortunately not reached. We have used the interval to attempt ourselves to incorporate a number of changes suggested by the opinions and thereby facilitate further progress and the new Bill accordingly represents a revised edition of the old one. I commend it to your careful consideration. A second Labour Bill which has already been introduced involves a revision of the main labour provisions of the Indian Mines Act. It includes proposals for reducing maximum hours and for raising substantially the minimum age for employment in mines.

Two further Bills owe certain amount of inspiration to the Whitley Commission, although they do not fall within the category of Labour legislation but have a wider aim. They both seek to amend the Civil Procedure Code in respect of the execution of decrees and they are both designed for the protection of debtors. The problem of indebtedness has been very prominently before the public in recent years and in some provinces, bold legislative experiments are being essayed in the endeavour to alleviate what is undoubtedly a grave weakness of our economic system. Our proposals are

more modest in scope and aim at ensuring that the law cannot be invoked to enforce undue hardship on those who become embarrassed. The most important provision of one of the Bills extends protection from attachment from all salaries not exceeding Rs. 100 per month, while the object of the other is to protect honest judgment-debtors from imprisonment for debt.

#### EXCHANGE DIFFICULTIES

We are now in the sixth year of the economic depression which fell like a blight on world trade and commerce in 1929. Our hopes of better times have been disappointed too often in the past few years to warrant more than a measure of cautious optimism for the immediate future but we in India may at least take comfort from the fact that the recovery in our foreign trade which manifested itself last year is still being maintained, while the recent improvement in railway traffic may fairly be regarded as significant of better things to come but the full restoration of prosperity to India does not depend on India alone. So long as the natural flow of world trade is interrupted or diverted into artificial channels for so long will the process of recovery be retarded. It is fortunate that some of the best of our customers for the raw and semi-manufactured products of India have been driven by sheer necessity to adopt expedients to balance their trade exchanges which a few years ago would have been unthinkable but, whatever opinion we may have of the wisdom of systems of quotas and exchange restrictions, we cannot but recognise the stern logic of facts and the practical difficulties which lie in the path to recovery. In particular, the financial embarrassments of Germany have called into being a regime of import and exchange control which may have serious repercussions on India's export trade in many important staples. This is a problem which has been receiving the most earnest consideration of the Government of India. It is a problem which is capable of no facile solution but I am hopeful that my Government with the co-operation and advice of the commercial interests mainly concerned will evolve a solution which will be as satisfactory in the ultimate as in the immediate interests of India.

#### THE TRADE AGREEMENT

As hon'ble members of this House are no doubt aware, the trade agreement between India and the United Kingdom which was concluded at Ottawa in 1932 related only to such goods as were subject to non-protective or non-concessional rates of duty. There was signed on the 9th of this month a supplementary Agreement between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which covers the important field of protected commodities which was left untouched by the main Agreement of 1932. It is in the nature of things that the later Agreement should differ in its character from the earlier one. It relates not so much to the tariff treatment of specific commodities as to the general principles governing the exercise of our present policy of discriminating protection. It is the hope of my Government that the clear and unequivocal statement of the tariff policy contained in the new Agreement will remove any lingering doubts or suspicions and help to inaugurate an era of goodwill and friendliness with profound benefit to the trade and political relations of Great Britain and India.

#### BURMA

The separation of Burma from India is an issue of prime importance from many points of view but I would refer here to one aspect of the question only. If and when Burma separates, there will arise the problem of the future trade relations of the two countries which upto the moment of separation have been in the closest possible economic union. It is of equal importance to both countries that there should be no abrupt discontinuity or dislocation of their mutual trade and it is, therefore, essential to provide against such a contingency. You will, I think, agree that it would be unreasonable to pass on to two responsible governments a ready-made regime which would fetter in perpetuity or for any considerable time their powers and discretion to formulate and put into operation a tariff policy in consonance with their own particular circumstances. At the same time the period of transition and adaptation to new conditions will be a difficult one and I believe that it will be service to both countries, if there is prescribed a regime governing the mutual trade of India and Burma for a limited period after separation. Within the limited period, it should be possible for both Governments to take stock of their position and to negotiate freely and on their own responsibility a fresh agreement in the best interests of those whom they represent. The nature of the temporary regime is the subject of conversation between my Government and representatives of the Government of Burma. In a

matter of vital importance to commerce and industry in India, we have sought the advice of representatives of those interests and the views which they have expressed will receive the fullest consideration of my Government in the negotiation of any agreement or convention.

#### THE NEW BILL

In the speeches I have made since the publication of the Joint Select Committee's Report, I have expressed myself generally on the scheme of constitutional reform but I feel that in addressing honourable members on this subject I have a special message to deliver in order that I may give expression to thoughts on which my mind has dwelt longer than is perhaps realised. My association with India now dates back so many years that I can without presumption lay before you reflections based on my own experience. For that reason, speaking as the head of the administration in India, I hope, I may be allowed to strike a more personal note than is usual in these addresses. I would ask you in the first place, when you turn over in your thoughts the scheme of constitutional reform now embodied in a Bill, to fix your attention on the broad lines on which it is planned, placing on one side for the moment the arguments and discussions of recent years, the evidence and the memoranda, the documents and the reports, in short all the literature of the Reforms. Free your minds of these and let your thoughts centre on the great principles which have increasingly asserted themselves, until they have dominated the scheme. They are the foundations on which the scheme is built, Provincial Autonomy in British India and Federation comprising the whole continent.

I can remember the time when Federation was discussed as a visionary dream, something in the remote future, something distant and scarcely practicable. Gradually it has taken shape. It has come nearer. Honourable Members with as close a knowledge of India's political history as my own will remember that the authors of the Joint Report of 1917 were not content with sketching an immediate scheme of Reforms. They let their minds run on into what the future might bring. What was it they saw before them, when they assumed the mantle of prophecy? Let me take their own words. "India was to be a sisterhood of self-governing States presided over by a Central Government occupied with matters of common interest external and internal. The Units were not to be the provinces only. With them there were to be associated the Indian States anxious to contribute to the common service but sensitive to maintain their own individuality." In 1917, these thoughts were expressed as a conception of the future, something to aim at, something not yet within reach but where do we stand now?

#### THE PRINCES' SUPPORT

Never should we forget the contribution of the Princes at the first Round Table Conference, when they declared their readiness to enter All-India Federation. The appeal of this great principle was irresistible. The princes rose to the occasion. What was till then scarcely more than a picture of a possible future was transformed at once into something substantial on which to build. Here at last were the real foundations on which to construct a scheme embodying the essential unity of India. Look back over India's history to the time before the British connection established itself. This dream of a dominion extending its authority from one end of the continent to the other, from age to age, seized the mind and gripped the imagination of the great rulers of the past.

We, the British in India, have brought peace and ordered government over a long period of years. Under our hand the political life of the country has grown and expanded. New ideas of public and personal liberty have been encouraged and have taken root, but in a Federation of all-India, I see the coping stone of British achievement. I can confidently assert that this ideal with its necessary corollary of provincial autonomy should command the support of all, both British and Indian, who honestly desire the advancement of India in the successive stages of her political development but if this is our objective how is it to be reached? The answer will be found in the Report of the Select Committee and in the Bill presented by His Majesty's Government to Parliament. Years of thought and careful investigation have been given to the preparation of the scheme in all its multifarious and complicated details. It is no easy road that leads to Federation. The higher we set our aim, the more numerous the difficulties to surmount, but that is no reason why we should be deterred. Do not imagine for a moment that it is possible to construct so great a scheme of political advance with as much ease and exactness as an architect can command in planning or altering a house.

There are many diversities of taste, many varieties of ambition of which account has to be taken when a new constitution is planned.

Let us as practical men recognise that in any large and general question difference of opinion must exist. Take the question of reservations and safeguards to which especially Indian criticism has been directed. In a sense these safeguards are themselves a measure of the advance intended. Were the transfer of power contemplated by His Majesty's Government so small, so exiguous a thing as critics are apt to suggest, the need for safeguards would scarcely have been raised. It is because the transfer of power is real both in range and in substance that caution demands safeguards to carry us safely from one system of Government to another. Is the inclusion of safeguards an unreasonable or unfriendly act? Surely, this would be a narrow and a prejudiced view. We owe an acknowledgment to the Select Committee for helping to put the constitutional safeguards, for instance, the special powers of the Governor-General and the Governors in their true light as the necessary complement in present conditions to responsible government without which it could have small hope of success.

#### DIRECT ELECTION

In other directions also the scheme is criticised. For instance, it is suggested in some quarters that a sinister motive underlies the substitution of indirect for direct election to the federal legislature. It is no secret that I personally and my Government supported the principle of direct election. That does not mean that we do not recognise that there are cogent arguments on the other side. After balancing the considerations, the committee decided in favour of indirect election, but mark their words. They have said in the most explicit terms that they do not think it possible for Parliament to lay down to-day the exact method of constituting the Central Legislature for any long period of time. They express the hope that after the time has passed for experience to be gained, the federal legislature, if Indian opinion thinks modification is required will lay its own proposals before Parliament. We cannot anticipate the decision Parliament will reach on this important question but advocate, as I have always been, of direct election, I do not feel that what the Committee wrote on the subject should leave Indians with a sense of grievance.

Some of those who criticise the proposals admit that Indian disagreement has contributed to the sufficiently formidable difficulty of framing a constitution on so vast a scale. Undoubtedly, these disagreements have influenced the form of the proposals but be it remembered to the credit of His Majesty's Government that they have at no time allowed disagreements among Indians to impede the paths of reform. Of this no better illustration could be given than the communal decision undertaken by His Majesty's Government solely for the reason that the communities were unable to agree among themselves.

A constitutional scheme prepared in these conditions may not be ideally perfect. Were that the test to be applied, all human action would be impeded and no human institution would be commendable but I am satisfied that the scheme gives to India the opportunity to which she so earnestly aspires to mould her future nearer to her heart's desire. Parliament may make modifications in this or that direction during the period, while the scheme is under their consideration in the ensuing months. Let Indian leaders work to secure changes or improvements on points to which they attach importance but I counsel them in all earnestness to take the scheme as the only likely path in any period of time that we can yet foresee to bring within their reach the great ideal of All-India Federation.

If, as I confidently hope, the proposals of His Majesty's Government are accepted by Parliament on whom lies the final responsibility, I look to this country to respond with no uncertain voice to the opportunity offered. It has always been my ambition to see India take her position in terms of equality with the other members of the British Commonwealth. As her problems differ from those of the other parts of the Empire, so too may her constitution take a form different from the constitutions elsewhere but I am convinced that the path to Federation is the path that leads to India's sure advance. The Constitutional Scheme that takes India on that road is a scheme well-worth the exercise of her best exertions.

With these words, I leave you to your labours and it is my earnest prayer that a divine Providence may in the momentous days that lie ahead of us guide us all in the discharge of our several responsibilities.

#### HAJ PILGRIM GUIDES BILL

**28th. JANUARY :—**After three days' recess the Assembly met to-day, Sir Abdur Rahim presiding. Mr. G. S. Bapat introduced the Haj Pilgrim Guides Bill which was the same

measure as amended by the select committee in the last Assembly. The Bill had lapsed owing to the dissolution of the Assembly and had been now revived. The object of the new bill is explained in a statement attached to the Bill as follows:—Professional pilgrim guides, many of whom are foreign subjects, play an important part in connection with Haj pilgrimage. Their activities were originally confined to Hedjaz but now extend to recruitment of pilgrims from foreign countries and with this object in view foreign pilgrim guides frequently visit India. During three or four months preceding the Haj day, pilgrim guides, both Indian and foreign, tour throughout the country especially Bengal in an endeavour to secure as many clients as possible and escort them to Hedjaz. Some of them do their work honestly and to the benefit of pilgrims, but unfortunately others are unscrupulous and dishonest. The Government of India carefully examined the committee's proposals in consultation with the Governments of Bombay and Bengal and other interested parties including the Standing Haj Committee of the Indian legislature and came to the conclusion that legislation on the subject was necessary. A Bill on the subject was accordingly introduced in the Legislative Assembly on March 31, 1932, and referred to a select committee on April 5, 1932. The report of the Select Committee was presented on Feb. 1, 1933. On Sept. 16, 1933, the Bill was recommitteed to the select committee and its report was presented on August 8, 1934. The Bill could not be proceeded with in the session of the last Assembly and, therefore, lapsed. The present Bill is identical with the Bill as amended by the second select committee. Reasons for various provisions included in the Bill are stated briefly in the notes on the clauses.

#### THE MINES ACT AMEND. BILL

Sir *Frank Noyce* moved for the appointment of a select committee on the Mines Act Amending Bill. Sir Frank said that the first Bill to come up before the new Assembly was one for social betterment. After tracing the history of this Bill from 1927 and dealing with the changes as introduced in the hours in mines the Industries Member claimed that though the bill might look as if they were distant from the eight hours' ideal still when the fact that the actual 'winding time', that is, time taken by taking the labourer down and up the mine, was excluded they had reached at least, the eight and half hour arrangement. The House adopted the motion for select committee.

#### INDIAN NATURALIZATION ACT. AMEND. BILL

On the *Home Member's* motion the House passed without discussion the Bill amending the Indian Naturalization Act giving effect to the international convention relating to the international status of married women. The House then adjourned.

### INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT DEBATE

**29th. JANUARY.**—The Trade Agreement between Britain and India, which was concluded in London on the 9th. January, was bitterly attacked in the Assembly to-day by several Opposition members, who demanded its immediate termination. The grounds of attack were, firstly, that Indian commercial interests were not consulted before the conclusion of the Agreement; secondly, that the Agreement was one-sided; and, lastly, that it had restricted the application of the principle of discriminatory protection. Sir *Joseph Bhore*, Commerce Member, explained that the Agreement had done nothing more than crystallize past fiscal practice and principle, which had been accepted and laid down either directly or indirectly by the Central Legislature, and had broken no new ground. Such an agreement, he added, would help more than anything else "to relegate safeguards to a region where they will lie unused."

Sir *Joseph Bhore* simply moved: "That the Agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India, signed on January 9, be taken into consideration." Sir Joseph said that the Agreement was clear in its terms and required no elaborate explanation of justification, but experience in the past had shown how easy it was for a wrong judgment to be formed and hasty conclusions to be reached under the pressure of political bias. He hoped that in this case at least logic and facts would overcome prejudice. He put to himself two questions: firstly what was the essential nature of this Agreement; and, secondly, why it had been considered necessary to enter into it at this stage. As regards the first question, his answer was that the Government of India would continue their adherence to the policy of discriminating protection as outlined by the Assembly. Nothing in the Agreement had either derogated from that policy or weakened its application by one jot. Secondly, the Government of India had undertaken to apply that policy in the manner they had applied it at present. Thirdly, in the conduct of the Tariff Board enquiry

the Government had always allowed industries, whether British or foreign, to state their cases wholly and frankly so that the interests of the Indian consumer and taxpayer might be thoroughly investigated. Fourthly, the Government had never abandoned the duty of re-investigating the case of an Indian industry, if radical alterations occurred in the conditions affecting the industry. Sir Joseph claimed: "We have done nothing more than to crystallise our fiscal practice and principle which have been accepted and laid down either directly or indirectly by this legislature. This also explains why it was not necessary to consult commercial opinion in this country. We have broken no new ground. We have ventured upon no new field. Had we done so I have no doubt that we have followed the practice, intimated by myself, of prior consultation with the commercial and industrial interests concerned. Answering the second question, he had put to himself as to why was it necessary to enter into an agreement at this juncture Sir Joseph said that British interests did not desire to question the existing policy, but merely wished that India's policy should be defined and clarified so that there might be no misunderstanding hereafter. "So far as we are concerned this Agreement implements the implied promises given at Ottawa and the definite promises given to the Clare-Lees Deputation (Opposition: hear hear).

Mr K. L. Gauba (of the Punjab) moved that Sir Joseph Bhore's motion be substituted by another that the Agreement being unfair to India be terminated forthwith. He congratulated the Commerce Member on the clear and lucid exposition of a bad case (Laughter). He was not one of those who urged that the Government should always consult opinion, as some of the best commercial treaties had been entered in secret. He had read the Agreement very carefully and found that India had attained nothing thereby. The agreement was entirely one-sided (Non-official cheers). If it were only a crystallisation of the past fiscal practice, he said, then there was no alternative but to condemn that practice. The preamble of the Agreement laid down that it remained in force as long as the Ottawa Agreement lasted. He feared that this clause under the reformed constitution might be misinterpreted and the Agreement might be allowed to continue on the ground that its termination amounted to commercial discrimination.

*Swami Venkatachalam Chetty* (Congress), representing the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, moved an amendment disapproving the Agreement and recommending its immediate termination. He questioned all the three promises taken up by Sir Joseph Bhore. Challenging the Commerce Member's contention that the Agreement was only supplemental to the Ottawa Pact, Mr. Chetty asked him to show if the Ottawa Pact ever suggested the bringing of India's policy of discriminating protection under it, for that pact merely suggested preference for British and Empire goods as against foreign goods. Mr. Chetty contended that this clarification was against the policy of protection laid down by the Assembly in 1923. Not even one Indian commercial body supported it. In fact, every one of them condemned it as monstrous and detrimental to the interests of Indian industries. The Viceroy himself stated on January 24 that the Agreement would improve the political and trade relations between Britain and India. Yet Sir Joseph Bhore stated today that political conditions did not intervene in the determination of this Agreement. As for consulting Indian commercial opinion, Mr. Chetty thought that the Government of India did not have the courage to consult them. Perhaps the most charitable interpretation was that the Government of India was coerced into signing the Agreement. It meant a surrender of India's rights. Any judicial tribunal, if appointed, would come to the same conclusion.

Mr. *Bajinath Bajora*, representing the Marwari Association of Calcutta, moved an amendment postponing consideration of the Agreement until the opinion of commercial bodies had been obtained thereon or of a representative conference of commercial interests. Mr. Bajora did not doubt that the Government of India and the Commerce Member had done their best to protect India's interests, but His Majesty's Government proved too strong a match for them and it was a farce to submit the Agreement to the House after the mischief had been done. (Congress Applause). The Agreement meant that the Government had accepted the principle of Imperial Preference even after the country's unequivocal verdict through the defeat of Sir Shanmukham Chetty, the champion of the Ottawa Pact. (Congress applause).

Dr. *Promatha Nath Banerji*, the Nationalist Party spokesman, said though the Curzon Government and the Fiscal Commission had refused to endorse the policy of Imperial Preference and the Assembly protested against its introduction by back door in 1927 and 1930 the Agreement had introduced three new principles. Firstly, the application of the principle of discriminatory protection had been restricted, secondly, India had been committed to a principle of safeguarding British industry

and thirdly, India had parted power to negotiate a trade agreement with other countries on a free basis.

Mr. *Ramsay Scott* (European group) opposed the amendments and supported Sir Joseph Bore's resolution. He was in thorough agreement with the principles of the agreement and maintained that it was in the best interests of India and Britain and established once for all that India had complete freedom and control over her tariffs for whatsoever purpose such duties might be levied. The duration of the Agreement was only till the termination of the Ottawa Agreement which had only one year to run. The speaker hoped that the Ottawa Agreement which had been of so much use to India, would be renewed. (Opposition benches. Oh, oh !).

Mr. *Akhil Chandra Datta* (Bengal Nationalist), opposing the resolution, said that the Fiscal Autonomy Convention was cast to the winds for the benefit of British manufacturers and an agreement had been reached in terms which would prove to be a great handicap to the Indian Ministers in the future Government in the task of promoting Indian industries.

Mr. *A. G. Clow*, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department examined the language of the Fiscal Autonomy Convention as laid down in the Joint Select Committee's Report in 1919 and said there had been no interference by the Secretary of State in matters in which the Government of India and the legislature agreed.

Mr. *Mathradas Vassanji*, representing the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, criticized the Government for not consulting commercial opinion and, after examining the terms of Agreement in detail, he declared that the Indian government would be bound in almost all cases to charge a lower duty on British goods than on goods of other countries. And when it was remembered that the chief rival to the Indian industry was from the British, the Agreement surrendered India's birthright to develop her own industries reduced India's bargaining power with other countries.

Mr. *Nauman* stressed that no government except the Government of India could flout public and commercial opinion in the manner in which it had been done in the case of the Indo-British Agreement. It would in effect end for ever the Fiscal Autonomy Convention and tie the hands of Ministers, rendering them helpless. The Agreement was one-sided and detrimental to national trade.

**30th. JANUARY.**—Mr. *F. E. James*, continuing the debate on the Indo-British Pact today, said that most of the speeches delivered yesterday were based on inadequate study and preconceived opinion. Mr. James said that the policy of the European group was that the Government of India must have the right to consider the interests of India first. The agreement did not abrogate the fiscal principles. He emphasised that India's policy was discriminating protection and not indiscriminate exploitation of the consumer, and the agreement was a logical development of this policy. The Agreement did not embody the scheme of preferences, but differential duty based upon economic necessities of the case. Mr. James asked the House to remember that the Agreement did not guarantee any reduction of duty to the United Kingdom or any immediate prospect of increased trade to India. The Agreement was one of the principles on a basis of reciprocity and not a quota agreement. The Agreement indeed meant an important departure not from the the fiscal principles or from India's fiscal autonomy but from the previous relationship with the United Kingdom. As the Indo-Japanese Agreement was an important stage, namely, the conclusion of the first agreement with a foreign country, so this Agreement advanced the position still further and marked a still important stage by recognizing the power of the Government of India to negotiate agreements with His Majesty's Government. Concluding, Mr. James appealed to the House to realise that the agreement meant the earnest desire of United Kingdom to open a new era of economic co-operation, and rejection of the agreement would let loose the forces of suspicion and mistrust which in the past had poisoned the springs of relationship and hampered the achievement of India's desires. (Applause).

Mr. *H. P. Mody* blamed the Government for the atmosphere caused by the failure to consult commercial opinion. As far as the agreement was concerned, Mr. Mody opined, it did not sacrifice the vital interests of India. The cornerstone of India's fiscal policy was protective duties, revenue duties and the safeguarding duties. He challenged to show that any one of these corner-stones had been affected.

He understood the argument of those who said that they would not have any agreement with England till the political demands were conceded, but he profoundly disagreed with those who held that the agreement was against the interests of India. The critics apparently wanted to go beyond the Fiscal Commission's policy and wished to have not adequate protection but undue protection. The Government's existing policy of determining the fair selling price had made an extremely generous allowance



for profits. Mr. Mody wanted the House to make a distinction between preferential and differential duties. The latter were always opposed in the interests of consumers. Mr. Mody declared: "This agreement is no bar to our imposing adequate duties and even on the same level against British as against foreign goods."

Continuing, Mr. Mody said that as regards the provision that the differential margin should not be disturbed to the detriment of British interests, this was implicit in the policy of discriminating protection in the interest of the consumer. Similarly, foreign interests including the British and the Japanese had been given hearing in the past by the Tariff Board. That this had been the practice none could deny.

Mr. Mody admitted that U. K. had in the past secured economic advantage in India, but that miserable past had changed. (Voice—No, no). U. K. was now making an overture and seeking the hand of friendship.

In 1930 the British Cabinet represented that on certain British articles the duty should be reduced by five per cent but the Government of India could not agree and the British Cabinet did not pursue the matter, admitting that in view of the fiscal autonomy of India they could not have further to say. Mr. Mody urged the Government of India that any time that request came from the British side for an enquiry into the condition of a protected Indian industry that request should be referred to the Tariff Board and not dealt with departmentally.

He asked whether the Government of India which took up that position in 1930 would change in 1935. On the other hand, he felt that Sir Joseph Bore's record was one of which any member would be proud.

Mr. Mody also declared that under the Mody-Lees Pact certain reduction in duty was contemplated. It had not materialized and was not likely to materialise during the currency of the agreement and yet U. K. had already doubled the purchase of Indian cotton. (Cheers).

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, opposing the agreement, wanted to know why this solemn agreement was needed, if it meant nothing new. A Government communique could have made the position clear for Lancashire and why should the Government now fight and why not withdraw the agreement (applause). Mr. Jinnah contended that the agreement was not so, whereas at present the fair selling price was not the only test for giving adequate protection. Hereafter the test of the fair selling price would be the only test and the guiding star for the Government. "I refuse to be led by that guiding star. Have your other dominions a similar provision? No, You are putting a halter round my neck and handicapping me in an agreement with other countries. England does not buy everything from India (cheers). This agreement is therefore full of meaning. We are ready as we did in the case of the Steel Bill to impose differential duties on the merits of the case, but cannot subscribe to a new principle which prevents our giving protection on any other ground.

Mr. Gopanda Vallabh Pant did not object to any agreement being entered into. Mr. De Valera on behalf of Ireland only a few days ago had entered into an agreement with British for the exchange of cattle for coal. Mr. Pant was therefore prepared to examine the present agreement on its merits. But why was not Indian commercial opinion consulted, he asked. Did Sir Joseph Bore presume that Indian opinion would be in favour of such an agreement? Now that Indian commercial opinion was unanimously opposed to it, was he prepared to withdraw it? The Viceroy in Calcutta went out of his way when he addressed the Associated Chambers of Commerce in seeking "to gain first hand information from you on many aspects of the commercial situation." That was the attitude of the head of the Government in India towards British commercial opinion.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Opposition, said that the agreement could not be called an agreement either in the sense of law or in common sense (applause). The fact that the Government had signed it on January 9 and did not consult commercial opinion led to the shrewd suspicion that Government felt that if they consulted the opinion, they would have to abandon the agreement and that the disappearance of the docile Assembly meant that they could not take the risk of submitting the agreement to the present Assembly (cheers). Mr. Desai subjected the agreement to a detailed criticism and warned the House that the interpretation of Government members had no value. The House must vote on the language of the arrangement as it stood and as it was likely to be read. The first clause of the agreement gave nothing and clause 2 took away a great deal from India because whereas it provided for a lower duty on British goods, it did not state the converse case that a higher duty might be imposed on British and a lower on foreign goods if Indian interests so required (Applause). The European group was an amphibious group, with one eye to their interest in the country and the other towards



their kith and kin (laughter) Mr. Desai maintained that the agreement must be based on give and take. "It comes to this that in order to admit that we have what we have, we are called upon to pay a rupee—a proposition which no businessman will ever accept. The fact is that we are called upon to legalise and regulate what has been highhandedness and onesidedness on the part of those who wield executive and political power to the detriment of ourselves. Let us give our answer with no uncertain voice.

*Sir Joseph Bhore*, winding up the debate, spoke nearly for fifty minutes and at the conclusion was applauded. He claimed that not a single national industry was endangered or adversely affected by any of the provisions of the agreement. If, while retaining unimpaired the economic interests of India they had been able to do something to help the cause of goodwill and friendliness between India and England at this most fateful juncture of history (hear, hear), then they had done something of which they need never be ashamed and which India in her calmer moments would not be slow to admit (Applause). As for the duration of this agreement *Sir Joseph* emphasised that it was coterminous with that of the Ottawa agreement which would last one year more and if at the end of that period the House considered it essential to discontinue it, then with that agreement would also go this present one, of course after giving six months' notice. Proceeding *Sir Joseph* contended that article 1 of the agreement contained nothing but a bare statement of fact and he asked if there was any single Indian cotton textile industrialist who could possibly deny that a measure of protection against British cotton textile would not be entirely useless against Japanese competition.

Continuing *Sir Joseph Bhore* said that if radical alterations sat in any industry, which received protection, demanded reinvestigation, then the Government of India would see that without depriving the industry of its protection, it did not make excessive profits. Mr. Jinnah had asked whether India had the right to represent before any authority in England against the imposition of protective duty in the case of Indian goods. *Sir Joseph Bhore* replied affirmatively, because under the Import Duties Act they had the statutory right of putting their case. As for the criticism that the Government of India had not consulted Indian Commercial opinion, the Commerce Member said that there was nothing new that mattered. Was he to consult them over the principles which had been accepted by the House over and over again? He also denied the allegation that the fiscal autonomy convention was thrown to the winds.

The House divided on Mr. *Gandhi's* proposition for immediate termination of the Agreement. This was carried by 66 against 38 votes amidst cheers. The Assembly then adjourned till the 4th, Feb.

**\*Text of Indo-British Trade Agreement:**—The following is the text of the agreement signed on the 9th. January in London by Sir Walter Runciman on behalf of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and by Sir B. N. Mitra on behalf of the Government of India as a supplement to the Ottawa Trade Agreement:—

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India hereby agree that during the continuance of the Ottawa Trade Agreement the following undertakings on the part of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and of the Government of India shall be deemed to be supplementary to that agreement, namely:—

**Article I.**—It is recognised by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India that while protection to an Indian industry against the import of whatever origin may be necessary in the interests of the economic well-being of India, conditions within the industries in India, in the United Kingdom and in foreign countries may be such that the Indian industry requires a higher level of protection against foreign goods than against the imports of the United Kingdom origin.

**Article II.**—It is recognised by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that under the existing conditions import duties constitute an indispensable element in the revenues of the Government of India and that revenue considerations must be given due weight in fixing the levels of import duties.

**Article III.**—The Government of India undertake that protection be afforded to such industries only as after due enquiries by the Tariff Board have, in the opinion of the Government of India, established claims thereto in accordance with the policy of discriminating protection laid down in the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly on 16-2-23 provided this undertaking shall not apply to safeguarding industries under the Safeguarding Act of 1933.

(2) The Government of India further undertake that the measure of protection to be afforded shall only be so much as and no more than will equate the prices of im-

## JOINT COMMITTEE REPORT DEBATE

**4th. FEBRUARY :—**The Assembly to-day began a three-day debate on the Joint Select Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms on a motion by Sir N. N. Sircar, Leader of the House, that the Report "be taken into consideration." There was a crop of amendments to the motion, the more important of them being those moved by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Leader of the Independent Party.

Sir N. N. Sircar, in moving the motion, made a brief speech, reserving for himself the right to make detailed observations after hearing the debate. He, however, admitted that Mr. Desai's amendment was understandable and intelligible as it demanded the rejection of the legislation based on this Report. His was a direct and honest frontal attack, but Mr. Jinnah's attitude was really puzzling. He did not want any total destruction of the foundation of the reforms proposals. He wanted the Communal Award to stay on but rejected the federation scheme. His objection to the provincial autonomy scheme was because of certain features he did not like. From this it followed that Mr. Jinnah liked the rest of the provisions.

At the instance of the President Messrs. Desai, Jinnah, Aney, and others only formally moved all their amendments without any speech.

ported goods to fair selling prices for similar goods produced in India and that wherever possible, having regard to the provisions of this article, lower rates of duty would be imposed on the goods of the United Kingdom origin.

(3) Differential margins of duty established in accordance with the principles laid down in the preceding clauses of this article as between the U. K. goods on the one hand and foreign goods on the other shall not be altered to the detriment of the United Kingdom goods.

(4) The undertakings contained in this article shall not prejudice the right of the Government of India in cases wherein they find it essential in the interests of revenue to impose an overriding revenue duty on imported goods higher than protective duty required.

**Article IV.**—When the question of grant of substantive protection to an Indian industry is referred for enquiry to the Tariff Board the Government of India will afford full opportunity to any industry concerned in the United Kingdom to state its case and answer cases presented by other interested parties. The Government of India further undertake that in the event of any radical changes in the conditions affecting the protected industries during the currency of the period of protection they will, on the request of his Majesty's Government or of their own motion, cause an enquiry to be made as to the appropriateness of the existing duties from the point of view of the principles laid down in Article III and that in the course of such enquiry full consideration will be given to any representations which may be put forward by any interested industry in the United Kingdom.

**Article V.**—His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will give consideration to the steps that might be taken in cooperation with respective commercial interests to develop import from India of raw or semi-manufactured articles used in the manufacture of articles of a class which on importation into India are subject to differential protective duties. In particular, they have already been taken in the U. K. in pursuance of Article VIII of the Ottawa Agreement with a view to widening the area of consumption of Indian cotton and they undertake to continue to use all possible efforts in cooperation with commercial interests to stimulate the consumption of Indian cotton in all possible ways, including technical research, commercial investigation, market liaison and industrial propaganda.

**Article VI.**—His Majesty's Government in the U. K. undertake that in accordance with the principles of the foreign article the privilege of duty-free entry of Indian pig-iron into the U. K. will be continued so long as duties applicable to articles of iron and steel imported into India are not less favourable to the United Kingdom than those provided for in the Iron and Steel Protection Act, 1934, without prejudice however to the provisions of sub-sections 3 (4) and 3 (5) of the Indian Tariff Act 1934 as amended by section I of the Iron and Steel Duties Act, 1934.

**Article VII.**—His Majesty's Government in the U. K. and the Government of India undertake that in all matters relating to this agreement they shall at all times receive and consider any conclusions, agreements or reports which may be framed as a result of conferences between the accredited representatives of the industries concerned in the United Kingdom and in India.

Mossrs Ghuznavi, Mody, Bhai Paramanand, Di Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Mr. Surya Some, Sardar Sant Singh, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and Dewan Lal Chand Navalrai also formally moved their amendments.

Thereafter *Mr. Bhulabhai Desai* stood up and subjected the Joint Committee Report to a scathing criticism and concluded with the remark that the constitution offered to India was futile. He said: "It does not either serve the purpose of reconciling the Indians or serve Government's purposes. I appeal to the House that even if we have not the power to compel the authorities to the grant of what we want, we have certainly the self-respect to repeal what we do not want." At the outset Mr. Desai told the House that he rose to move his amendment and speak thereon with a great sense of responsibility. Referring to Sir N N Sircar's observation that his amendment was destructive, he said "If we destroy the constitution, we shall destroy only to build it." Proceeding, the speaker dealt with the historical review given by the Committee in their Report in paragraphs 10 and 11 and said there was time when Indians looked upon the British connection as a providential relation and thought it was a beneficent event and that under the British rule Indians should always have justice, fair play and also freedom even without agitating for it. But that stage was long past. Then came another stage when the freedom movement was found necessary. During the last Great War, India helped Britain with all her men, resources and wealth. Solemn promises were made and high hopes were held out for India. But promises made from time to time during the course of the Great War had a tendency either to be forgotten or repudiated or whittled down. The principle of Self-Determination was given a good-bye. Now Indians are at the third stage of their political history, a stage of struggle in hope and belief, to show that they deserve what they desired, namely self-government. Making an impassioned appeal to all sections of the House not to poison and cloud the real constitutional issue which faces India vis-a-vis England, Mr. Desai asked the movers of the communal motions not to pursue them, but to give support to his motion which stood for harmony and peace. He wanted them to remember what Mr. Baldwin said the other day in the House of Commons that 'so long as Indians are divided, we have the right to rule them.' It was up to the different communities in India to make England's domination impossible for he believed they united in desiring the consummation of their political aspirations. Proceeding Mr. Desai said: "Here is a sham constitution offered to us. Are we to accept it? No. A glance at the amendments moved convinces everyone that they are all for rejection." Referring to the grant of new constitution Mr. Desai asked, "What are the powers of any Government to offer a constitution and when is it done? There are two occasions when a Constitution is revised, namely, demand by the ruled for greater reforms or emergency arising out of the existing constitution if it is found workable. Indians demanded a real Round Table Conference between the representatives of the people of India on the one hand and representatives of Great Britain on the other hand. The Round Table Conference which had taken place during the last few years was not a real Round Table Conference and what had been the outcome of three conferences is a constitution which is wholly unacceptable to India. Even the greatest exponents of Round Table Conference had been disillusioned by its results. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said the other day that his only place was now the obscure place of a provincial lawyer. If that is the feeling of people who had been eager about the Round Table Conference, the value of the Conference can easily be appraised. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru refused to accept any form of provincial autonomy if there is not the fullest responsibility at the Centre. We are no longer in the stage of tutelage that we shall go step by step and may be we shall be asked to go two steps backward." Dealing with the merits of the Central Constitution, Mr. Desai pointed out: "There are four aspects of every good constitution, namely, the right of external and internal defence, the right of control of external relations, the right of controlling the Currency and Exchange, the right of the fiscal policy and the right of the day-to-day administration. But by a stroke of the pen these important features have been put under Reserve Subjects and what is left to us? We cannot even control our Currency and Exchange. Then we are left at the discretionary powers special responsibilities and the Right of Veto of the Governor-General. Added to these, there are the two Chambers. In fact, there remains no responsibility at the Centre. The Constitution shuts out all possibility of the growth of Indian talents although we possess talents. As regards the provinces, Mr. Desai said: "There is nothing to choose between the Provinces and the Centre. India is being taxed to the utmost capacity. Yet under the proposed Provincial Autonomy, we shall have to find some twenty crores more by way of taxation. Ministers will be

placed between the devil and the deep sea with the Governors with their extraordinary powers on the one side and the protected services on the other. They will be put in a position of utter helplessness. Why confer this provincial autonomy, he asked? Proceeding, Mr. Desai appealed to the Europeans to join hands with the Opposition in rejecting this sham constitution.

Explaining the position of the European community, *Sir Leslie Hudson*, leader of the group, assured the House of their sympathies with the political aspirations of his Indian friends. They had no doubt that India would attain her legitimate place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. He therefore suggested that there should be either a Statutory provision or some sort of suitable declaration should be made regarding the attainment by India of her ultimate goal. Defending the proposed scheme of reforms, Sir Leslie Hudson remarked that this was the result of a series of enquiries into the constitutional position of India commencing from the Muddiman Enquiry Report down to the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He said that Mr. Desai's description of the scheme as based on Imperialist domination and economic exploitation was frankly absurd. The scheme really transferred real power and responsibilities to Indians and with goodwill and co-operation of the different communities he hoped the proposed safeguards would always remain unused and the responsibilities would be real. Answering Mr. Desai's appeal Sir Leslie Hudson referred to unhappy memories and said that the history of recent years bristled with boycott, expropriation and racial hatred.

Mr. *Fazlul Huq* who spoke next referred to Mr. Desai's appeal to give up communal considerations and reject the constitution and said it condemnation of the J. P. C. Report was a test of patriotism. Muslims did not lag behind any other community. Even the most Conservative Diehards like Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi (loud laughter) has condemned the Report in no unmistakable terms. Muslims realise that it is unsatisfactory and reactionary and of a retrograde character. The limitations imposed on the Ministers and Governor's autocratic powers render the transfer of power to people illusory. The introduction of Second Chambers will add to the cost of the already expensive administration. If the British rule has given India peace, it has also given us chronic poverty, depleted treasury and shattered credit (cries of shame). There is nothing in the Report to indicate that attempt will be made to reduce the burden of administration.

Mr. *N. V. Gadgil* (Congress Socialist) made a forceful speech vehemently attacking the Joint Committee's Report which was full of safeguards. The safeguards, said he, meant nothing but that all commercial and vested interests of the British people should be consolidated. According to him the safeguards in plain language meant that the safes of the British people should be well-guarded and the guards should be safe. (laughter). There are, said he, responsibilities and individual judgment the cumulative effect of which all amounted to complete autocracy. Even the mightiest Roman Emperor might well aspire after the Governorship or Governor-Generalship of India. The Constitution did not visualise the progressive realisation of exploitation for the British people. It is claimed that the British rules had brought peace. I wish it had not been so, for in that case we would have been braver and achieved freedom quicker. Proceeding he exposed the hollowness of Federation in which the Princes would hold the key position. The people of the States who will be taxed are to have no representation in the Federation which he thought was unjustifiable.

After Mr. Gadgil had finished, the House adjourned.

#### REMOVAL OF BAN ON RED SHIRTS

**5th. FEBRUARY** :—In the Assembly to-day, the motion of Mr. *B. Das*, urging removal of the ban on Khudai Khidmatgars, was carried by a big majority of 73 votes against 46. Mr. *B. Das* moved : "This Assembly recommends the Governor-General in Council to take immediate and necessary steps to remove or cause to be removed the ban on the Khudai Khidmatgars' organisation in the N. W. F. P. Mr. *B. Das* said that it was the Khudai Khidmatgars whose activities had given the Frontier the reforms which it recently had. The movement was non-violent and peaceful, but the Government had always looked on it with suspicion and had in May, 1930 issued communication in which it was declared that these Khudai Khidmatgars were not servants of God as their names implied, but servants of Mr. Gandhi and that they would create the same atmosphere which the Bolsheviks had done elsewhere. This was an unfair estimate of the movement and so also the charge made by the Government that Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his movement had received assistance from Russia.

*Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhury* said that, whereas the ban against other Congress organisations had been removed, there must be some reason why the Government had not removed it in the case of the Khudai Khidmatgars (*Sir Henry Craik*: Yes, certainly) *Mr Chaudhury* was of the opinion that if there was any group of Congressmen who strictly adhered to the non-violence creed it was the Frontier people (Applause) Mahatma Gandhi had performed that great miracle (*Mr Metcalfe*: *Mr. Gandhi did not go there*) *Mr Chaudhury* It was his spirit, so much so that the leader of the Red Shirts was called the Frontier Gandhi. Anyway, whatever the past conduct of the Red Shirts they should be judged by the present policy and programme which do not justify continuance of the ban. *Dr Khan Sahib*, the leader of that movement, has with the assistance of Red Shirt votes entered the Assembly showing a change in the outlook.

*Dr Khan Sahib* was cheered when he rose to make his maiden speech. He said that he was the first elected member of the Frontier Province. Hitherto Frontier problems always were scrutinized through coloured glasses and presented by those nominated by the Government to "misrepresent" facts. *Dr Khan Sahib* said that he would not go into details of the tyrannies. The Khudai Khidmatgars were servants of the humanity, irrespective of race. He asked, why *Father Elwin*, a seeker after truth, was turned out of the province, and cited *Miss Wilkinson's* opinion that she had never seen such orderly behaviour as of the people at Charsada when called upon by leaders to disperse. Continuing, *Dr Khan* admitted that *Mr. Metcalfe*, when in the Frontier, was sympathetic. The speaker's object was to show the movement was non-violent. The volunteers, who picketed Charsada liquor shops, were ill-treated and even made stark naked (cries of shame) but there was not a single scratch on the policy. A meeting took place at Utmanzai. Lathi charge did not disperse them, but firing started without official order, two were killed and thirty wounded. Even then the people did not move and there was not a single scratch on those who killed them. Was not this a demonstration of non-violence? (applause). Once the police, misled by an informer, came to a village and killed a volunteer by accident. The villagers disarmed the police. When Khudai Khidmatgar leaders came next day the police were given back their uniforms and rifles and allowed to go with safety (applause), and Government's offer for compensation for the person killed was refused, because the volunteers were pledged to take no reward (applause). *Dr Khan* then recalled the Simon Commission's remark about the Frontier that the "inherent right of man to smoke in the powder magazine must be curtailed", and said "we have started the movement to convert the Frontier into a peaceful house." The speaker quoted extensively from *Burney's* book—"The Naked Fakir" in which *Burney*, who lived as a guest of the head of the C. I. D., described the Red Shirt movement as peaceful and its leader as an embodiment of Christ (cheers). As to the Government's allegation that the volunteers marched in formations, the speaker asked what was wrong about it? The Government statement that *Abdul Gaffar Khan's* nephew refused to pay land revenue was a lie. Concluding *Dr Khan* assured that the Red Shirt movement was non-violent. They had love for everybody, including even *Nawab Major Ahmed Nawaz Khan* (cheers).

The *Home Member*, replying to the debate, congratulated *Dr Khan* on moderation and recalled the wise words of *Mr. Bhulabhai Desai* that they may differ without rancour. The Frontier territory was such that the Simon Commission's remark was entirely true. Men lived in hills, armed to teeth, ever ready to raid and even engage in regular war. The responsibility for peace in that territory was solely of the Executive, which could not be shared with the Assembly. The *Home Member* denied the charge of unfair discrimination and said that a number of other organisations were still unlawful, some in Bengal, many in Bombay and some in other provinces. If "Red Shirt" was a part of the Congress machine it was up to the Congress to show that it did, in fact, observe its rules of non-violence and discipline. Facts proved to the contrary. Professions of non-violence were absolutely lip professions. (*Dr Khan*: question). The Chief Commissioner's detailed charges, giving instances of violence, had been published for three years, and were not challenged.

*Dr Khan*: "We are then in jail."

The *Home Member* said that when the reforms were introduced, the Frontier Government made an attempt to create an atmosphere. But *Abdul Gaffar Khan* repeatedly refused to see the Chief Commissioner and on the contrary went about preaching racial hatred and rebellion and stated definitely that his object was to turn the British out of India, if necessary, by force. Proceeding, *Sir Henry Craik* referred to the staging of a drama of seditious character, and said that though afterwards there

was a lull for some time it was followed by recrudescence of trouble in December, 1931. For instance, an English lady fell down whilst riding and was being taken in a 'charpoy' by people with traditional courtesy, and they were prevented by Red Shirts.

Sir Henry Craik speaking in emphatic tones affirmed that the Red Shirts were not non-violent and that the organisation aimed at complete independence, meaning forcible election of the British Government. It was engaged in flaming trans-frontier tribesmen against the British Government. It encouraged people not to pay taxes. Concluding, the Home Member reminded the House of the dangers of taking the risk before the Ahluis or other tribesmen, who like eagles were only ready to pounce upon a prey.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Opposition, asked the House not to be deceived by the picture cleverly painted by Sir Henry Craik. What was the use of unearthing an old speech of Abdul Gaffar and then prosecuting him? That speech, which was delivered before the Christian Association, contained an honest account of the Red Shirt movement. The sedition section was so wide that anyone, who said that Government was not ideal, would be guilty under it. As one, who was closely associated with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan prior to his arrest, Mr. Desai said that he was truthful, just and prepared to suffer the worst in order that truth might prevail.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah reminded the House that Sir Henry did not mention the activities of the Red Shirts in 1933 and 1934. No movement of a gigantic character could remain absolutely non-violent. And was there not a case of blunder on the part of Government as well, which Mr. Metcalfe had accepted? What was the use of continuing the old rancour? Statesmanship demanded Government to respond to the All-India feeling expressed in the House and win the Frontier people and restore real peace and goodwill. Had they not made peace with the Germans? If Government were victors, then it became all the more incumbent on them to be lenient towards the vanquished.

The House divided and the resolution was carried by 73 votes to 46.

#### PREVENTION OF FOREIGN RICE IMPORT

Mr. Satyanarain Singha moved a resolution urging effective immediate stops, fiscal and other, to prevent or control importation of foreign rice, especially from Siam and Indo-China, into India. He said that the export trade of India had gone down and the import trade of Siam and Indo-China had increased. The discussion was adjourned.

#### JOINT COMMITTEE REPORT DEBATE (Contd.)

**6th. FEBRUARY**—Mr. N. M. Joshi declared if the Joint Parliamentary Committee accepted Major Attlee's scheme, India would probably accept it as a compromise. As it is, the scheme with all sorts of reservations and safeguards is illusory. The safeguards were conceived not merely for protection of British interests against Congress attitude but because of the Britishers' distrust of the people of India as a whole, including the landed and commercial magnates, and even the Princes. If in future, Britain grants complete self-government to India, and if the Princes now joining the Federation on their Treaty rights refuse to leave the Federation, India will be doomed. He refused to mortgage India's future in this fashion.

In a particularly trenchant speech, Dr. C. V. Deshmukh said that they would resist to their utmost if the scheme was forced down India's throat. It had been said that this constitution was inevitable. Death was also inevitable. But would anybody, therefore, commit suicide? Continuing, Dr. Deshmukh said if any loan had to be raised, the Britishers get it done by the Jews of the world; if any battle was to be fought, Irishmen were sent, and now that they want continuance of the autocratic rule over India the Princes were brought in. Concluding, the speaker said there was a sinister mind and a black finger working behind the entire scheme.

While clearly admitting that no one in India was in love with the constitution offered to India, Mr. Mody supported the motion for consideration of the J. P. C. Report. "If a miracle were to happen and the members occupying the Treasury Benches were induced to cross the floor of the House and take seats on the non-official side, I am sure," asserted Mr. Mody, "even they would be equally emphatic in their condemnation of the proposed constitution. The essential features of the Constitution Bill are that while seeking to confer powers to the representative of the people, it hedges them round with provisions which are not in the interest of India. The scheme of reforms outlined in the Bill embodies the collective wisdom of the British race, but even that wisdom has not succeeded in bridging the wide gulf between the demands of this country and the conservative tradition of Britain. But still do I support the scheme. I believe

the scheme of reforms marks a considerable advance on the existing constitution. If this is rejected, the result will be a repetition of the situation of discontent in a more aggravated form as prevailed after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms." Referring to the safeguards in the Bill, Mr. Mody deprecated all elaborate commercial and other safeguards which have been devised. "The Safeguards," he said, "can never prevail against the solemn will of the people. Still if they are thrust upon India, it will be most deplorable." As regards the omission of the declaration in the Bill that India's goal was Dominion Status, Mr. Mody stated "I cannot conceive of anything so singularly unfortunate as the omission of any clause to define clearly and in emphatic terms that the present constitution is merely a prelude to the enlargement of liberty for India as enjoyed in the Dominions." He reminded Englishmen that the efforts of those who would work the constitution would be thwarted if the majority of India's politically-minded people refused to accept it. Concluding, Mr. Mody appealed to the British Government to give them the right amount of liberty in the right way at the right time.

Dr. *Pramatha Nath Benerji* exposed the hollowness of provincial autonomy adumbrated in the Constitution Bill and showed by analysing the scheme that there was no transfer of power and no possibility of responsible Government in the provinces. The Governors, he opined, will be invested with heavy responsibilities,—responsibilities ordinary and special,—so extensive in character that the Council of Ministers who will be chosen by the Governors themselves will be utterly helpless in all matters. Coming to the Centre he said that the position was worse as the Governor-General was given more wide and far greater powers. The Great Moghul in the Whitehall, said he, will continue to control the destinies of 350 millions of people.

Sir *Covasji Jehangir* was certain that the proposed safeguards were sure to result in deadlocks. If in spite of their warning the British Government forced this constitution on India they would do so on their own responsibility. Airing his personal views Sir *Joseph Bhore* on the eve of his retirement asked the House to take a practical view and stated that there were three fold implications of rejecting the scheme. Firstly, the advocates of rejection expected to obtain a more satisfactory constitution through pressure of Direct Action but past historical experiences should that Direct Action had failed. The second implication of rejection was, Sir Joseph said, that it would bring some better offer from His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament. It is not inconceivable that if rejection was complete, it would carry some weight but let us be under no delusion. However strong the feeling against the reforms, it will in practice be worked by a large majority of people in this country. If that be the case, rejection becomes an empty gesture, quite meaningless and purposeless. The third implication of rejection, said Sir Joseph, is the possibility of a change in Government in England giving India something better. The House at this stage adjourned.

**7th. FEBRUARY :—**The Assembly concluded to-day the three-day debate on the J. P. C. Report. The first part of Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai's* amendment, which only referred to the J. P. C. Report and did not mention anything about the Communal Award, was put to vote and defeated by 72 against 61 votes.

There were altogether 4 divisions. The second part of Mr. Desai's amendment neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award, which he moved as an amendment to the first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment was lost by 84 to 44 votes.

The first part of Mr. *Jinnah's* amendment accepting the Communal Award was carried by 68 to 15 votes, Congressmen remaining neutral. The second and third parts of Mr. Jinnah's amendment re : Provincial Autonomy and Federation were passed by 74 votes to 58 votes.

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Leader of the Congress Nationalist Party, was first called upon by the President to open the debate to-day on the J. P. C. Report. At the outset Mr. Aney declared that the report was full of blunders, misconceptions and misstatements. The recommendations of the report were full of absurdity inasmuch as they bristled with safeguards. Mr. Aney asserted that under such circumstances there were no scope not only of real advance but even the sort of advance contemplated by the authors of the report. Attacking the Communal Award Mr. Aney said that one direct result of the Award would be the breaking up of national and political solidarity which had been achieved, however partially. It was from the standpoint of Indian nationalism and national homogeneity, declared Mr. Aney, that he directed his crusade against the Award. He also attacked the contemplated administrative arrangements of Benars under the new constitution.

*Sir Henry Craik*, appealing to the House to accept the constitution, examined the various amendments moved to the Government motion. Referring to Mr. H. P. Mody's amendment which expressed dissatisfaction at the absence of any statement of India's goal as Dominion Status *Sir Henry* stated that there was no cause for apprehension for that. To allay the strong feeling of Indians on this point he read a statement made by the Secretary of State during the course of the second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons on February 6 which ran as follows :—

("This House will observe that this Bill like most modern Bills contains no preamble") There have, it is true, been important Acts in the past. Among them is the Government of India Act of 1919 to which a statement of policy and intentions was prefixed by way of a preamble. There is, however, no need for a preamble in this case, as no new pronouncement of policy or intention is required. The preamble to the Act of 1919 was described by the Joint Committee in their report as having 'set out finally and definitely the ultimate aims of British rule in India.

"The Committee after full consideration further asserted that 'subsequent statement of policy have added nothing to the substance of this declaration' which they then proceeded to quote in full in their report as 'settling once and for all the attitude of the British Parliament and people towards the political aspirations' of India. If the Committee were justified in those statements and the Government consider that they are fully justified—there is surely nothing to be gained by reiterating the words which have 'settled once and for all' the attitude of Parliament to Indian problem.

"Moreover, in government and above all in the government of the Indian Empire, continuity of the policy is of first importance. No Government and no Parliament can treat lightly any statement issued under the authority of their predecessors. But once the aim of the policy has been clearly determined and accepted significance attaches not to its language but to the concrete measure taken in pursuance of it.

"The position of the Government therefore is thus that they stand firmly by the pledge contained in the 1919 preamble (which it is not a part of their plan to repeal) and by the interpretation put by the Viceroy in 1929 on the authority of the Government of the day on that preamble that 'the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status.'

"The declaration of 1929 was made to remove the doubts which had been felt as to the meaning of the preamble of 1919. There is, therefore, no need to enshrine in the Act the words and phrases which add nothing new to the declaration in the preamble. In saying that we stand by our pledges, I include of course not only the pledges given to British India and Burma as part of British India but also our engagements with the Indian States.

"Rightly understood the preamble of 1919—which I repeat will stand unrepealed—is a clear statement of purposes of the British people and this Bill is a definite step, indeed a great stride forward towards the achievement of that purpose. It is by acts and not by words that we claim to be judged. It is clear then that we can only reach the end we have plainly set before ourselves when India has succeeded in establishing the conditions upon which self-government rests, nor will its attainment be delayed by any reluctance on our part to recognise those conditions when they actually exist. There are difficulties which she has to surmount but they are difficulties inherent in the Indian problem and not our creation."

Rising to speak amidst prolonged cheers, Mr. M. A. Jinnah at the outset characterised as baseless and astounding the allegations and insinuations contained in the contents of the "Statesman" in its issue of February 2 last, namely that he was opposed to the scheme of All-India Federation because he had been left out of the later sittings of the Round Table Conference. Mr. Jinnah admitted that he was a keen Round Tabler but never was he an enthusiastic federalist. Referring to the Communal Award, Mr. Jinnah said he did not agree with Mr. Desai's amendment which sought to reject the entire structure of the proposed constitution including the Award, although in the next part of his amendment, Mr. Desai maintained a neutral attitude towards it. It is apparently inconsistent, but then Mr. Desai had perhaps no other alternative. Mr. Jinnah fully agreed with Mr. Desai that religion was a matter between man and God and that language, religion and culture had nothing to do with politics. But Mr. Jinnah submitted that the Communal Award was not a matter of religion or culture, but it was a question of the minorities and a purely political issue. Problems of minorities in other countries had been solved; why not solve it in India too? What is this problem of the Minorities after all? It was the combination of certain natural elements like race, culture, religion, art, literature and music,—all these go to form a separate entity. Mr. Desai said, let there be acquisition first and then distribution. It



is a fallacious argument. It is not that we were setting upon some venture after which we would distribute the spoils of the venture. Why does Mahatma Gandhi fast unto death and then gets all the Hindu leaders of India to agree to the Poona Pact? Why did not you tell him 'acquisition first then distribution.' Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah congratulated his Hindu brethren on exhibiting their sense of solidarity which had led them to win over the Depressed Classes to them by giving them what they wanted. Why not show the same spirit towards the Muslims? Referring to the Federation, Mr. Jinnah emphatically declared that it was wholly rotten and totally unacceptable and absolutely unworkable. The Princes had laid down impossible terms on which it was impossible to construct any scheme of constitution. He was not opposed to the Princes or any body. But he was for British India and this scheme was going to destroy all that British India had developed during the last fifty years of constitutional progress. He was not opposed to the idea of a Federation, but bitterly opposed to a Federation of this character. It would lead to ill-will and bitterness. It consists of 98 per cent safeguards and only two per cent responsibility. So far as the provincial scheme was concerned, Mr. Jinnah was of opinion that it undoubtedly was an advance on the present constitution in the following directions, namely, extension of franchise, Indianisation of the Cabinet, all members of the legislature to be elected, responsibility of the Ministers to the legislature, etc. Certain objectionable features in the provincial scheme which according to him require modification have been pointed out in the amendment suggested by him.

Mr. F. E. James emphasised that the constitution offered to India marked a tremendous advance on the existing one. He strongly controverted Mr. Jinnah's assertion that the Federal scheme was conceived to prevent further advance in the Central Government. This allegation, said the speaker, was not only untrue but runs counter to the historical processes in the successive Round Table Conferences. Mr. James also refuted Mr. Jinnah's point that the safeguards ate up all the transfer of power.

Speaking first after lunch Mr. Ghaznavi traced the history of Muslim awakening and communal dissensions which reached the culminating point at the second Round Table Conference. He described how Hindu Mahasabha leaders destroyed all attempts at peace by insisting on getting two more seats to the Sikhs in the Punjab thus reducing the Muslims into a minority.

Mr. Govindballav Pant spoke for 40 minutes to show that the constitution irrespective of the safeguards was definitely a retrograde step. Parliament would perpetrate a monstrous fraud in the name of constitution if the Government of India Bill were passed as it had been framed. He cited the political blunders that England had committed in regard to America, Ireland and South Africa and observed that whenever the question of the grant of responsible Government arose, Britain adopted suicidal dilatoriness.

Mr. Satyamurthi, the last speaker on the debate, made a forceful speech appealing to reject the report. He emphasised that the India Bill was a monstrous monument of shams. It did not satisfy the political aspirations of the most moderate section of the people, it was too costly, it contained no seeds of growth in it. India's self-respect demanded that the constitution should without any hesitation be rejected. The country gave, he stated, a clear lead to the legislature as to what it should do with regard to the White Paper by returning at the last election those who opposed the White Paper scheme. "We asked what we should do," Mr. Satyamurthi continued, "if we did not accept the constitution, humiliating and intolerable as it is. It is my belief that there is no failure in the nation's fight for freedom."

Sir N. N. Sircar, replying to the three-day debate, spoke for more than an hour in course of which he quoted amidst interruptions from Mr. Jinnah and Sir Cowasji Jehangir, from Mr. Jinnah's Round Table speeches to show that Mr. Jinnah was mostly concerned with the interests of his own community and the problems of the Nation were to him secondary. Nobody could deny that communal wrangles and provincial jealousies exist.

Sir Mohamed Yakub interrupted: What about Bhai Paramanand, Mr. Aney and Diwan Lalchand Navalrai?

Mr. Jinnah:—What about yourself in London?

Proceeding Sir Nripen said all criticism levelled during the last two days were of a destructive nature. Nobody made any constructive suggestion. Mr. Desai did not even make any mention of the constituent assembly. Mr. Jinnah's proposal of working provincial autonomy and substituting the federal scheme by a British India Federation was not a practical proposition. After Sir Nripendranath Sircar had finished, closure was applied and the amendments were put to vote.

The amendment on the J. P. C. Report in the form in which it was eventually carried by 74 votes against 58 votes by the Assembly to-day was as follows:

(a) "This Assembly accepts the Communal Award in so far as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned.

(b) "As regards the scheme of Provincial Governments, the House is of opinion that it is most unsatisfactory and disappointing, and in as much as it includes various objectionable features, particularly the establishment of Second Chambers, the extraordinary and special powers of the Governor and provisions relating to police rules, secret services and Intelligence Departments which render the real control and responsibilities of the executive and legislature ineffective, and therefore unless these objectionable features are removed, it will not satisfy any section of Indian opinion.

(c) "As regards the scheme of Central Government called the All-India Federation, this House is clearly of opinion that it is fundamentally and totally unacceptable to the people of British India, and therefore recommends to the Government of India to advise His Majesty's Government that immediate efforts should be made to consider how best to establish for British India alone a really responsible Government and with that view take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion without delay." The House then adjourned till the 11th. Feb.

#### ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS RULED OUT

**11th. FEBRUARY** —When the Assembly met to-day the adjournment motion brought by *Sir Muhammad Yakub* in order to discuss the President's conduct in regulating the discussion of the J. P. C. Report was ruled out of order by *Sir Abdur Rahim*. He quoted the procedure adopted in the House of Commons and also from Mayer's "Parliamentary Practice" to show that only a substantive motion like a vote of non-confidence in the Chair could be brought to censure the conduct of the Chair, and not a motion for adjournment of the business of the House. The President also ruled out the adjournment motion of *Mr. K. L. Gauba* for censuring the Government for failing to give effect to the Assembly's verdict on the Indo-British Trade Pact.

#### REMOVAL OF DISQUALIFICATION

The Assembly accepted the resolution of *Mr. K. M. Jedhe* urging removal of the disqualification in respect of the eligibility of Pandit Dwarkaprasad Misra of Jubbulpore and Maulvi Ashrafuddin Choudhury of Comilla for election to the Assembly without voting.

#### PROTECTION OF FOREIGN RICE IMPORT (Contd.)

The House then resumed discussion on *Mr. Satyanarayan Singha's* resolution urging prevention of import of foreign rice. *Mr. Singha* in his speech quoted figures to show that within the last three years rice imported from Siam had risen seven times. India was the only unfortunate country where Siam found market for her broken cheap rice. *Mr. N. G. Ranga* moved an amendment recommending the Government to take immediate and necessary steps, fiscal and other, to prevent or control the importation of foreign rice and paddy. *Mr. G. S. Bapari*, on behalf of the Government, exhaustively replied to the debate. He said that the provisional conclusion of the Government was that the problem was really one of competition of broken rice from Siam and Indo-China with finer variety produced in South India. *Mr. Satya Naram's* resolution was carried.

#### REVISION OF TAXATION POLICY

*Dr. Ziauddin* moved a resolution urging the Government to take immediate steps to revise the present taxation policy. The House and the debate was adjourned.

#### CR. LAW AMEND. ACT (1908) REPEAL BILL

**12th. FEBRUARY** :—The agenda paper to-day contained four non-official Bills for introduction. *Mr. B. Das* introduced a Bill repealing the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. He said Part I of the Act was repealed in 1922, but Part II was left over for later action. This part, instead of being used against violent, anarchical and revolutionary crimes, was liable to be abused, as the Government actually did abuse it in suppressing organizations of the Congress. It was therefore urgent and necessary that this Act should be repealed forthwith.

#### CR. PROC. CODE 1898 (SEC. 103) AMEND. BILL

*Sardar Sant Singh* introduced a Bill for amendment of Section 103 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898. Section 103 related to the searching of premises by the police provided two respectable witnesses of the locality were present at the time of the search. *Sardar Sant Singh* said that the word "locality" had been judicially interpreted as not to mean of the same quarter of the town as the place searched, and it had been ruled that stress should be laid on the word "responsibility." He wanted, through the Bill, to substitute "neighbourhood" for "locality." This amendment was

intended to invalidate the search if not conducted strictly in accordance with the provisions of this section.

CR. PR. CODE 1898 (SEC 406) AMEND. BILL

*Sardar Sant Singh* introduced two more Bills, one amending Section 406 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, which omits from the Act the proviso which lays down that appeals arising out of proceedings for keeping the peace would lie before the District Magistrate. *Sardar Sant Singh* said that so long as the District Magistrate occupied the position of head of the police and executive authorities of the district, these appeals should not be heard by him.

CR. PR. CODE 1898 (SECS 30, 34, 34A, 35) AMEND. BILL

The fourth Bill amends Sections 30, 34 and 34A and 35 of the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to raise the standard of judicial administration in Governor's provinces. The House then adjourned.

REGULATING PAYMENT OF WAGES

**13th. FEBRUARY:**—The House met to-day to transact official business. *Sir Frank Noyce* (Industries Member) introduced a Bill regulating payment of wages to certain classes of persons employed in industry. The bill tries to remedy abuses with regard to delays in the payment of wages to persons employed in industry and the practice of imposing fines upon them. In moving the Bill *Sir Frank Noyce* paid a tribute to the late Mr. Whitley, who, he said, had left a mark on Indian labour for many generations.

CIVIL PROCEDURE CODE AMEND. BILLS

*Sir Henry Crash* introduced two bills one amending section 51 of the Code of Civil Procedure so as to protect honest debtors of all classes, and not the industrial workers class only, from detention in civil prison and to confine such detention to debtors proved to be recalcitrant or fraudulent.

The other Bill inserts a new section in the Code of Civil Procedure as follows : "Where a certified copy of decree of any of the superior courts of the United Kingdom or any reciprocating territory has been filed in the District Court, the decree may be executed in British India as if it has been passed by the District Court."

SHEET GLASS INDUSTRY

*Sir Frank Noyce* then moved a resolution that the draft convention for the regulation of hours of work in automatic sheet-glass works, passed at the eighteenth session of the International Labour Conference, be not ratified. He said that the draft of the report related to workmen's compensation, night work of women and other such matters. He proposed to bring up this convention for consideration before the Legislature at the Simla session. The object of the convention was to fix forty-two hours per week in sheet-glass factories. *Sir Frank* said that they were situated in the United Provinces and there was no immediate prospect of more factories being started in India. It was doubtful whether it was desirable to legislate for one factory and to reduce its work from fifty-six to forty-two hours weekly. Moreover glass-making, instead of being arduous, had become easier. There was no adequate reason to treat this industry in a special way.

*Mr. N. M. Joshi* moved an amendment that hours of work in sheet-glass works be reduced to forty-eight hours per week. He complained that the attitude of the Government with regard to international labour conventions always had been indifferent. Although the number of sheet-glass workers was small, still they should not be denied legitimate help. *Mr. B. Das* moved an amendment to the effect that the draft of the convention instead of not being ratified, as suggested, be brought before the Assembly for reconsideration after the publication of the Tariff Board's report on the glass industry in India. *Sir Frank Noyce* appealed to the House in the name of logic not to press Mr. Joshi's amendment as the House had passed the Factories Bill last year providing for 56 hours a week in all continuous process industries and the working conditions in glass industry were not worse than many other industries.

*Mr. B. Das's* amendment urging the bringing up of the matter before the Assembly after the Tariff Board's report was put to the vote and carried by 51 against 42 votes.

*Sir Frank Noyce* moved that the draft convention ensuring benefit or allowance to involuntarily unemployed and the recommendations concerning unemployment insurance and various forms of relief for unemployed adopted by the International Labour Conference at the 18th session be not ratified, nor the recommendations be accepted. He said that the proposal was impracticable in India. The question of

unemployment insurance had been thoroughly investigated by the Whitley Commission which had come to the conclusion that it would not be feasible.

Mr. N. M. Joshi moved an amendment to the effect that after consideration of the convention "such steps legislative and otherwise might be taken for relief of unemployment as would lead to ratification of the draft convention and acceptance of the recommendation as soon as practicable."

Mr. V. V. Giri, supporting the amendment, said that if the Government would not accept even this moderate demand made in the amendment what could the Government do? He was outlining various methods for reducing unemployment when the House adjourned.

#### REVISION OF TAXATION POLICY (Contd.)

**14th. FEBRUARY** :—The House took up discussion on Dr. Ziauddin's resolution recommending the Governor-General-in-Council to take immediate steps for revising the present taxation policy.

Mr. N. G. Ranga moved an amendment to the effect that taxation be redistributed in order to lower the burden on poorer classes. He said during the last thirty years the poor people had been overburdened with taxation.

Mr. A. S. Ayyangar moved an amendment to the effect that revision of the taxation policy should take place particularly with respect to assessment of income-tax on incomes below Rs. 2,000 and excise duties on matches and sugar.

Mr. M. S. Aney held that considerable proportion of revenues of the Central Government as well as the provincial Governments were raised by way of indirect tax. Indirect taxes generally were levied not by legislatures but by certain executive authorities by virtue of rule making powers.

Mr. Sri Prakash vehemently attacked the taxation policy of the Government and said that the Indian Government did not exist for the people, but the people were made to exist for the Government raised taxes not for nation-building purposes, but for maintaining the expensive bureaucracy and the unnecessarily large army. He urged a revision in the policy of spending finances.

Dr. De'Souza regretted that the debate in the House was nothing more than academic. The Government when on increasing India's debts. Sir George Schuster alone had left a legacy of thirty crores on the people. The Government was allowing foreign rice to be dumped, and looked helplessly on the starving agriculturists.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee complained that during the period of recent world-wide economic depression the Government of India had done little to alleviate the distress of the people, and he hoped that an enlightened policy would be followed.

Sir James Grigg replying dealt with the land revenue question. He said Sardar Mangal Singh had wanted land revenue to be graduated in accordance with the ability to pay. He doubted whether this demand could ever be made in its entirety, for in land revenue there was a considerable element of rent. On the other hand, under the new constitution the same authority which was responsible for land revenue would also have the power to impose taxation on agricultural income. Concluding Sir James Grigg said that the debate had been valuable. He announced that the Government would remain neutral on the resolution and the amendments.

Consequently, Mr. Ranga's amendment urging lowering of the incidence of taxation on poor classes, Mr. Ayyangar's amendment demanding revision of assessment of income tax on incomes below two thousand rupees, excise duties on matches and sugar and the resolution of Dr. Ziauddin as amended were passed without a division. The House then adjourned till the 18th. Feb.

#### Railway Budget for 1935-36

**18th. FEBRUARY** :—Railway estimates presented by Sir Joseph Bhoré in the Assembly to-day forecast final deficit in 1934-35 of about a crore less than originally estimated. For 1935-36 budget anticipates deficit on commercial and strategic lines taken together of nearly 2 crores. For the first time, however, in recent years commercial lines alone are able to show a balanced budget for 1935-36.

Revised estimate of deficit on Railways in 1934-35 is 4 and one-fourth crores against 8 crores last year. Improvement is entirely due to increase in goods earnings. Passenger receipts are still falling but increase during present year both in number of passengers carried and average miles travelled by each passenger justifies hopes of improvement. Total traffic earnings of State lines are expected to reach 90 and three-fourth crores—over 4 crores better than last year, though still 4 and one-fourth crores below receipts of 1930-31 which was the first year of depression. Total wor-

king expenses amount to nearly 64 crores for depreciation and are three-fourth crores in excess of last year's figures.

Net revenue of Railways in 1934-35 is expected to be three crores higher than 1933-34 and interest charges three-fourth crore lower as a result of fall in rate of Government borrowing.

Total deficit of 424 lakhs (of which 185 lakhs are for strategic lines) will be met by temporary loan from depreciation fund which will stand at 11 crores at the end of the year.

Budget estimates for 1935-36 assumes improvement in receipts. Total traffic receipts on all State lines are estimated at 93 and a half crores. Increase in ordinary working expenses of 105 lakhs, including 92 lakhs due to decision not to reimpose cuts in pay, is counterbalanced to some extent by slight decrease in provision for depreciation, which, according to new method of calculation approved by Standing Finance Committee for Railways, will be 1-60 of total capital at charge. Total working expenses will amount to under 64 and a half crores and will be 60 lakhs more than in the current year. Deficit on all State lines in 1935-36 will be 190 lakhs. Deficit on strategic lines will be 197 lakhs and net result of working of commercial lines during the year will be a small surplus of 7 lakhs. Balance of depreciation fund at the end of the year will be 13 crores. Loans from fund to meet previous deficits will stand at 28 and a half crores.

In view of all signs at present pointing to further improvement in future, which is likely to be sustained if not spectacular, Railways felt justified in reduction recently announced in surcharge on coal freights which involves loss in earnings of over 20 lakhs on public coal. Maximum of Re 1 imposed on reduced surcharge of 12 and a half per cent. will be of considerable benefit to long distance traffic on which burden of present rate has fallen most heavily and result will be that surcharge on distances about 700 miles will be the same.

In justifying decision not to reimpose cuts in pay in 1935-36, Sir Joseph Bhore said: "Apart from the fact that more than half the staff on State Railways are actually Government servants, and that Railways have therefore from the beginning followed the policy of Government in this matter, we feel that with a revival in earnings to an extent that we think will enable us to balance the budget of commercial lines without recourse to the continuance of the cut, we could not consistently with our pledges, refuse to follow the action taken with regard to other Government servants. The wide discontent among our staff which would have followed any attempt to single them out for specially unfavourable treatment would, I have no doubt, have resulted in grave detriment to efficiency, if not indeed in serious labour trouble".

Sir Joseph Bhore claimed that the results of last year and the estimates he was placing before the Assembly had justified his optimism and the confidence expressed by him in previous years in the essential strength and soundness of the financial position of Indian Railways notwithstanding successive deficits since 1930-31. He said:—

"A review of results, if it is to be of any value, must extend over a sufficiently lengthy period to eliminate the distorting effects of temporary causes and give a true picture of the whole. Taking broad results, it will be seen that in the 12 years ending with 1935-36, 6 years of prosperity and 6 of the adversity, the net result of the working of all State-owned lines, commercial and strategic, will, if our present estimates prove correct, be a surplus of 14 crores and an accumulated balance in the depreciation fund of 41 and half crores. In other words, during the long period of varying future, we shall have earned a net income of over a crore a year after meeting working expenses, providing for accruing depreciation and paying interest in full on borrowed capital."

Works programme for 1935-36 is bigger than in recent years. Total sum provided is 15 crores after allowing for reduction of stores balances by three-fourth crore. Programme provides for starting construction of Megna Bridge to improve communication between Eastern Bengal and Assam and extension of the electrified suburban sanction of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway from Borivli to Virar. 10 lakhs is provided for a line of 52 miles in Southern India which will be undertaken if Government of Madras are in favour of project. 44 lakhs are required for the purchase of the Amritsar-Pati-Kasur Railway. Total expenditure during 1935-36 on restoration of damage caused by floods to Hardinge Bridge and by the Bihar earthquake is estimated at 70 lakhs. Of balance of fourteen one-fourth crores, track renewals account for 5 crores, bridge work for a crore, other structural works for three and three-fourth crores and rolling stock for four and one-half crores. Programme includes provision of over 5,000 wagons to meet increase in traffic demands, of which 4,250 are broad gauge general service wagons to be added to the pool.

Sir Joseph Bhore repeated his appeal for fair assessment of difficulties which railway administrations had to face and of the manner in which they had endeavoured to overcome them. He asked the public sometimes to glance at the other side of the picture, at the organisation, the forethought, the unrelenting care, the technical skill, and the devotion to duty on the part of the lowest to the highest official, which are essential if the Railways of India are to meet effectively and efficiently the administrative and economic needs of the country. He felt he would be guilty of ingratitude if he failed to acknowledge the work which all ranks of railwaymen had done during a period of exceptional trial and the spirit in which they had met the heavy calls made upon their patience and endurance during the lean years through which they had passed.

In concluding his speech Sir Joseph Bhore repeated the following passage from his last address to the the Railway conference.—

"The competition which Railways are experiencing at the hands of rival means of transport has been engaging our very serious attention now for some time. It is not a passing phase. It is a permanent challenge which will grow in intensity and which will, I believe, be felt eventually in fields not yet seriously threatened. The projected developments in civil aviation in India are significant, and I would ask you to remember that the impossible of to-day is the common plane of to-morrow. Scientific research may, quite conceivably and perhaps sooner than we imagine, cut down by a substantial margin to-day's operating costs of motor transport. Whatever may be the strictly narrow railway view of such competition present and prospective, we must all admit that in the larger interests of the country it is good that it should exist, for only through such rivalry can the public be assured of the maximum efficiency in service at a minimum cost. Apart from everything else, such competition is inevitable, and there is only one sound method of meeting it. So long as they endeavour strenuously to meet fully, efficiently and effectively the ever varying demands of the present and yet keep their eyes searchingly on the future and its possibilities, so long and no longer will they enquire successfully.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF RAILWAY BUDGET

**20th. FEBRUARY :—**The general discussion on the Railway Budget was opened to-day by Dr. Ziauddin who was cheered by all sides. Dr. Ziauddin recalled that the Railway Retrenchment Committee had recommended abolition of the post of Chief Controller of Standardization. This fact was withheld from the Standing Committee and the Railway Member had specially spoken about making this office permanent. Dr. Ziauddin characterised as novel the proposals regarding the depreciation fund and opined that whereas no other country in the world made such a generous provision for depreciation fund, it was done in India with a view to deprive general revenues of contributions from railway earnings. He as a mathematician resented the suggestion that the Hardinge Bridge model would be worked at Poona and remarked "Your engineers have forgotten entire mathematics" (Laughter). He also wanted early decision as to whether strategic lines would be charged to the Army Budget or Railway Budget.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutta wanted Indianisation of Railways from top to bottom. He said there was no meaning in bringing people from outside when sons of the soil were unemployed. He maintained that Indians in high offices had proved the absolute fitness of Indian nationals for all appointments. Mr. Dutta also pleaded that Indian industries should be promoted by railways through differential treatment and described grievances of third class passengers including uncivil treatment by the railway staff.

Munshi Ishwar Saran asked whether it was true that the emergence of white caps in the Assembly had made the Government try to get the Statutory Railway Authority Bill passed. Elsewhere every shade of opinion in India resented the Government's decision. He held that the authorities were responsible for larger number of accidents in 1933-34 than in 1932-33. Munshi Ishwar Saran also pressed the claim of Indians for training in various branches of administration and company managed railways. He invited the Members of the Railway Board to travel incognito in third class compartments to appreciate the miseries of those passengers. He invited them in particular to the B. N. Railway where the conditions were most woefully efficient. He described it as a scandal that strategic railways were not included in the military estimates.

Mr. N. C. Bardoloi ventilated the grievances against the E. B. R. and the A. B. R. where third class passengers were packed like sardines and urged that they should at least have fans during summer. He did not think that the return ticket concession would benefit the third class passenger, but wanted the price of tickets, to be reduced instead. He particularly complained that the staff at all stations in his provinces was

non-Assamese and urged the employment of the people of the province many of whom had returned with overseas training, but found no opening because the headquarters of the railways were in Calcutta and Chittagong.

Mr *Mathradas Vissani* lodged a vigorous protest against the restoration of the salary cut when no relief was given to the taxpayer by way of reduction of railway rates. It was unjust to restore the salary cut when even with the recovery noticeable in the movement of goods and consequent traffic receipts there would be a deficit in working the railways. When the railways were not able to make any contribution to the general revenues for the last five years, there should not have been restoration of the salary cut. In no democratically run Government servicemen could have been given preference over the taxpayer.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* joined Mr. *Mathradas Vissani* in the complaint that retrenchment operations had not been carried out adequately before the salary cut was restored. He suggested that a surplus budget was possible by Indianisation and amalgamation of the different railways and grouping of them on a regional basis and also by increasing the earnings through reduction of rates. He was not satisfied with the concession in respect of reduction of the surcharge on coal which he wanted to be removed.

Mr. *Sri Prakasha* joined in the plea for cutting down the salaries of officers and supported the restoration of salary cut only in the case of employees drawing below Rs. 100 per mensem. He made several suggestions whereby railway administrations might at a small cost educate passengers in the elements of civic duty and suggested changes in the design of lavatories, particularly in third class compartments.

Mr. *V. V. Giri* said that while railway finances were improving year by year, no consolation was coming to the forty-seven thousand unemployed railway workers whose hardships could have been avoided only if railways had paid any heed to the suggestions made in that connection by the Railwaymen's Union. The speaker referred to the surplus stock of engines and wished these engines to be manufactured in India. It was a scandal that Government had been replying to all questions since 1921 that the matter about the construction of engines locally was under consideration. As regards the railroad competition he wanted the railways to save the one hundred and ninety lakhs of rupees which they were annually losing in it. This could be done by taking over the bus services running parallel to trains.

Sir *Joseph Bhore*, replying to the debate, first took up the question of coal contracts on which allegations and even insinuations had appeared in certain papers stating that the Railway Board unduly favoured smaller Indian-owned companies. The allegation was baseless, as he would show. Sir *Joseph Bhore* reminded the House that the railways were forced to run their own collieries and could meet all requirements from them. However, with a view to helping the coal industry they took a self-denying action and limited their own output to one-third and bought two-thirds from the market. He hoped that after this explanation they would not hear the allegations and insinuations repeated. As regards competition between shipping companies, the railways were justified in the steps they had taken. Railways had the minimum limit. He asked, was it contended by the shipping companies that they could not carry piece-goods and gunny between Calcutta and Bombay at rates lower than the railways? How did they carry rice at lower rates between Rangoon and Bombay? (Hear, hear). Continuing, Sir *Joseph Bhore* recognised the necessity of improving the services so that they would be able to meet larger customs and popularise the railways against competitive services. But times had been hard and it had not been possible to embark on striking innovations on account of the financial position and the necessity of most rigid economy. The justification for a cautious policy would be found in the results achieved last few years. Nevertheless they had made experiments such as reduction of third class passenger fare in the North-West Railway. The result of this had not been encouraging as working expenses on it were greater than the increased revenue. Still the experiment had been extended to the G. I. P. and the system of cheap return fares had been introduced in the E. B. Railway. The Government would not slacken the pursuit of economy and at the same time there should be specialised research not only on the technical side for which the Standing Finance Committee agreed to enlarge the research organisation, but also in continuous ascertainment of public needs and meeting them on the economic basis. The House then adjourned.

#### PAYMENT OF WAGES BILL

**21st. FEBRUARY:**—After questions, the Assembly resumed discussion of the Payment of Wages Bill. Mr. *Bardoloi* said that unless the persons appointed to inspect



books and registers were responsible men, there would be abuse of power. He urged that there should be no fine for bad work.

Mr *Joshi* enumerated the various instances of omissions from the Bill of payment of wages which should have been included. He wanted payment through mistries to be stopped and payment of wages on resignation to be expedited. He was altogether opposed to deductions on account of fine and said that he would rather favour that employees services should be terminated after due notice than he should be fined. He feared that employees might make deductions in the rates of payment instead of imposing a fine. He admitted that the Bill had improved the position so far that a weaver would not be made to pay the entire price of a spoil cloth, but the Bill was not altogether an improvement on its predecessor and the speaker particularly urged its application to other industries, like mines, docks and tramways.

*Sir Frank Noyce*, replying, said the debate showed that the Select Committee would have a very difficult task. The Bill as it stood would involve considerable strain on the administration and an extension of its provisions to other industrial establishments would be undertaken after experience had been gained and if such course was considered desirable. He did not think Prof Ranga's suggestion regarding agricultural labour was practicable, especially as village munsiffs and Honorary Magistrates were themselves employers of agricultural labour and to appoint them as inspectors would require someone to look after these guardians.

The House agreed to the motion and referred the Bill to a Select Committee.

#### CIVIL P. C. AMENDMENT BILL

*Sir N. N. Sircar* moved the bill inserting a new clause, Section 44-A, to the Code of Civil Procedure be taken into consideration. He said that since some members of the House had wanted the provisions of the Bill to be discussed in the Select Committee, he would have no objection in accepting that motion if it were made.

As Mr *Gauha* who had tabled such a motion was not in the House, Mr *James* moved that the bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Law Member, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Faquir Chand, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, Mr. Gauha and the mover.

*Pandit G. B. Pant* said that there was no necessity of rushing through the House a bill which had a long history and controversial points. If Government had intended proceeding with the consideration of the Bill they should have published the correspondence passed between them and the Lord Chancellor of England in order to make clear to the House that the impediments which has stood in the way of the previous bill had been effectively removed. He would insist on the British Parliament defining the words "superior courts" by way of an amending bill to the Foreign Judicature Act of 1933 to show that the Superior courts mentioned in that law included courts of unlimited original jurisdiction in India.

*Sir N. N. Sircar* assured the House that all points raised by speakers would be considered by the Select Committee and he did not wish to take the time of the House answering some of these points. He assured *Pandit G. B. Pant* that there was no sinister object in bringing forward the bill and Government were not rushing it through as the speaker readily met the desire of some members of the House that the bill be referred to a Select Committee. Mr *James'* Select Committee motion was carried.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF THROUGH INSURANCE

The House then resumed the discussion on *Sir Frank Noyce's* motion that the draft convention relating to the relief of unemployment through insurance be not ratified and Mr. N. M. Joshi's amendment that such steps be taken as would lead to a ratification of the convention as soon as practicable.

Mr *Avinashalingham Chetty* said that Mr. Joshi's amendment was indefinite and couched in language which the Government liked. The speaker was surprised that even this most moderate amendment was opposed by the Government. He added that the Government were trying to show their sympathy for the poorer classes. Here was an opportunity to prove it.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* said that the speakers did not seem to realize the dangers involved. The Convention, he added, had been prepared for a highly industrialized country, and not for an agricultural country, and even industrialized countries like Japan would not accept it. Mr. Joshi's speech was acceptable in that it suggested that a small beginning should be made with the labour employed in railways and Government factories, but Mr. Joshi's amendment was wide and committed the House to measures leading to a ratification. Industrial labourers, said *Sir Jehangir*, at least had two arrows in the bow. They went back to land when there was no industrial



employment. The real class deserving support was the poor middle class and he hoped that when the budget was presented the House would put up the taxable minimum to two thousand. The pity was that under the present Constitution the Opposition had to take an irresponsible view. That was why they were backing an amendment which, if they were in office, they would not have done.

*Mr. Mohanlal Saksena* attacked the Government for not tackling unemployment among the people which he said was even sapping the morale of the masses and was therefore a source of great danger to the peaceful growth of society. A stage had now come when something must be done. He supported *Mr. Joshi's* amendment.

*Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq* voiced what he called people's view in this matter. He realised that at present the task of giving effect to the recommendations of the convention was stupendous, but the Government could surely move in the matter. At the time of prosperity they should stop extravagance and cut down expenses. The Government officials helped themselves extravagantly and thus filled their pockets. Therefore it was no wonder that nothing was left for the betterment of the condition of the people.

*Mr. Clow* added that during the five years there had been a diminution of about two and a half per cent annually in the number of employed, but as against that, for every one man thrown out of employment, there had been ten vacancies. He made two propositions which he asked the House to accept. Firstly, in normal times people had been able to get continuous employment. Secondly, even in the last few years, which had been the worst ever known the number of workers unemployed for any substantial period had been extremely small. He ventured to say that no other country except possibly Japan had shown such results. (Cheers). Besides the question of the administrative difficulties of working the insurance system the speaker was sure that the ordinary workman in this country would resent any weekly or monthly deductions for the benefit of a limited class in which the worker did not expect to find himself. In other countries labour itself had started such a scheme. There was no sign of that in India. He asked *Mr. Chetty* whether, if his suggestions were accepted and two crores representing the salary cut were handed over to the Congress, the latter would devote that money to an employment insurance scheme or any other more urgent class of activity. Further, when they asked the Government to start the scheme in their factories, they must remember that the cost would fall on the tax-payers who were the masses of agriculturists. Did they think that the agriculturist was so wealthy as to bear the burden with a view to relieving unemployment among the workers in the cities? (*Mr. Ranga* : Communal trouble again). *Mr. Clow* observed that the Whitley Commission had found no basis for insurance. He suggested that the resources of this country should be seriously limited and he better employed for measures of prevention rather than of cure. They should rather swell the volume of employment than to give the benefits for being unemployed. The Government's attitude had been that they had taken steps to stimulate employment which method was sounder than proceeding on the western model. (Cheers).

*Sir Frank Noyce*, replying to the debate, said that he had very little to add to what *Mr. Clow* had said on behalf of Government. If he had asked the Assembly to ratify the convention then he would have been accused of giving a blow to the industry. Unemployment was bad, but that was not the question before the House. They had to decide whether India could afford to carry out the recommendations of the convention. He emphasised that India was not ripe for a system of unemployment insurance, because it was too extensive. Moreover, under the new constitution unemployment would become a provincial subject and it would be wrong for him to accept the resolution.

*Mr. Joshi's* amendment to the effect that the Assembly having considered the draft convention "such steps legislative and otherwise should be taken for the relief of unemployment as would lead to the ratification of the draft convention and acceptance of the recommendation as soon as practicable" was put to vote and a tie of 52 votes for and 52 votes against was announced by the President amidst roars of laughter. The President gave his casting vote in favour of *Mr. Joshi's* amendment, his decision being received by loud and prolonged non-official applause.

The amended resolution was then put and of the two neutral members one joined the Government and the other the opposition. The result was that the Government got 54 votes against the opposition's 53 and defeated the amended resolution. The result when announced was cheered by Government. It created a stalemate in that neither the Government resolution nor *Mr. Joshi's* amendment was accepted and the

Assembly left the Convention without passing a judgment thereon. The Assembly then adjourned.

#### VOTING ON RAILWAY DEMANDS

**22nd. FEBRUARY :—**The Assembly met to-day for voting on Railway demands for grants. By 75 votes to 47 the House carried the motion of *Mr. Bhulabhai Desai*, Leader of the Opposition, reducing the demand for the Railway Board to one rupee.

Mr. Desai said that the present Railway Board had outlived its usefulness and some other machinery must be set up. "We Indians," he declared, "maintain these railway and we insist on our claim to manage them and determine their policy." Mr. Desai directed his attack to the proposed Statutory Railway authority, to which objection was raised by Sir *N. N. Sircar*, Law Member and Leader of the House, on the ground that the discussion of a motion for the reduction of a grant must be confined to questions of administration under the existing Acts.

The *President* upheld the point of order raised by the Law Member and ruled that the discussion of any proposed legislation would not be in order on the motion.

**23rd. FEBRUARY :—**The motion of *Maulvi Shafi Daudi* (Independent Party) for a cut of Rs. 100 under heading Working Expenses in the Railway Budget was carried by 80 against 37 votes after three hours' discussion on the grievances of third class passengers. This was the first division in which the European group voted with Congress and Independent parties in this session.

*Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's* token cut of ten rupees, censuring the Railway Board's financial policy, was also carried by 59 to 47 votes. The Assembly then adjourned till the 25th.

**25th. FEBRUARY :—**The Congress Nationalist party's cut motion moved to-day by Mr. *M. S. Aney* to the demand for Rs. 8,65,25,000 under the head "Working Expenses," raising a discussion on the unsatisfactory process of Indianisation of the Railway services was carried by 81 to 44 votes. Mr. *M. S. Aney* (Nationalist leader), who moved the motion, said that it was intended to censure the Government for what he regarded as the slow progress of Indianization of railway services. At the present rate, said Mr. Aney, it would take centuries for the railways to be Indianized, and added: "The only way to Indianize is to stop European recruitment."

Mr. *Fazlul Huq* (Bengal) raised the question of Moslem representation in the services. He was assured by Sir Joseph Blore that the Chief Commissioner of Railways would meet the Railway Agents next month to discuss whether any special machinery was required to give effect to the recent decision regarding the recruitment of minorities.

After Mr. Aney's cut motion was carried, Mr. *Hossack* on behalf of the European group moved a token cut to the Railway demand under the head "Working Expenses" to discuss manipulation of freight rates which was defeated without voting. Mr. Bajoria, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Mr. B. Das, Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi and Mr. Govindballav Pant spoke on the motion.

**26th. FEBRUARY :—**Mr. *N. M. Joshi's* motion proposing a token cut in the railway demand under head 'Working Expenses' raising discussion on various grievances of the railway employees was pressed to a division to-day and accepted by the Assembly by 75 votes against 46.

The Assembly was divided for the second time on *Capt. Jalchand's* cut in the railway demand under the head 'Working Expenses' to discuss the question of excessive rates and insufficient facilities for transport of agricultural produce and livestock. The motion was carried by 71 votes against 42.

#### CR. PROC. CODE 1898 (S. 408 AMEND.) BILL

**27th. FEBRUARY :—**Mr. *Sant Singh* moved to-day that the Bill further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (amendment of section 408), be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Sir Henry Craik, Sir Lancelot Graham, Mr. Sham Lal, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Satya Narain Singha, Ghulam Bliikh Narang, U Thein Maung, Mr. Fakir Chand and the mover and that the number of members to constitute a meeting of the committee be five. Mr. Sant Singh, giving a short history of the previous amendments, said that he did not like that District Magistrates who were executive heads should deal with cases the proceedings of which were conducted by Superintendents

of Police. The speaker maintained that it was the grievance of the people that justice was not done in the majority of cases and that was why appeals were not preferred against the orders of District Magistrate.

Sir Henry Craik, replying to the debate, said that the Bill affected only the Punjab, Burma, the N. W. F. P. and a small part of Bihar. None had unfortunately spoken for Burma. As for the Punjab the speaker had a lifelong experience of the province. The figures for the Punjab showed that at least three Additional Sessions Judges would be required to hear such appeals. During the twelve years of his membership of the Punjab Council he had never heard any suggestion for such a change. In any case the proposal would mean a heavy financial burden and the local Council would resent having to find extra money. He asked the House to reject the motion.

Mr. Satyamurthi said that it was essential that the appellate court must start the trial with the presumption that the accused was innocent and this attitude of mind was absent from the mind of District Magistrates. Mr. Satyamurthi said that question revealed the temperament of District Magistrates, against which they were planning safeguards.

Mr. Jinnah said that if the Government were serious, they should have brought convincing figures to show that financially the proposition was unacceptable.

Sardar Sant Singh, replying to the debate, contested Sir Henry Craik's point that opinion in the Punjab Council did not favour reform. He reminded him of the appointment of a committee under a judge which recommended separation of judicial and executive functions. The motion for Select Committee was put and carried by 66 to 55 votes.

#### COASTAL TRAFFIC RESERVATION BILL<sup>1</sup>

Seven new Bills were introduced. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed introduced a Bill to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels.

**\*History of the Bill.** As the result of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's resolution in the Assembly the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee was appointed by the Government in 1923. This committee recommended practically unanimously that India's coastal trade should be reserved for shipping companies, the controlling interests in which are predominantly Indian. As the Government did not take any action on this recommendation non-official members like Mr. K. C. Neogy and Mr. S. N. Haji introduced bills to reserve India's coastal trade to Indian owned and Indian managed vessels. Mr. Haji's bill passed the first reading in the Assembly by a large majority in 1928, and was referred to a select committee which submitted its report. When it came before the Assembly in 1929 further progress was checked by convening a shipping conference by Lord Irwin in January, 1930, which proved abortive, and also by the boycott of legislature by the Swarajists. In the last Assembly Mr. B. V. Jadava, who represented Mr. Haji's constituency, gave notice of the bill but the ballot box did not favour him through four years. Fate has now favoured Dr. Ziauddin who secured the first place in the list of private bills for the meeting of February 27.

It was pointed out in Assembly circles that the Government of India were definitely committed to the policy of assisting the development of the Indian mercantile marine, although they did not take legislative or administrative action to further such object. In 1930 Sir George Raine, then Commerce Member, declared adherence of the Government to the policy of providing for an adequate participation of Indian shipping in the coastal and overseas trade of India. In 1932 Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Officiating Commerce Member, speaking on the resolution regarding rate war, gave an undertaking to facilitate the growth and expansion of the coastal trade of India in so far as that coastal trade is operated by Indian agencies and through the instrumentality of Indian capital.

But the present position of Indian shipping does not bear testimony to the fulfilment of that undertaking. In the coastal trade of India the share of Indian shipping is barely 23 per cent. which the Indian interests have maintained in face of international law, maritime law practice and imperial legislation. It is also pointed out that the share of Indian shipping in overseas trade is absolutely nil.

It will be remembered that Indian shipping interests have had to enter into some working arrangements with British shipping interests probably for sheer existence. But legislation is not deemed to be committed to that agreement.

The re-introduction of the Bill indicates that legislature will insist that Indian shipping live on its own rights and not as a favour from British shipping which has at present the directing and controlling hand.

## TEXT OF COASTAL RESERVATION BILL

The following is the text of the Coastal Reservation Bill :—

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the rapid development of an Indian Merchant Marine;

And whereas for this purpose it is expedient to reserve the Coastal Traffic of India to Indian controlled vessels; It is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indian Coastal Traffic (Reservation) Act, 1935.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India.

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification, appoint;

Provided that no such date shall be appointed until His Majesty's pleasure on this Act has been publicly signified in British India by notification.

2. For the purposes of this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context.

(1) a ship shall be deemed to be engaged in "Coastal Traffic" if it takes on board cargo or passengers at any port in British India, other than Aden or Perim, to be carried to, and delivered or landed at, any other port in British India, other than Aden or Perim;

Provided that a ship shall not be deemed to be engaged in Coastal Traffic by reason only of the fact that it takes on board or carries—

(a) passengers holding through tickets to or from a port outside British India;

(b) cargo consigned on a through bill of lading to and from any ship engaged in Coastal Traffic and not licensed under this Act;

(c) mails, in the course of a continuous voyage to or from a port outside British India;

(d) pilots, as passengers, who are proceeding from their home station for the purpose of meeting vessels requiring their services, or who are returning to their home station after piloting vessels; or

(e) in the case of an oil-tanker, oil in bulk;

(2) "Indian" means an Indian British subject or the Ruler or a subject of a State in India;

(3) "Indian-controlled ship" means a ship chartered by the Government, or a ship owned by or, if the ship is chartered by—

(a) an Indian, or (b) a company incorporated and registered in British India, or a corporation, partnership or association—

(i) in which, in the case of a company, not less than 75 per cent of the shares or stock, other than debenture stock, or in the case of a corporation, partnership or association, not less than 75 per cent of the capital and the right to not less than 75 per cent of the profits, is vested in Indians in their own right and for their own benefit, free from any trust or fiduciary obligation in favour of any person other than an Indian;

(ii) of which the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the Managing Director, if any, and not less than 75 per cent. of the members of the Board of Directors are Indians; (iii) in which not less than 75 per cent of the voting power is vested in Indians;

Provided that voting power vested in an Indian shall be deemed not to be so vested if, by any contract or understanding or otherwise, it is arranged that such power is to be exercised directly or indirectly on behalf of any person other than an Indian; and

(iv) of which the Managing Agent, if any, is an Indian or the Managing Firm, if any, fulfils the conditions specified in Clause (i), (ii) and (iii).

(4) "licence" means a licence for Coastal Traffic issued under this Act;

(5) "notification" means a notification in the Gazette of India; and

(6) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act.

3. No ship shall engage in Coastal Traffic, unless it is licensed for the purpose under this Act.

4. (1) The Governor-General-in-Council shall in each year, not less than two months before the date on which it is intended to issue licenses by notification, publish an estimate of the total tonnage which is, in his opinion, essential for the needs of the Coastal Traffic in that year and invite opinions as to such estimate and fix the date on which such opinions will be taken into consideration and the period within which applications for licenses may be made.

(2) The Governor-General-in-Council, after considering any opinions which he may receive before the date so fixed, shall determine and publish by notification the total tonnage essential for the needs of the Coastal Traffic.

5. (1) Applications for licences may be made within the period fixed under sub-section (1) of section 4.

(2) Every such application shall be in the prescribed form, and shall contain a declaration signed by the applicant stating whether the ship in respect of which the application is made, is an Indian-controlled ship and such particulars as may be prescribed to enable the Governor-General-in-Council to satisfy himself as to the accuracy of such declaration.

6. (1) The Governor-General-in-Council may, subject to the conditions hereinafter contained in section 7, after considering the applications, issue licences in the prescribed form and on the prescribed conditions to ships of an aggregate tonnage not exceeding the tonnage determined under sub-section (2) of section 4.

(2) A licence shall be valid only for the year in respect of which it is issued.

(3) Before issuing a licence, the Governor-General-in-Council may require from the person applying therefor such security, not exceeding fifty thousand rupees, as the Governor-General-in-Council may think fit, for compliance with the conditions thereof.

7. (1) In respect of the first year after the commencement of this Act, licences shall be issued to all Indian-controlled ships in respect of which applications for licences have been received which were Indian-controlled ships on the day of.

(2) In respect of the second, third and fourth years, licences shall be reserved for Indian-controlled ships to an aggregate tonnage of two-fifths, and four-fifths respectively, of the tonnage determined for the year under sub-section (2) of section 4.

(3) In respect of every year after the fourth year, licences shall be issued to Indian-controlled ships only.

Provided that if, after every application for a licence in respect of an Indian-controlled ship has been considered, the aggregate tonnage of the Indian-controlled ships which have been licensed is less, in the second, third or fourth year, than the tonnage upto which licences have been reserved for Indian-controlled ships under sub-section (2), or, in any year after the fourth year, than the tonnage determined under the sub-section (2) of section 4, the deficiency may be made good by the issue of licences to ships other than Indian-controlled ships.

8. If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that—

(a) no licensed ship is available for, or that the service rendered by licensed ships is inadequate to the needs of, the Coastal Traffic to or from any ports in British India, and

(b) it is desirable in the public interest to take action in this behalf.

the Governor-General-in-Council may issue permits in the prescribed form to unlicensed ships to engage for a period not exceeding three months in Coastal Traffic, subject to such conditions as may be specified in the permits, and nothing in section 3 shall apply to a ship to which such a permit has been issued during the continuance of the permit.

9. (1) Any person who—

(a) is the owner, charter or agent or has command or, charge of a ship which contravenes the provisions of section 3, or

(b) contravenes the conditions of a licence, or

(c) signs a false statement or false declaration in an application for a licence, knowing the same to be false,

shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to thousand rupees, or with both.

(2) Where a person punishable under sub-section (1) is a company, corporation, partnership, or association, any secretary, director or other officer or person concerned with the management thereof shall be punishable as provided in that sub-section, unless he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or without his consent.

10. (1) If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that there has been a breach of the conditions of a licence, or that any licence has been issued upon an application which contains a false statement or false declaration, the Governor-General-in-Council may cancel the licence.

Provided that no licence shall be so cancelled unless the holder thereof has been given an opportunity to show cause against the cancellation or has been convicted of an offence under clause (b) or clause (c) of sub-section (1) of section 9 in respect thereof.

(2) Where any licence is cancelled under this section in consequence of a breach of the conditions thereof, the Governor-General-in-Council may direct that any security taken under sub-section (3) of section 6 for compliance with such conditions shall be forfeited either in whole or in part.

11. (1) The Governor-General-in-Council may by notification, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:—

(a) the form of licences;

(b) the conditions of licences, including the conditions under which a licensed ship may be chartered,

(c) the manner and form in which application for licences shall be made;

(d) the particulars to be contained in application for licences; and

(e) the form of permits.

(3) No notification shall be made under sub-section (1), until it has been laid in draft before both Chambers of the Indian Legislature and the Governor-General-in-Council has taken into consideration any resolution relating to the draft which either Chamber may have passed within the next thirty days on which that Chamber has sat after the draft has been so laid.

12. This Act shall not apply to ships belonging to His Majesty or the Government, or to ships belonging to any foreign Prince or State and employed otherwise than for profit in the public service of that Prince or State

13. Nothing contained in this Act shall be deemed to derogate from any of the provisions of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1925.

#### OTHER NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

*Mr. Fakirchand* introduced two Bills one amending the Income Tax Act and the other amending Specific Relief Act.

*Sardar Sant Singh* introduced three Bills, amending sections 167, 205, 386 of Criminal Procedure Code respectively.

*Mr. Satyamurthi* introduced a Bill to repeal and amend certain repressive laws. The House then adjourned.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1935-36

**28th. FEBRUARY :—**Introducing the Budget proposals for 1935-36 in the Assembly to-day the Finance Member *Sir James Grigg* said :—

It is to me somewhat confusing to find that I have to present three sets of accounts. English budget statements, which are made in April, of course only deal with the year which has just closed and the year which has just begun. In India it is necessary to give the final accounts of the year which ended 11 months earlier, a revised forecast of the outturn of the year which has still one month to run and a forecast of a year which has not yet started. I hope that I shall be able to give a clear but succinct account of all three years and in doing so I shall avoid all attempts at economic speculation—for I do not think it would be helpful to add one to the infinitude of economic theories which are circulating in India in particular and the world in general—and I shall confine myself to that bare minimum of prophecy which is incidental to presenting a budget statement.

I begin setting out the final result of the year 1933-34.

When my predecessor presented his budget last February, it was anticipated that, after a provision of Rs. 3 crores had been made for debt reduction, the year 1933-34 would close with a surplus of Rs. 1.29 lakhs. The actual figure is Rs. 2.72 lakhs. The main causes of this improvement of Rs. 1.43 lakhs are four :—

“First the fact that a somewhat unusual number of holders of Government securities failed to draw their interest; secondly, the fact that recoveries from commercial departments were larger than expected; thirdly, forestalling in anticipation of an increase in the salt duty; and fourthly, the fortunate non-realisation of our expectations of a reduction in receipts from Income-tax in the areas affected by the earthquake of January 1934.”

It will be remembered that my predecessor announced that the surplus would be carried to a suspense account and utilised for financial assistance in connection with the earthquake. The Government of India accordingly offered to provide the whole of the financial help required by local bodies to enable them to repair the damage done to roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and other buildings, and to carry out their current responsibilities until their income had regained its normal level. The latest estimate received from the Government of Bihar and Orissa indicates that the amount required for this purpose will be approximately Rs. 1.25 lakhs. In addition about

Rs. 5 lakhs were required for the provision of country mills for the crushing of sugarcane which could not be sent to the factories. It was further decided that the Central Government would assist the Government of Bihar and Orissa in reconstructing Government property which had been damaged by the earthquake to the extent of providing one-half of the total capital expenditure involved and financing the remainder from the Provincial Loans Fund. The Local Government now anticipate that the grant required from us in this connection will amount to Rs 51 lakhs. It was originally proposed that this should be treated as capital expenditure and should not be debited to the special suspense account, but in view of the large increase in the surplus for 1933-34 we now think it more convenient to meet this expenditure also from the suspense account. So far as Bihar is concerned, therefore, the total liability of the Central Government amounts to Rs 1,25 lakhs 'plus' 5 'plus' 51, a total of Rs 1,81 lakhs. In addition to this we shall need about Rs. 6 lakhs for the repair of earthquake damage in Bengal and we have also certain contingent liabilities in respect of loans granted to individuals in Bihar whose property was damaged by the earthquake, since it was agreed that in certain circumstances the Central Government would meet part of any loss which may result from the failure of the Local Government to recover these loans. So far as it is possible to judge at present, this liability will not amount to a very large sum, but in order to have a margin for unforeseen contingencies we propose to retain in the suspense account a total sum of Rs. 2,10 lakhs. This leaves Rs. 62 lakhs to be carried forward to fortify the balance of the current year.

#### FINANCIAL YEAR 1934-35

I now turn to the current year 1934-35. Our revised forecast shows a material improvement over the original budget anticipations and the surplus is now expected to be Rs. 3,27 lakhs instead of 10 lakhs. The difference is made up of an improvement in revenue of Rs. 3,87 lakhs and a deterioration of Rs. 70 lakhs in expenditure.

Incidentally, I must here make an apology to my predecessor for a somewhat gloomy remark I made last August as to the prospects of realising his revenue estimates. I ought to have known better than to turn myself into a prophet on so slight an acquaintance with India. It would also be fitting that I should pay a tribute to him for the hard and unpleasant work he performed in securing budgetary equilibrium in this country and express my sympathy that the fruits of his unremitting toil should not have fallen to him before his departure.

The actual figures, excluding Railways, are as follows :—

		( Lakhs )	
		Budget	Revised
		1934-35	1934-35
Revenue	...	87,13	91,00
Expenditure	...	87,03	87,73
Surplus	...	10	3,27

Full detail are of course given in the Financial Secretary's memorandum but I should perhaps call attention to a few of the more important variations.

#### REVENUE

*Customs etc*—On the Revenue side the surplus in the main is due to Customs, etc. the principal items being :—

	Lakhs.
Sugar	1,38
Cotton fabrics	90
Yarn and textile fabrics other than artificial silk	80

There have also been increases under motor cars, machinery, petrol and kerosene, decreases in the export duties on jute and rice and in the excise duties on matches. The actual figure for the export duty on jute—to which I shall have to return later—is Rs. 3,40 lakhs as compared with the Budget Estimate of Rs. 3,80 lakhs.

*Interest*.—Apart from Customs, etc., the only Revenue item I need mention specially is Interest. Here, although the head discloses an increase of Rs. 26 lakhs only, this is made up of a considerable reduction of rupee, combined with a somewhat greater increase of sterling, receipts. The latter is due to our increased sterling balances but the former calls for more detailed comment.

The budget estimates for the current year provided for a receipt of Rs. 67 lakhs on account of interest on the loan granted to Bhawalpur State. During the year we

have reconsidered the position with regard to this loan on the basis of the latest forecast supplied by the Public Works and Revenue Minister of the State. The forecast indicated that although the Sutloj Valley Project should ultimately yield a surplus which will be sufficient for the service of a loan of the existing dimension, the surplus available for this purpose during the current and the next financial years is likely to be of negligible amount and will certainly be insufficient to pay interest at the prescribed rate, which for the greater part of the loan is five and a half per cent. In view of the recent fall in our borrowing rates the project could now be regarded as reasonably profitable even if it should prove to be unable to pay as high a rate as 5 and a half per cent, and we might with some justification have proposed an immediate reduction in this rate. As, however, the forecast is admittedly of a very provisional character, we have considered it preferable to defer a final settlement of the terms of the loan and to avoid taking any step, such as a reduction in the rate of interest, which might prejudice the provisions of that settlement. We have instead decided to charge no interest for a period of two years commencing with the payments which were due to be received during the current financial year. So far as the current year is concerned, this decision involves only a paper loss, since we should in any case have received practically nothing from the State. The final terms of repayment will be considered before the end of the period of two years, and in connection with that settlement we shall of course take into consideration the remission of interest charges which is now being granted.

#### EXPENDITURE

*Grant to Jute Producing Provinces*—The main part of the increase of 70 lakhs in Expenditure is due to the allocation to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam of a larger share of the proceeds of the jute duty than was originally provided for. The figures are now expected to be.—

	lakhs.
Bengal	149.3
Bihar and Orissa	11.2
Assam	8.5

During the debate on the Matches (Excise Duty) Bill last April my predecessor explained that in view of the reduction in the rates originally proposed for the duty, the abnormal issues from factories during March 1934 and the dislocation in the interval before banderols were available, we should probably only collect eight months' revenue in the first year. Our estimate of income from this source during 1934-35 was, therefore, reduced to Rs. 1.38 lakhs, and consequently we were unable to promise the jute producing provinces the full amount of assistance originally proposed. Our final estimates were accordingly based on the assumption that those Provinces would be given only one-third instead of one half of the total receipts from the export duty on jute. At the same time it was made clear that we should be prepared to increase this proportion to one-half if the budget as a whole should turn out better than was then anticipated. This condition is clearly in process of being fulfilled. But the transfer was subject, in the case of Bengal, to the further condition that the Government of that province must satisfy us that they are doing everything possible on their side to restore equilibrium. I have twice discussed this question with the Government of Bengal, and I am satisfied that the Local Government cannot reasonably be expected to secure further material reductions in their present scale of expenditure. Indeed in some respects it seemed to me that retrenchment had been carried to the point where it was unremunerative. On the other side of the account, however, the Government of Bengal, have, of their own accord, introduced five new taxation Bills which are expected to produce a total additional revenue of about Rs. 24 and a half lakhs in a full year. For my part I am bound to regard this action as conclusive evidence of the determination of the Local Government to do whatever they can to put their own affairs in order.

*Interest.*—On the Expenditure side too it is necessary to mention the Interest heads. Again they show little variation as a whole but there is an excess on "Other Obligations" because of Provident Fund and Post Office Savings Bank deposits being higher than anticipated and of an increase in the amount of accrued bonus on cash certificates; and there is a saving on "Ordinary Debt" owing to the non-payment of the 58 lakhs due to the United Kingdom on the 1st December 1934 on account of the outstanding War Loan liability. Incidentally the United Kingdom has agreed that this non-payment should continue for the year 1935-36.



*Posts and Telegraphs.*—Finally I should say a word about Posts and Telegraphs.

The position is as follows :—

		(L a k h s )	
		Budget	Revised
		1933-34	1934-35
Gross receipts	.	10.71	11.05
Working expenses	..	10.01	10.07
Net receipts	...	70	98
Interest Charges	...	84	84
Balance—	...	14	plus 14

We thus estimate that the year will close with a net surplus of Rs. 14 lakhs which as compared with the deficit of Rs. 14 lakhs was anticipated. The improvement is mainly due to increased sales of stamps, and it is satisfactory that this Department which since 1927-28 has been working at a loss in this year expected to show a small profit. But it is unfortunately not quite so satisfactory as it looks, for it will be remembered that it was decided to draw on the Depreciation Fund to the extent of Rs. 27 lakhs and to that extent, therefore, the accounts do not show a true picture.

#### POSITIONS AS AT 31st MARCH 1935-36. REVENUE.

On the figures, which I have so far explained to the House, we shall, at the end of March next, have in hand two surpluses, one for 1933-34 of Rs. 62 lakhs and one for 1934-35 of Rs. 3.27 lakhs making Rs. 3.89 lakhs in all. I shall return to the disposal of this amount later on. In the meantime I turn to the estimates for the coming year 1935-36.

#### FINANCIAL YEAR 1935-36. REVENUE.

The total revenue, excluding Railways, may be put at Rs. 90.19 lakhs or 8 lakhs less than the revised estimate for the current year.

Customs, etc.—Here I estimate for Rs. 51.92 lakhs altogether or an increase of Rs. 75 lakhs over the revised figures for the current year. The main variations are a decline of Rs. 2 crores in the import duty on sugar combined with increases of Rs. 35 lakhs on the sugar excise, of Rs. 65 lakhs on the match excise and of Rs. 43 lakhs on kerosene and petrol. It is of course a matter of great difficulty to frame an accurate estimate of customs, etc., revenue at a time when there are so many uncertain factors at work. The uncertainty applies in a particular measure to the sugar duties. As I have already stated, our estimates for the current year have been revised to show an increase of Rs. 1.70 lakhs in the import duty and a decline of Rs. 32 lakhs in excise—the original figures being Rs. 2.05 and 1.47 lakhs respectively, and the revised Rs. 3.75 and 1.15 lakhs. We cannot, however, anticipate that the revenue from the import duty will remain at so high a figure in 1935-36 and the increased revenue to be expected from the excise duty will by no means compensate for this inevitable reduction. During the period when Indian factories were not working at their full strength, imports have been substantial, but when Indian production reaches its full level, imports of foreign sugar for ordinary consumption will almost disappear, and there will only be certain small imports of the finer varieties of sugar. This process may not, however, be completed during 1935-36 and the best forecast we can make is to assume an import revenue of Rs. 1.75 lakhs and an excise yield of Rs. 1.50 lakhs. The increase in petrol and kerosene is due to normal growth and that in the match excise merely represents a full instead of a part year's yield of the duty.

The changes in the estimates are set out in greater detail in the Financial Secretary's memorandum.

Taxes on Income.—During the current year there has been an undoubted improvement in the financial position of some of the more important industries, but this improvement will only be partially reflected in our Income-tax returns for 1935-36. I therefore estimate for an improvement of no more than Rs. 51 lakhs and of this Rs. 16 lakhs is due to the additional tax recovered from Government servants on account of the restored pay-cut. The actual figures are Rs. 17.76 for 1935-36.

Opium.—Our estimate under this head is Rs. 61 lakhs as compared with Rs. 71 lakhs for the current financial year. This is based on the assumption that only 257 chests of opium will be exported during 1935-36. As Hon'ble Members are aware, this source of income will practically cease at the end of the present calendar year

in accordance with the policy which was announced some years ago by the Government of India, and in future we shall recover only the cost of opium sold for consumption in India.

Interest.—This shows a very large reduction amounting to Rs. 1.29 lakhs which is of course due to the transfer of the currency functions and, therefore, the reserves of the Government of India to the Reserve Bank. It is true that as against this we shall get the surplus profits of the Bank but in the first year instead of getting a full year's, interest on the assets in our various reserves and balances we shall only get a part year's dividend from the profits of the Bank. We have included Rs. 50 lakhs on this account under the head "currency" but the receipts here still show a drop of Rs. 11 lakhs owing to the lower rates prevailing for short term money.

#### EXPENDITURE

Expenditure as a whole, again, excluding Railways, stands at Rs. 88.69 lakhs showing an increase of Rs. 96 lakhs which is of course almost entirely due to the restoration of the pay cut. A good deal of criticism has been passed on the Government's action in this matter and it cannot be denied that the decision has had one unfortunate concomitant in that it has increased the already serious difficulties of many of the Provinces and added to the magnitude of the financial problems to be solved at the inception of Provincial Autonomy. But in this matter the Government were bound by pledges which were both categorical and repeated and in my view those pledges are conclusive.

The cost of restoration will be Rs. 55 lakhs for the Civil Departments, excluding the Railways, but including the Posts and Telegraphs Department, and Rs. 53 lakhs for the Army, a total of Rs. 1.08 lakhs, but there is, as I have said, a set off against this in the form of extra income-tax to the extent of Rs. 16 lakhs.

Apart from the pay cut, there are only minor increases, most of them on new services, e.g., the marketing scheme, grants to the handloom and agricultural industries, the new Diary Institute and the Institute of Industrial Research. There is also a small increase on Defence and a deficit on Posts and Telegraphs which is, however, more explained by the abolition of the pay cut.

Defence.—The Defence Budget shows an increase, leaving out of account the pay cut, of Rs. 7 lakhs over the original estimate for this year but the partial restoration by His Majesty's Government of the pay cuts of British soldiers on the Indian establishment, accounts for Rs. 5 lakhs of this. The purely nominal increase of Rs. 2 lakhs which remains, conceals however a considerably increased provision for necessary services and re-equipment which had to be postponed during the financial emergency.

In his budget speech last year my predecessor again communicated to the House a warning previously given that the large reduction in Defence expenditure in recent years had been secured to some extent by emergency measures of a temporary character and that the figure of Rs. 41.38 crores could not be regarded as representing a new permanent level of Defence expenditure. The contingency then foreseen has become a fact and new or rather postponed services amounting to Rs. 67 lakhs have had to be provided for. This sum has been found as to Rs. 20 lakhs by closer estimating for grains and other food stuffs and as to the remainder by economies in other directions. My predecessor also stated that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief had undertaken that he would not relax his search for further economies and I think it will be agreed that the figures I have given demonstrate that this undertaking has been amply fulfilled.

Honourable Members will remember that I said we now expected a surplus on the Posts and Telegraphs accounts for 1934-35 amounting to Rs. 14 lakhs but that this result was only achieved in consequence of a raid of about Rs. 27 lakhs on the Depreciation Fund. At the time of this raid my predecessor explained that this could not be repeated in toto but that the whole question of the amount of the annual contribution to the Fund was under review. The final results of this review are not yet available but it is clear that the amount to be provided need not be so high as under the old rules by something like Rs. 50 lakhs. There is here therefore a deterioration in the estimates for 1935-36 as compared with 1934-35 and it is one of Rs. 27 lakhs. When we add to this the cost of restoring the pay cut for the Posts and Telegraphs Department, viz. Rs. 27 lakhs, we get an initial disadvantage of Rs. 46 lakhs to be made up. We are however estimating for a deficit not of Rs. 32 lakhs but of Rs. 13 lakhs which means that comparing like with like we reckon on a net improvement of Rs. 19 lakhs.

There is only one other item which I wish specifically to mention at this stage and that is the provision for the reduction and avoidance of debt. As Hon'ble Members are aware our revised estimates for 1933-34 and those for the current financial year included only Rs 3 crores for this purpose. It is of course a matter of common knowledge that 60 per cent of the Government of India debt is attributable to the Railways and it seems to me that it would be imposing too heavy a burden on the general Budget to revert to the Sinking Fund arrangements in force prior to 1933-34 before the Railways have resumed the practice of making a contribution to the General Revenues. I therefore accept as reasonable for the time being the provision of Rs. 3 crores now prevailing but I should like to make it clear that, in my view, an increased provision for debt reduction ought to be a first charge on any contribution from the Railways in the future.

It is interesting here to compare the budget expenditure, actual or estimated as the case may be, for the years 1931-32 onwards and in order to get a fair basis of comparison, I deduct in every case the provision for debt reduction and avoidance and take net figures for Interest, Posts and Telegraphs and Defence.

1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Actual.	Actual.	Actual.
88,78	80,59	75,97
1934-35	1934-35	1935-36
Budget.	Revised.	Budget.
78,12	78,53	80,06

The lowest year was 1933-34. The estimate for 1935-36 shows a net increase from this low level of Rs 4,09 lakhs. Of this, Rs. 1,79 lakhs is due to the grant of a share of the jute duty to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam, Rs. 1,30 lakhs is due to the increased provision for bonus on Cash Certificates and Rs. 1,08 lakhs represents the cost of restoring the second half of the pay cut. Apart from these changes the remarkable economies made in Defence and other charges have not only been maintained but extended.

The final position for 1935-36 is thus as follows :—

Revenue	90,19 lakhs
Expenditure	88,69 "
Surplus	1,50 lakhs

Before explaining our proposals for dealing with the surplus of Rs. 1,50 lakhs which we anticipate in the year 1935-36 and with the accrued balance of Rs. 3,89 lakhs left over from previous years, I shall turn aside to deal briefly with the ways and means position.

First of all let me refer to the changes due to the inauguration of the Reserve Bank. As has already been announced, the assets of the Currency Department will be transferred to the Bank with effect from the 1st of April 1935. From that date the Reserve Bank will be responsible for the maintenance of the currency, for the investment of the currency reserves in rupees and sterling and for supplying the Secretary of State with sterling for his London requirements. The effect of this on our ways and means estimates will be twofold. In the first place once the new system is in full operation, the Secretary of State will not maintain a large balance in London than is necessary for his day to day transactions with the Bank of England. He will not, as he does at present, hold surplus funds for temporary investment until he requires them. For this reason you will see that at the end of the next year we have provided for the reduction of this balance to a nominal amount of £500,000. To begin with, as it is not contemplated that the Reserve Bank will assume its full banking business until about the beginning of July, it seemed desirable, in order to avoid the necessity of his coming to the Bank for his sterling requirements during that period, to provide him with a sufficiently large opening balance to meet his requirements up to July.

The second change is consequent on the creation of a Silver Redemption Reserve. A memorandum on this subject was submitted to the Joint Select Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill, but the Committee recommended that the Government proposals should be further studied by the Legislature. In accordance with their recommendation the memorandum was submitted to the Standing Finance Committee at a meeting held on the 20th of March 1934, and the Committee expressed their general approval of the arrangements suggested. The proposal which was placed before the Committee was in brief that after the inauguration of the Reserve Bank the proceeds of any

sales of silver should be credited to a separate Fund on the lines of the present Gold Standard Reserve which would be called the Silver Redemption Reserve and would be invested by Government in its entirety in gold or sterling securities. This Reserve is required mainly to meet the liability imposed by Section 36 of the Reserve Bank Act under which Government are under an obligation to pay full value for surplus rupees which may be transferred by the Bank up to a maximum of five crores a year. It was originally intended that the Reserve should be gradually built up to a maximum of Rs. 10 crores which would be sufficient to meet a return of 25 crores of rupees by the Bank. Owing to the large remittance which it has been possible to make during the current financial year, the balances at the disposal of the Secretary of State will now be sufficient to enable the Fund to be constituted with the full amount of Rs. 10 crores with effect from the 1st of April 1935.

The ways and means forecast for the current financial year provided for the purchase of sterling to the extent of £26.7 millions. According to our latest estimate the total should reach about £30 millions, but this figure is of course liable to modifications. If the estimate is realised, we should be able not only to set aside the Rs. 10 crores required for the Silver Redemption Reserve but also to increase by about Rs. 14 crores the external assets held as security for the note issue.

The increase in our estimate for remittance is, needless to say, largely accounted for by the strength which the continuance of gold exports has given to the exchange. For the 10 months ending on the 31st January 1935 the exports of gold were approximately Rs. 41 crores as compared with Rs. 42 and a half crores during the corresponding period of the previous year.

I do not propose to discuss at length the arguments which have been advanced in favour of restricting these exports, but I take this opportunity of saying that I cannot share the views which attribute to them some abstruse monetary significance nor do I find in them any indication that India is being driven by distress to part with her last reserves. Indeed I can see no sufficient reason for placing them in a different category from exports of any other commodity of which India has a surplus and I therefore find no cause for regret or alarm in the fact that India is still able to obtain so handsome a profit from the reserves of gold which had been accumulated in previous years.

It will be observed from the ways and means statement which is printed with the Financial Secretary's memorandum, that the figure for net receipts from Post Office Cash Certificates has been reduced in the revised estimate for the current year from Rs. 5.50 lakhs to Rs. 2.78 lakhs and that we have included Rs. 2.75 lakhs under this head in our forecast for next year. This is of course due to the reductions in the rate of interest on these certificates which took place in April and December 1934, the actual rate being now 3 per cent. Post Office Savings Bank deposits, on the other hand, show a net increase from Rs. 6.00 lakhs in the original estimates for the current year to Rs. 7.10 lakhs in the revised and Rs. 8.75 lakhs in the forecast for 1935-36. The rate of interest on these deposits has been 2 and a half per cent, since the end of 1933, and this is clearly becoming increasingly attractive with the general decline in security yields.

The revised estimate here shows a reduction from Rs. 6.25 lakhs to Rs. 4.40 lakhs but we have provided in our forecast for 1935-36 for an increase to Rs. 10.80 lakhs, owing to the fact that we have decided to finance the repayment of the Bombay Development Loan, 1935.

Last year my predecessor estimated that at the end of the financial year the amount of treasury bills outstanding with the general public would be about Rs. 30 crores. The actual figure on the first of April 1934 was Rs. 33.31 crores. In addition treasury bills held in the Paper Currency Reserve amounted to Rs. 25.93 crores. The figures for the 31st March 1935 are expected to be Rs. 22 and Rs. 27 and a half crores respectively. After the transfer on the 1st of April 1935 of the assets in the Paper Currency Reserve to the Reserve Bank, all treasury bills will be shown under one head. On this basis the figures for the beginning and end of the year 1934-35 are Rs. 59.24 and Rs. 49 and a half crores respectively and in our forecast for the coming year we have anticipated a further reduction to Rs. 46 crores.

We have issued two loans in India during the current year. The first was a re-issue of 3 and a half per cent loan 1947-50 at 98.8 per cent and the amount subscribed was approximately Rs. 25.13 lakhs. A few months later owing to the continued improvement in our credit we were able to issue a rupee loan at a nominal rate of 3 per cent for the first time since 1896. The 3 per cent bonds 1941 were issued at 99 per cent, and the amount subscribed was Rs. 10.67 lakhs. As a result of these new

loans we have been able to repay Rs. 19.48 lakhs of 4 per cent loan 1934-37 and Rs. 12.94 lakhs of 4 and a half per cent bonds 1934

Both of the new issues stand well above their original price. Next year we shall have to provide for the repayment of Rs. 16 crores of 6 and a half per cent Treasury Bonds 1935, and Rs. 11.1 crores of 5 per cent Bonds 1935. We have also the option of repaying £11.9 millions of 6 per cent Sterling Bonds 1935-37 and £3 and a half millions of East Indian Railway 4 and a half per cent debenture stock 1935-55. The total amount of loans which we can repay or convert is thus approximately Rs. 48 crores. In addition to this we are, as I have just said, providing for the repayment of the Bombay Development Loan 1935, and we expect to reduce the total amount of treasury bills outstanding by a further Rs. 3 and a half crores. Allowing for a remittance of £26 million we anticipate that we could meet all these liabilities without raising more than Rs. 25 crores by fresh borrowing, but of course the amount, time and manner of our borrowing, will depend entirely on market conditions during the year.

I now come to our proposals both in regard to the balance of Rs. 3.89 lakhs which we expect to have at 31st March next and to the surplus of Rs. 1.50 lakhs which we estimate for 1935-36. The former is of course non-recurrent and is only available for non-recurring purposes. The latter represents the maximum limit of the sums which can be devoted to tax-reduction during the year 1935-36.

To take the non-recurrent balance of Rs. 3.89 lakhs first we consider that the needs of the rural areas should have the first claim on this and we have decided to set aside a sum of Rs. 1.00 lakhs for distribution to the provinces to be spent on schemes for the economic development and improvement of such areas. I recognise that it may be contended that schemes for rural development are primarily the function of Provincial Governments, whether those schemes take the form of the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, the establishment of industries to give employment to, and increase the income of, the cultivators, or measures designed to effect a general improvement in the condition of village life. It is a problem to which all local Governments are fully alive and to which Provincial Ministers in particular have devoted much attention, since these matters were entrusted to them. Schemes have been examined and worked out but unfortunately many of them are still merely paper schemes, for even before the financial stringency of recent years some Local Governments could only devote very inadequate funds to those purposes and in the recent years of crisis and retrenchment it has been impossible for any Local Government to find money for new projects however likely they were to contribute to the prosperity of the province. We feel therefore that now when the Central Government fortunately happens to have balances on which it can draw we cannot do better than make some share of it available to the provinces to carry out schemes which have been held up and thereby show that the Government of India have a very deep concern with the welfare and prosperity of the cultivators and are prepared to help Local Governments to carry out schemes for their benefit.

I have used the expression economic development and improvement of rural areas and I have indicated that I use that expression in a wide sense to cover any measure which will conduce to the amelioration of the conditions of the cultivators and rural classes. One such measure is the Co-operative Movement and we have for the last 7 or 8 months had an expert on duty under the Central Government to examine how the movement stands. Mr. Darling who has acquired great experience of the movement in the Punjab has been touring round the provinces discussing the question with Local Governments and Provincial Registrars. We propose to earmark a sum of Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs out of the crore which I have mentioned and this, we hope, will enable Governments to develop the movement on sound financial foundations. Details of the measures and the conditions on which the grants will be given will be settled after we have considered Mr. Darling's Report.

As regards the remaining Rs. 85 to 90 lakhs I do not propose at present to define very closely the terms on which it will be distributed to the Provinces or the purposes for which it will be used. I may, however, say that we shall probably adopt the basis of rural population for distribution and we shall certainly impose the two following conditions:—

(1) that the grant should be spent on schemes approved by the Government of India which will improve the economic position of the people, and

(2) that it will be devoted only to schemes which the Local Government would not otherwise have been able to undertake in the immediate future.

We shall give preference to schemes which can be put quickly into operation but the money need not all be spent immediately or during the year 1935-36. Some provinces may not have schemes in final shape; in others the Local Government may prefer to spread the expenditure over more than one year. It will of course rest primarily with the Local Government to decide what schemes can most profitably be undertaken. What may be suitable in one province will not necessarily be suitable to another, but Provincial Ministers are fully acquainted with local conditions and the needs of the rural population and will now what is most suited to those needs. We shall keep the public fully informed of what is done in each province. Having regard to the huge population of rural India I recognise that the sums we are allotting will not go very far, but they will at least do something to help the cultivator.

We also propose to make a special contribution of Rs. 40 lakhs to the Government of India's reserve in the Road Development Fund. There is obviously great scope for expenditure on road development, and I am very glad to be in a position to supplement the somewhat exiguous resources of the Road Development Fund reserve, which was designed, as Hon'ble Members are aware, for the purpose of making grants towards works of special importance or to specially necessitous parts of India. The Government have drawn up a programme for the expenditure of the additional sum now available and in this prime consideration is being given to the needs of the Province of Assam, which seems to me to be about the most necessitous of all the provinces.

A further sum of Rs. 25 lakhs we propose to set aside for schemes of development in the North-West Frontier Province. Most of this will be spent on the construction of roads in the tribal areas, and the remainder will be devoted to schemes of economic development in that area. I wish to make it clear that we have no intention of implementing this policy by force or without the consent of the tribes in whose territory the roads will be constructed. A petition has already been received from the Afridis asking that a road may be constructed through a small area in Tirah and it is hoped that this development may lead to a fuller recognition not only by this important tribe but also by others of how their true interests are served by improvement of their communications with British India. It is considered that from the point of view of Government this expenditure, which will probably be spread over several years, is fully justified both on financial and political grounds. As the House is aware the relations between the frontier tribes and Government have not always been peaceful and very large sums have been expended from time to time upon military operations of a punitive and wholly unproductive nature. We hope that by improving communications and by assisting the tribes to become economically self-supporting we shall not only avoid the necessity for such operations in future but shall transform in course of time a potential danger into a source of strength to India.

The last item of special expenditure which I have to mention in this connection is a provision of Rs. 20 lakhs for the development of Broadcasting. As has already been announced, it is proposed shortly to construct a large transmitting station in Delhi, and we hope later to undertake the construction of a similar new station at Madras. The existing stations at Calcutta and Bombay are also in urgent need of improvement and extension. Broad-casting is of course an immensely important factor in the intellectual and cultural development of a country and India cannot afford to fall too far behind in this matter.

After these special grants have been made there should remain a balance of Rs. 2.04 lakhs. A large part of this sum I propose to put aside for two schemes which it was provisionally decided to finance from capital. There are the civil aviation programme, which is expected to cost Rs. 93 lakhs, and the transfer of Pusa Institute to Delhi which will cost about Rs. 36 lakhs. I was not myself very happy about the decision to charge to capital these two schemes, which are certainly not in any strict sense of the word remunerative. And now that we have an accrued revenue surplus it seems to me sound policy to use part of it for these purposes and to avoid the creation of what might have become an awkward precedent. The remainder of the surplus amounting to Rs. 75 lakhs will now go as an additional allotment for the reduction of debt and this concludes the disposal of the sums which we expect to have in hand on the 31st March next.

We can now turn to next year and the surplus of Rs. 1.50 lakh available for tax reduction. But we must first mention three items which though they do not appreciably affect the financial position are nevertheless of some importance.

The first of these is the additional import duty on salt. Personally I am very doubtful whether this duty can ever achieve the purpose for which it was designed. I have moreover a good deal of sympathy with the views which have in the past been expressed by Hon'ble Members from Bengal that an impost which has the effect of helping the producers of Aden at the expense of the consumers of Bengal is fundamentally unfair. In any case the duty will require reconsideration in view of the impending separation of Aden and Burma. Taking all these things into consideration I was disposed to think that the duty ought to be abolished at once but that would perhaps have been a little harsh to the vested interests which have grown up and I shall therefore propose to the House that the duty shall be extended for one year, without prejudice to any action which Government may see fit to take at the end of that year. I hope that this extension will be accepted by the House though I should perhaps make it clear that, if it should prefer to remove the duty at once, in this matter at any rate we should accept its decision. Incidentally we do not propose to make any change in the arrangements for the distribution of the proceeds of the duty.

The next is silver and here we propose to reduce the duty to 2 annas an ounce. This action is dictated by no theory as to the place to be taken by silver in the monetary economy of the world nor has it any connection with the view sometimes expressed that India should be encouraged to build up her hoards of the metal. It is simply a matter of business. There is no doubt that at the present level the duty is encouraging smuggling, there is no doubt that this smuggling is extremely difficult to prevent and there is no doubt that the honest trader is being injured by the illicit trade which is being carried on. At the lower level which we now propose smuggling should become unprofitable and the honest trader will come into his own. I propose to assume that we shall get the same yield from the 2 annas as would have been obtained from the 5 annas duty which is, I think, fully justified by the circumstances in which the reduction is taking place. The reduction will take place immediately by notification.

The third change of a minor order is the abolition of the export duty on raw skins. During the eight months ending 30th November 1934 the export trade in raw skins declined in volume, as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, from 13,133 tons to 8,933 tons and in value from Rs. 2.24 lakhs to Rs. 1.19 lakhs. We all believe of course that the most necessary factor in India's economic recovery is a revival of her export trade. Many of us feel angry and humiliated at our inability to suggest any positive action designed to promote that end apart from international action of a kind which is not at present likely to be taken, namely, a general agreement to reduce tariffs and quotas. But here is one case, though unfortunately only a small one, where some action is possible within the bounds of our available resources and I think that it should be taken. The change will take place as from the 1st April and the loss of revenue will be Rs. 8 lakhs.

We still have Rs. 1.42 lakhs left to dispose of and I propose to do this in accordance with the pledge of my predecessor in which he said : "Relief must come first in restoring the emergency cuts in pay and secondly in taking off the surcharge on the income tax now to be imposed."

Although the tax on smaller incomes was not strictly a surcharge, it does, I think, come within the spirit of the pledge and I propose to deal with it and the surcharges on income-tax and super-tax together. The removal of the surcharges altogether would cost Rs. 3.34 lakhs a year while the removal of the tax on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 would cost a further Rs. 75 lakhs. Clearly with a surplus of Rs. 1.42 lakhs only we cannot remove the whole of the two surcharges and the quasi-surcharge but what we can do is to reduce them all by one-third and this is what I in fact propose. The cost will be Rs. 1.30 lakhs leaving us with a purely nominal surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs.

Clearly this Budget will completely satisfy very few people. It certainly does not satisfy me. There are many who will bitterly complain that it has not been possible to remove the whole of the emergency taxes on income. I myself am extremely disappointed that it has not been possible to take the first steps in the revision of our revenue tariff in a downward direction. Certainly that tariff is too high, certainly it is far too complicated and on both counts it is a restraint on trade and recovery. No doubt, I shall be told that if only I had exercised a little more imagination, both of these desirable objects could have been achieved but do not let us forget that imaginative financiers usually end up in gaol. In any case we have before us the

task of financing the inception of Provincial autonomy. This cannot be performed by any effort of pure imagination, but if we continue in the path of prudence we shall, I believe, find that we can fulfil it triumphantly and, what is more, from time to time provide further alleviations to tax-payers.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET

**5th MARCH :—**The House took up the general discussion on the Budget to-day.

Mr. H. P. Mody maintained that if the economic condition of India was to be strengthened the only way to achieve it was to raise the internal purchasing power and drastically cut down the bloated military expenditure. The Government should adopt an active policy of industrial development and the present method of tariff enquiry and legislation was too slow and unsuited to the changed conditions. He wanted protection against industries in Indian States dumping goods in British India. Mr. Mody pleaded for cinema industry for which there was enormous future. He warned the Government if the salt import duty was abolished they would be inflicting a great injury on the industry developed in Aden by the toil and capital of Indians. He said the export of distress gold was stinking in the nostrils of every Indian. He feared that the one crore granted for rural uplift might be frittered away in showy undertakings. Concluding he said the limit of taxation had reached and the spectre of middle class unemployment might devour them all. Sir James Grigg is a realist. What sort of economic future does he envisage for the country if his balance sheet is to be overweighted by one single item, namely, military expenditure and if industrial development is not to be vigorously pursued and if agricultural indebtedness is to be continued. Let him adopt a vigorous policy of industrial development and save India from the stronghold of military budget.

Sir Ghulam Hidayatullah, ex-Finance Member, Bombay Government said it was refreshing to see that after many years there was no proposal for additional taxation. The Finance Member had tried the impossible task of pleasing every one, namely, the agriculturist, the industrial class, the middle and poor class and the services and he had satisfied only the services. Sir Ghulam thought it was an opportune time to restore the pay cut. He urged the raising of the level of taxation to Rs 2000 and the stoppage of the export of gold. Critically examining the budget Sir G. Hidayatullah said the surplus had been achieved by postponing the payment of liabilities and securing a moratorium from England of Rs. 53 lakhs. Then again for the redemption Fund the provision was only three crores whereas it should have been six to seven crores. Thus if all these provisions had been made there would have been a deficit budget. The speaker drew attention to Sir James Grigg's statement that opium revenue would cease next year and that sugar imports would ultimately record a shrinkage of two crores. Since 1929 the budgetary equilibrium was obtained only by additional taxation.

Sir Leslie Hudson, leader of the European group, while congratulating Sir James Grigg on the budget the style of which was reminiscent of Lord Snowden's referred to the financial position of Bengal and said Bengal could not expect a return to solvency unless it received the whole or a larger percentage of jute export duty. Financial instability was one of the most potent causes of political unrest in that province. Sir Leslie Hudson paid a tribute to Sir Philip Chetwode for having reduced the military estimates by nine crores and 32 lakhs or 17 per cent. helped by the low price of grains which could not be expected to continue much longer. Referring to the disposal of the non-recurrent surplus, Sir Leslie Hudson remarked that this balance had resulted from emergency taxation. The proper course would have been to restore half of the salary cut and remove the surcharges by half. If the emergency still persisted where was the justification for restoration of the whole cut? The estimating for the next financial year was also too cautious, particularly as regards sugar and income-tax. If there had been a more liberal estimating it would have been possible to restore the emergency cuts and also remove the surcharges. Sir Leslie Hudson wanted a categorical pledge that in the event of a surplus next year as a result of underbudgeting or exceeding their expectations he would make the total removal of surcharges as the first charge upon their balances. Nothing less would satisfy the European group. Regarding the removal of export duty on skins Sir Leslie Hudson said, 'We shall deal with this matter when the Finance Bill comes before us as it is possible our constituents may have divergent views.' Sir L. Hudson continuing referred to the additional import duty on salt and said that commercial opinion in Bengal wanted its abolition in the interests of consumers of salt, while Bombay commercial opinion held the opposite view. Speaking generally



Sir L. Hudson said the question of India's overseas trade required adaptation in its organization. Regarding Sir James Grigg's remarks that the present revenue tariff was too highly complicated, Sir L. Hudson asked him to state what steps he proposed to deal with the position. Last year an enquiry was promised into the incidence and classification of revenue tariff. He acknowledged that something was done with regard to classification. What about the incidence of revenue tariff? There was a trying need for wholesale revision. For an agricultural country like India the free list should be as comprehensive as possible, especially in regard to the articles necessary to agriculture. Where the revenue tariff was required it should be at a uniform rate applicable to as many items as possible thus making for uniformity. There was also a need for enquiry into the administration and incidence of income-tax.

Mr. *Swami Venkatachalam Chetty* emphasised that Sir James Grigg's first budget suffered from the same malady as all previous budgets, viz, overestimating expenditure and underestimating revenue. No wonder there was only a halting reduction of surcharge and the minimum taxable limit stood at Rs 1000. Mr. Chetty criticised the military expenditure and proceeding referred to the export of gold. In this connection he objected to the remarks of Sir James Grigg that it was an exportable surplus commodity and challenged Sir James Grigg to make that statement in the House of Commons and retain his seat. Mr. Chetty maintained that it was distress gold and quoted the views of Sir Leslie Hudson made two years ago in support of his contention. He asked Sir James Grigg to compare the holding of gold per capita in India with similar holdings in other countries to judge for himself. He also objected to the reduction of revenue duties at any time which might have the effect of jeopardising the position of Indian industries.

Dr. *Banerjee* called the Finance Member as the favourite of fortune for appearing on the scene when the situation had taken a turn for better. Dealing with the claims of Bengal for financial justice the speaker urged that if the budget figures showed an improvement in the course of the year the entire proceeds of jute duty or at least a higher proportion than that proposed should be made over to enable Bengal to balance her budget and develop the beneficial services. He thanked the leader of the European group for the sympathy shown to Bengal. Referring to the taxation proposals he felt that the surcharge on super tax ought to have waited for a more favourable opportunity and persons earning below Rs. 2,000 deserved sympathy. As regards salt duty he remarked the Bengal Government had not afforded encouragement to promoters of salt manufacture but had utilized a share of the duty for other purposes. No final step should be taken in this matter without full investigation, and taken as a whole, the Finance Member's proposals tended more to benefit the rich than the poor. He held that Finance Members were devoid of imagination and lived from hand to mouth and reminded Sir James Grigg of the saying of a great authority that "Finance is not arithmetic, it is a great policy."

Mr. *Abdul Malin Chaudhury* thanked the Finance Member for the mercy to Assam through the proposed road development grant. He reminded the House that Assam with a revenue of two crores had a deficit of Rs. 60,00,000 and was living on continuous borrowing from the central Government. His province had no university, no High Court, no medical college, no industrial or agricultural college and was backward in every other respect. The solution of her pressing problem was not the grant of a subvention which would be subject to the vote of the central Legislature but that Assam should collect revenues from oil petrol which was at present taken away by the central Government. In fact, Assam paid 70 per cent. of its revenues to the central Government against a half which was paid by the Punjab.

Mr. *Satyanarayan Singh* said that the budget was dull, dreary, disappointing and insulting. The surplus gathered by high taxation was being utilized partly for the sinister object of counteracting the programme of the Congress in villages. He suggested the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to see that Rs. 1,00,00,000 was spent in the right direction. The loans to sufferers from earthquake were merely a drop in the ocean and rural areas were almost forgotten in the distribution. What was the need of spending a large sum on aviation when more important nation-building departments were starving?

*Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan* said that it was very easy to criticise the budget but very difficult to prepare one. He thanked the Finance Member for the proposed relief to the rural population and suggested, amidst laughter of Congress members and applause of others, that Mahatma Gandhi should place at the disposal of the Government all the funds which he proposed to spend for village uplift work. This was not the first time that the Government were launching a programme for helping rural people. He testified to the important work which the Punjab and N. W. F. P. Govern-

ments had been doing in villages during the last 20 years. The budget, he said, was well balanced, very good and well planned.

*Maulana Shafi Daudi* wished that the Finance Member had reduced taxation on every day necessities of the poor such as sugar, kerosene and postcards. He complained that undue hardship was given to the people by Government officers in the Tirhut division of his province which suffered most from the earthquake in the collection of income-tax. Maulana Shafi Daudi said that Sir George Schuster was more generous in his treatment towards the earthquake-stricken people in granting three and half crores but the way that amount was spent had left in the mind of the people not satisfaction as he desired but rancour. So far as loans were concerned thousands of deserving people's requests were turned down.

*Bhai Parmanand* opined that the Government's allocation of one crore for rural uplift was a quack remedy. He did not believe in the principle of taxing the people heavily on the one hand and on the other giving a crore as charities. If the Government really wished to help the poor people the proper remedy was for the Government to introduce and encourage small industries where people could usefully find employment. In this connection he pointed out that the Japanese Government granted bounties to industries and helped the unemployed. The speaker proceeded to criticize the Congress members who professed to secure self-government and independence for India but never acted according to their own principles or convictions, for example, they neither accepted nor rejected the communal award.

**6th. MARCH :—***Dr. Francis Xavier D'Souza*, initiating the debate on the budget, congratulated the Finance Member. He observed this was the first people's budget, which marked a new epoch in the history of India inasmuch as one crore of rupees had been provided for village uplift work.

*Mr. Basanta Kumar Das* took a serious objection to the Government's policy of allowing gold export freely.

*Dr. Khan Sahab*, who spoke next, declared at the outset that the opposition members in the House were to revolutionise the system of Government represented by the Treasury benches and they were to inculcate a new morality in them and preach honesty and truthfulness to them. He thought that a radical cure was necessary for the various corrupt practices that seemed to have vitiated the administration in the Frontier. He proceeded to refer to the conduct of the Propaganda Officer of the North-West Frontier Province and mentioned his name, when *Mr. Metcalfe* raised a point of order saying 'Was it proper to name a Government Officer and make allegations against him when he has no right to be present here?'

*President :—*I rule that no name can be mentioned and such allegations made.

*Dr. Khan Sahab* then left that point, but narrated some instances of corruption and sounded a note of warning to Government that unless they tried to get at the root of the evil it would be impossible to create a feeling of goodwill in the country. Referring to the grant of 25 lakhs of rupees for road development in the North-West Frontier Province *Dr. Khan Sahab* said that the Afridis were deadly against road construction by the British Government there. It had been said that they wanted it and they sent applications to the Government asking for road development. But that was wholly untrue. Those petitions contained no signatures, but only thumb impressions which, the speaker alleged, were secured by payment of money. The speaker reiterated that police administration was corrupt and to ask for accounts of expenditure on the police administration would be like asking for accounts from Alibaba and his forty thieves (laughter).

When the *Leader of the House* rose to reply to the allegations and charges levelled against the Government, some unpleasantness was caused in the House. He said, "I strongly protest against the language used by the exponent of non-violence. It has been said by the previous speaker that members sitting on the Treasury benches are thieves and so they cannot expose other thieves in Government services. Any Government which represent so many servants there must be some amount of corruption. But what is about the Congress? Has not Mr. Gandhi spoken repeatedly of corruption in the Congress?"

*A Congress Member :—* Mahatma Gandhi is not afraid of exposing corruption.

*Munshi Iwar Saran*, raising a point of order, said, "Whether the speech of a particular member is right or wrong is certainly open to objection being taken, but is the conduct of the Congress, a question which we are to discuss here?" The Congress may be right, the Congress may be wrong. But I ask the Chairs ruling whether this is an occasion for criticising the Congress."

*President* : No doubt strong language has been used on one side, but I would ask the other side to consider whether it would be right to use equally strong language.

*Sir Nripen Sarcar* : Well, Sir, if this is the consideration I won't pursue in that line.

*Munshi Iswar Saran* : Because the President won't allow you to do that.

*Sir N. N. Sircar* reminded the House while that kind of language was being used by the previous speaker, they raised not a single interruption, but there were members who were over-sensitive themselves about the slightest criticism and raised a terrible howl for anything said in reply (Hear, hear, mainly from the Government benches)

*Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq* : On what item of the budget is Sir N. N. Sircar speaking ?

*Sir N. N. Sircar* : The necessity of spending money on police for keeping people in order (laughter and cheers).

*Mr. N. M. Joshi* said that he could not congratulate the Finance Member as he proposed to continue the policy of the Government which aggrandized the rich and impoverished the poor. He hoped that the expenditure of a crore for rural uplift would not send the provincial governments to sleep with regard to their responsibility towards the rural population. What was really wanted in the villages was reduction of indebtedness. As regards the programme of road construction as long as it created civilising influence on the tribal people this step was in the direction.

*Mr. L. K. Maitra* was glad that the budget had minimum of prophecies and platitudes. The jute duty now fell on the producers and therefore was a land tax and should go entirely to Bengal. Every instalment of reform meant greater financial injustice to Bengal and now the monster of communalism had also been forced on Bengal. As regards the salt import duty, his constituents were prepared for the sacrifice in the larger national interest, provided the proceeds of the import duty were used entirely in developing the salt resources of Bengal.

*Mr. Mathradas Vissani* devoted the greater part of his speech to an attack on the restoration of the salary cut and gave arguments against it. The Government of Britain which was prosperous only partially removed the cut. Why in India which was poor, the restoration should have been complete especially when relief to the taxation was so little ? Not only was the surcharge removed by only one third but all other taxations remained. The postal charges were not modified and the prospect of quarter-anna postcard and half-anna letter remained remote. Why did not the Government at least restore the quarter-anna postcard which would have been appreciated by the masses ?

*Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant* regretted the attitude and temper displayed by Sir N. Sircar over Dr. Khan's speech relating to corruption. Perhaps he was lacking in this saving grace of humour. Did not Sir Nripendra Sircar himself set the ball rolling the other day when they were discussing an important question—the J. P. C. Report. He indiscriminately charged every one in the Congress with corruption of the grossest kind or that they stole money.

*Sir N. N. Sircar* interrupting denied having ever said that Congressmen had stolen money or things of that kind.

*Pandit Pant* said that he remembered Sir N. N. Sircar having stated that the Congress had raised one crore of rupees, no accounts were published and that Congressmen had been practically exploiting the public and were using even motor cars. The fact was that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was the treasurer of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, accounts of which were audited and presented.

*Sir N. N. Sircar*—I deny that I ever said that the account of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was not published.

*Pandit Pant* :—The vehemence of Sir N. N. Sircar's denunciation suggests that he has realised the blunder he has made. He objected to the surplus being spent on any subject like aviation or removal of the Pusa Institute and wanted not only the present surplus but all surplus of all future years should be automatically transferred to the rural reorganisation funds. The military expenditure had been said to be high by only sixty lakhs but according to Pandit Pant's reading it was one hundred and twenty lakhs. In fact the dominant characteristic of the budget was imperialism. There were the top heavy administration, fabulously high salary for higher ranks, similarly miserable pittance to lower ranks, drain of gold, then Home charges with perpetual drain, all combining to keep India in the strangle-hold of imperialism. There should be planning out of big schemes of industrialisation of the key industries (Mr. Joshi—hear, hear). If there was Swaraj Government he would recommend raising of a loan of one hundred crores for village uplift.

*Sir James Grigg* was cheered when he rose to reply to the debate. He said he did not propose to follow Pandit Pant into the dream-land and should like to have more time to understand the prospect of raising a loan of hundred crores a year from the impoverished people of India and would like to learn from him the exact method Pandit Pant proposed to adopt to do that. Referring to gold export the Finance Member said that if gold export were prohibited then the poor in distress would not be able to fall on the last reserve on which he made profit up to seventy per cent and would have to borrow from the money-lender at high rate of interest. This too was not a very agreeable alternative. The next argument was that the Government should buy gold to use it for strengthening the reserve or settling their balance on international account. If this happened how would the Government pay for gold? They could under the law issue only two-thirds of notes and the remaining one-third would have to be borrowed and the Government must pay the interest on it. Even leaving this argument, the position would be that the Government would be acquiring twenty or thirty crores of gold yearly and printing notes against them. That would be imaginative finance with a vengeance and the most likely result would be panic and fall of exchange which was the result of all violently inflationary movements. India still had 500 crores of gold left from that imported during the past thirty years. In so far as it was distress gold, they should deplore the distress, but be also glad that there was a reserve to meet it. "It is no good trying to cure illness by concentrating on its outward manifest symptom. The illness is poverty (Congress members—hear, hear) and that is the problem to be tackled." *Sir James Grigg* said that the Government were tackling that problem directly by the measure for agriculture research and marketing grants to handloom, sericulture industries and dairy institute and such other measures. They were also assisting the provinces by setting aside a crore of rupees for work in the villages. Turning next to the budget proper *Sir James Grigg* said that the army question would be dealt with later in a full dress debate and "I can conveniently wait for our friends, the enemy to shoot first" (laughter). *Sir James Grigg* said that his estimates had been criticised by *Sir Ghulam Hidayatullah* and *Mr. Mathradas Visanji* thought that the budget was a sham, because the liabilities were postponed for a while. The Assembly finished the debate and then adjourned.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**7th. MARCH.**—Voting on demand for grants commenced to-day. After the whole day's debate the Assembly rejected by 67 against 65 votes *Mr. Desai's* cut motion refusing supplies to the Executive Council through which the Government's policy and attitude towards the people and the House was criticised. *Mr. Desai* said that the budget before them was a family budget, the family being a family of parasites, who ate up for various services all eighty-six crores. Having done that they had invited people's representatives to discuss the budget and even then whatever the Assembly refused the Government restored. *Mr. Fazlul Huq* accused the Government of their recklessness in expenditure and callousness of the needs of people. *S. Mangal Singh* pointed out Government's failures by refusing the verdict of the House on the detention of *Mr. Sant Bose*, Indo-British Trade Agreement and ban on Red Shirts. *Mr. Satyamurthi* said the Government were mistaken in thinking that they could crush the Congress.

**8th. MARCH.**—The House carried to-day the cut motion of *Mr. M. S. Aney* censuring the Government for repressive policy by 63 votes to 58. Where was the need of continuing the policy of repression now when those who were leaders of the Civil Disobedience movement had practically abandoned it and come into the legislature, asked *Mr. Aney* in the course of his speech. Continuing he said that Congressmen had come into the Assembly to give the Government a chance of proving to the people through some substantial gesture that constitutional methods would take them near their goal. *Mr. Srikrishna Singh* recalled how innocent youths were shot at in the name of law and order during the Civil Disobedience movement. The Government, he complained, were impervious to public opinion.

*Sir Henry Craik* regretted that the oratory of the back benchers took the line of expressing sympathy with the terrorists while he expected to hear some words of sympathy for the victims of the terrorists. He said that Government's policy towards Civil Disobedience had been one of general clemency but towards terrorists there would be no mitigation until the movement was crushed. He complained that recruitment of young men was still going on and their mind was being poisoned.

**9th. MARCH :—**Mr. N. M. Joshi moved a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand for Posts and Telegraph Department. He raised the question that the pension of inferior services was far too inadequate to them after retirement. He said that the pension rule was made in 1860 when salaries were low. Rs. 4 was fixed for a postal peon at that time and the same was continued even now. On the other hand members of superior services got proportionate pensions even if they retired after one year.

Mr. G. V. Bewoor, Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs Department, acknowledged the very friendly criticism of the Assembly and detailed how representations of the grievances of employees were thoroughly examined. The grievances were first examined by the local officers and failing redress, the aggrieved person applied through his provincial branch to the head of the circle and if even here there was no redress, the All-India Union Office was approached when the Director-General was addressed. If still the aggrieved person wanted to pursue the matter, he could see the Member in charge of the Department in a deputation. Mr Bewoor did not deny the existence of grievances, but the Government could redress them only if the basic principle of the department was not affected, namely, that the department, even if it was not a source of revenue, must at least be able to pay its way.

Mr Joshi withdrew his motion in view of the sympathetic reply.

Mr. F. H. Piracha moved a token cut under salt and urged an inquiry committee with a majority of non-official members of the House to investigate the question of damage done by salt range and Kheora mines and compensation to zemindars.

Mr. A. J. Raisman, Member, Central Board of Revenue pointed out that the salt range of Kheora had been in existence for a considerable time and it was not clear that the damage done to the neighbouring lands was the result of any carelessness connected with the actual working of the mines. The Government was not unsympathetic to the grievances of the neighbouring zemindars and Mr. Raisman assured them that they would again urge the Punjab Government to appoint an expert officer to investigate the causes for salinification of the soil adjoining the Kheora mines.

Khan Sahib Fazl-i-Haq Piracha was not satisfied with the Government's reply and pressed the motion which was carried without a division amidst Opposition cheers. The House then adjourned till 11th.

**11th MARCH :—**Mr Joshi's cut motion drawing attention to the grievances of the working classes, urging the necessity of bettering their conditions on a socialistic basis and advising Government to abandon their present policy, was rejected.

Sir Henry Craik, Home Member, could not appreciate Mr. Joshi's suggestions which he characterised as utterly impracticable. Sir Henry added that the insidious propaganda of the communists was helped financially from abroad. To suggest that Government should stand by and do nothing to check the forces that were working for blood revolution was fantastic indeed.

A demand for the adaptation of the Administration to the country's economic needs was next made by Mr. F. E. James on behalf of the European Group. Mr. James initiated discussion on the subject by a cut motion under the demand for the Executive Council which he withdrew after the Government's reply to the debate. Among the principle changes urged by Mr. James were redistribution of portfolios, including the formation of a Ministry of Communications, reorganisation of the present Commerce Department and the appointment of a small staff of economic experts to advise the Government. Turning to the procedure now followed in inquiries by the Tariff Board, Mr. James suggested that the preliminary stage of establishing a case for enquiry to the satisfaction of the Commerce Department should be abolished.

Sir James Grigg finally claimed that he had shown that the Government had prominently in mind the points raised by Mr. James and hoped that the motion would be withdrawn.

**12th. MARCH :—**Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury's motion refusing supplies to the Army Department by reducing its demand to one rupee was carried by 79 votes to 48 to-day. The object of the motion was to protest against the policy of Indianisation and over-expenditure in the military budget. Mr. Chaudhury said that Government had adopted delaying tactics in the matter. He deprecated the Government scheme of training in the military college which struck at the very root of the process of Indianisation.

While acknowledging valour and gallantry of Indian troops, Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary, said that at the present rate, the army would never be Indianised, one of the reasons being that such a large country like India should not produce motor cars !

*Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon's* cut motion protesting against "repression in Baluchistan" was also carried. The rest of the demands numbering 89 were carried without any further division. The House then adjourned.

#### THE TARIFF ACT AMEND. BILL

**13th. MARCH**—The Assembly met to-day to discuss the Finance Bill. The question hour was dispensed with to enable a fuller debate and after a number of motions about the committees of the House had been disposed of, *Sir Joseph Bhore* introduced the Tariff Act Amending Bill.

#### Finance Bill Debate

*Sir James Grigg* then moved consideration of the Finance Bill and made a remarkable speech defining his views for bringing about better economic development of India. *Sir James Grigg* said that he wished to deal with two very important points raised in the recent speeches by the leaders of the Opposition. The first occurred in a speech of repression by *Mr. Bhulabhai Desai*, who said, "With all his inimitable skill for throwing dust in the eyes of jurymen, a device in which he is not only a past but a present master, he gave a somewhat malicious analysis of the Central Budget in terms which may freely be paraphrased as follows.

"Forty-five crores for alien army occupation, (X) crores for police wanders and other agents for repression, (Y) crores for bloated salaries of parasitic civil servants, (Z) crores for pensions to retired parasites of the above class and one crore for the welfare of the country.

"If my Hon'ble friend will forgive me, this reminds me of a remark 'He used figures as if they are adjectives'."

*Sir James Grigg* said, "But the leader of the Opposition, or perhaps he would prefer that I should say the counsel for the prosecution knows perfectly well that under the present constitution there is a clear demarcation of function between the Centre and provinces, and under this, broadly speaking, the Centre is responsible for defence and finance, while provinces are responsible for beneficent or welfare activities of Government. No analysis of expenditure is legitimate therefore which does not take into account the budget of the provinces and the Centre.

"I have had a rough analysis made of the expenditure of the Centre and provinces together for 1933-34 and the amount of beneficent expenditure is approximately equal to the amount for the defence budget, namely, between forty and fifty crores. So it is grotesque to suggest that the care of Government for direct improvement of the lot of Indians is only measured by one crore, which has, in this year's Central Budget, been allocated for rural development."

*Sir James Grigg* said that it might be argued that a comparatively high proportion was spent on defence and internal order, but the amounts spent were not capable of a very large reduction and in countries where a large number of people was very poor the cost of self-preservation was bound to appear high in proportion to the rest of the budget. The real remedy was not neglect to provide for self-preservation.

How was this to be done? *Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's* proposal or rather his apocalyptic dream was that Government should borrow a hundred crores every year for promoting the welfare of the poor and the reconstruction of India. In other words, *Pandit Pant* hankered after applying to India President Roosevelt's New Deal.

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\*The following is the text of the Bill :—

Whereas it is expedient to amend the Indian Tariff act, 1934, for purposes herein-after appearing, it is hereby enacted as follows :—

1 (1) The act may be called the Indian Tariff (amendment) Act, 1935, and

(2) It shall come into force from such date as the Governor-General in Council may by a notification in the *Gazette of India* appoint.

2. (1) In the first Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act 1934, (1) for the entry 'Rs. 2 per cwt.' in column 4 against item 10 (i), the entry 'Rs 1-8 per cwt.' shall be substituted and for entry 'March 31, 1935,' in column 7 against the same item the entry 'March 31, 1934,' shall be substituted ;

(2) After item 10 (i) the following new item shall be inserted, namely: '10 (2) broken rice protective twelve annas per Indian maund of 82 2-7 lbs. avoirdupois weight, March 31, 1936,' and

(3) For the entry 'Rs. 2-8 per cwt.' in column 4 against item 11 (1) the entry 'Rs. 1-8 per cwt.' shall be substituted and for the entry 'March 31, 1935,' in column 7 against the same item the entry 'March 31, 1936,' shall be substituted.

A definite feature of the New Deal was devolution of the currency, enormous creation of credit and a limitless programme of public expenditure out of the borrowed money. Pandit Pant's programme was impossible without large inflation, involving devaluation or depreciation of the rupee. The main object of such a Deal would be to raise the prices and in theory the rise of prices should at least correspond to the amount of devaluation, but was that the case? He took the case of U. S. A. where the devaluation was forty per cent., while the rise of the general price index was much less. In the United Kingdom the devaluation was greater than forty per cent and the rise in prices was in the neighbourhood of ten per cent.

India had the same devaluation as the sterling, yet her price level had not risen at all, while agricultural prices had fallen disastrously.

The process of inflation could not by itself create new wealth, as Mr. Bernard Shaw had said, "You can't make a country rich by calling a penny two pence." Inflation could at best effect a purely internal transfer of wealth, but in the case of a debtor country it involved a net loss of wealth as the rise in internal prices was less than the fall in external value of the currency. India was a debtor country and differed thus from the U. S. A., so that even if the process had succeeded in America, success could by no means be predicted for India.

*Pandit G. B. Pant* spoke for over an hour mainly criticising the Finance Member's speech. He said when the world was moving forward in economic ideas, Sir James Grigg was moving to his own island of Robinson Crusoe. Sir James still hugged the policy of laissez faire to his bosom while the entire world had discarded it. But was England following the policy of laissez faire? Had not England given bounties, regulated exports and imports, established development board, economic council, co-ordinated industry and adopted Imperial preference? Pandit Pant asked whether it was not the Government of India which mixed politics with economics by linking the rupee to the sterling and giving forty per cent preference to British imports into India, by paying a higher rate of pay to British soldiers for doing the same duty as Indian soldiers, and so on? The question was how India could extricate herself from the present mess. There was little scope for export of agricultural produce and far less at a profit. As for protection, it meant a repressive tax. It raised the level of prices. It made the Government more reckless, extravagant and also led to corruption. Pandit Pant added if the Finance Member and his Government were not equal to the task they should make way for others. If National Socialism was the best remedy, why not use it? India had plenty of iron, coal and copper and if she had "Swaraj," she would launch a scheme of national reconstruction and if for that purpose a hundred crore was necessary, it could be raised. The Government was spending millions of rupees on broadcasting, yet it did not cheapen the postcard and letter rate and give the people the benefit of civilization. He urged for cheaper postage and suggested that financial provision could be made.

*Mr. F. W. Hockenhull* put forward the case of Assam for a subvention. He said that Assam's financial embarrassments were real and not due to their temporary inability to balance the budget. The existing line of taxation in Assam was never likely to furnish sufficient funds to enable it to pay its own way. There was therefore a need for development of its rich natural resources so that in time the Province might be rendered self-sufficient, but now a subvention from the Centre was inevitable.

*Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt* (Deputy President) said that the present Finance Bill was an offshoot of the Finance Bill of 1931. He reminded Sir James Grigg that revenue was not everything, and complained that the promise made by Sir George Schuster regarding surcharges had not been kept. The speaker was bound to admit that when taxes were not reduced, the surplus in the present budget must be regarded as fictitious. Restoration of the pay cut and relief in income tax should not have been resorted to without taking off all surcharges. He criticised the high cost of administration and characterised the Government of India as a Court of Wards for the whole country and after eating up all revenue nothing remained for the wards. This was a case of breach of trust.

**14th. MARCH:—***Dr. Khare* said that he had not entertained any hope from the Finance Member whose budget aimed primarily to feed Government servants and pursue a policy of domination. How could Government justify the expenditure of forty-six lakhs annually on the Ecclesiastical Department consisting of White Padres, when they professed to pursue a policy of religious neutrality?

*Mr. Bajmath Bajoria* ventilated the grievances of the commercial community. He said if the salary cut had not been restored the Central Government

would have had hundred-sixty-two lakhs and provincial governments hundred-fifty lakhs which amounts could have been utilised for various projects of public utility.

Mr. *Nageswara Rao* thought that the present slow rate of industrial progress was suicidal to the economic interests of India. This was more so because the agricultural position had become precarious. The world depression coupled with the financial policy of the Government of India crippled the Indian producer even more than the currency exchange policy ruined the cultivator.

Mr. *Muhammed Nauman* said that the Government despite the expression of dissatisfaction and disappointments had saddled Indians with agreements like Ottawa and Indo-British. The real need of Indian masses was complete abolition of export duties on her raw produce, especially on those articles which were virtually the monopoly of India. He welcomed the abolition of the duty on skin at this juncture as otherwise the skin trade was in the danger of being ruined and replaced by artificial fabrics and rubber. He strongly urged for development of salt industry in Bengal to make her self-reliant. He would prefer complete abolition of duty on imported silver. As for the gold export, he disagreed with the views of the Finance Member. The fixation of the ratio at 1s. 6d., mostly with interest of England was thrust against the will of India.

Mr. *N. C. Bardoloi* mentioned the plight of Assam peasants who, he said, at a time of distress had to dispose of their gold ornaments representing probably their whole-life earnings. The Government had been so harsh on them at the time of collecting taxes that they did not give them time to dispose of gold at a reasonable price. Central Government ate up all the revenue derived from taxation of petroleum, while other profits from working of wells were drained away by foreign drillers. Thus the Assamese were left with nothing. When he came here he looked with amazement at luxurious buildings and gardens built by the Government of India from the revenues collected partly from his province. Turning to opium he blamed the Government for being generous towards foreign opium eaters by stopping its export but neglecting the Indian people. Assam was being constantly doped with opium and her population was being unmanured.

Mr. *G. S. Gupta* declared that a Government which was not constituted at the free will of the people, had no right to exist, much less to bring forward a Finance Bill for the people whom they did not represent. The Congress claimed to represent the people, and is the British Government disputed the claim, let them consent to a Constituent Assembly, or a plebiscite as recently held in the Saar.

After a few more speeches, the House adjourned till the 21st.

#### KARACHI FIRING—ADJOURNMENT MOTION

**21st. MARCH :—**Mr. *Gandhi's* adjournment motion in the Assembly to-day on the Karachi firing was carried by 67 votes against 52, members of the Nationalist Party either voting against or remaining neutral. Moving the adjournment motion, Mr. *Gandhi* said the question was whether the Executive could not have carried out the execution in a manner which would have avoided a terrible tragedy. He complained that there was an understanding that the Executive would take Karachi leaders in confidence, but this was not done. Mr. *Gandhi* urged the Government to appoint a commission of enquiry.

Sir *Henry Craik*, justifying firing, said that the rioters had no intention of burying the dead body inside the city, but their sole object was to inflame feelings against Hindus. He added that a mob of 10,000 rushed on the troops and it was in 'self-defence' that firing was resorted to. There was, according to Home Member, no grounds whatsoever for censure on the Government.

Mr. *Jinnah* contended that the civil authorities had mis-managed the whole business. The Government failed in their duty. "I ask in the name of humanity, civilised Government and justice that you should appoint an independent commission of enquiry if you want us to respect the Government and have confidence in you."

Mr. *Lalchand Navarai* said that the deplorable incident at Karachi had a background and it was stirred by outside elements. From his knowledge of Sind he could assert that the relations between the Hindus and Sind Muslims were most cordial.

#### DEATH OF MR. SHERWANI

**22nd. MARCH :—**The Assembly met to-day in order to mourn the loss of a leading Member of the House, Mr. *T. A. K. Sherwani*, and adjourn out of respect to his



memory. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* referred to the death of Mr. Sherwani and said that although he was not able to give of his best during the present session, he had in his earlier years rendered a great service to the country, both in and out of the House. Mr. Sherwani's stability of judgment made him a successful barrister. In 1923 he joined the Assembly under the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru and, to those who were trying to follow the traditions established by Pandit Motilal, Mr. Sherwani's death meant a break of the chain which linked them with those traditions.

Mr. Sherwani represented the citizenship of the future Free India as he observed no distinction based on race or religion. He was a tower of strength to the Congress party. He was a man big not only physically, but in mind, and biggest in heart—a gentleman fashioned by Nature to be an example to his fellowmen. Mr. Desai profoundly regretted the untimely death and proposed that a message of condolence be sent to the parents, widow and other relatives of Mr. Sherwani. He also moved that the House do adjourn out of respect to the memory of Mr. Sherwani.

#### Finance Bill Debate (Contd.)

**23rd. MARCH**—The Assembly resumed to-day the debate on the Finance Bill. Dr. *Bhaquran Das* said that India had never before suffered from racialism and communalism and had absorbed all foreign elements, but the British system had corrupted India's social and economic organisation. The speaker pointed out that the right attitude to adopt was that the real aim of all should be the welfare of the people.

Dr. *P. N. Bhanjari* said that the Government had asked about 40 crores per annum to its revenue by taxation but no scheme of industrial development or of assistance to the existing industries had been financed with this big amount. Continuing the speaker said the incidence of taxation had fallen heavily on the poor. This was a great injustice. He urged the Government to reduce salt and postal rates, and to give a substantial share of jute duty to Bengal.

Mr. *Ghuznavi* appealed to the Government to restrict export of gold from India. He asserted that the import duty on salt was imposed not in the interests of the manufacturers in India, but of four merchants in Aden. He complained that not an ounce of salt manufactured in North or Western India was coming into Bengal because of the heavy rail freight, and yet the Bengalees were penalised by this duty.

**25th. MARCH**—Mr. *Fazlul Huq* criticised the transfer of the capital to Delhi and asked why the Government had copied Shah Jehan, and not the tolerance of Akbar. He said the Government of India had virtually forced the hands of the Government of Bengal to impose taxation on the tax-payers of Bengal.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* referred to the borrowing policy and maintained that it was being carried on in a manner as to keep India under the political and military domination of England. He criticised the unrestricted export of gold and said India must conserve as much gold as possible. Checking the flow of gold from India would not do the least harm either to the stability of India's currency or credit, and would indeed, to some extent, relieve the fall in the price of commodities.

Sir *James Grigg*, replying to the debate, criticised the Congress and Congress leaders. "Perhaps Pandit Pant will become a communist under the new regime, and he and his friends will be completely free, while the rest of 250 millions will be under complete subjection. So now we know what this battle for freedom means, freedom for the Pandit and a small number of his friends and slavery for everybody." The Finance Member characterised Mr. Satyanarti's method as typical of the early stages of all extremist left wing parties. "They go on repeating chimerical and gargantuan suggestions despite the fact that it has been demonstrated over and over again that they would bring untold misery to the people."

#### INDO-BURMA TRIBUNAL

**26th. MARCH**—The Government sustained the biggest defeat of the session to-day when Mr. *Mathradas Vassanji's* adjournment motion to censure the Government for non-representation of India's interests before the Tribunal set up in London in connection with the financial adjustments between India and Burma in the event of the separation of the latter was carried by 78 against 36 votes, the European group remaining neutral. The result was received by the Opposition with cries of "resign, resign." Moving the adjournment motion, Mr. *Mathradas Vassanji* said neither Burma nor India wanted separation which was forced on them by the British. The problem before the Tribunal was complicated and required an expert and detailed representation of the official Indian and Burman points of view.

Speaking on behalf of the Congress Party, Mr. B. Das declared that they had no confidence in the Tribunal, more especially as the inclusion of Mr. Rowlatt was an insult to India, and also it was an insult that India did not possess financiers and economists, who could sit on the Tribunal. He demanded the Tribunal to be presided over by a Member of the League of Nations and having no Britisher on it.

Sir James Grigg replying, said that the Tribunal was not the final arbitral body. If the report was shortly to be published and if there was a general demand that the House should discuss it before the Secretary of State reached final conclusions, he would be glad to forward that view to the Secretary of State.

#### INDIANS IN KENYA

**27th. MARCH :—**Mr. *Satyamurthi* moved an adjournment motion to-day to discuss the critical position of Indian settlers in Kenya in respect of the proposed reservation of highlands for Europeans. The motion was supported by all sections of the House, but as technically it amounted to a censure of the Government, whereas the purpose was to strengthen the hands of the Government in the matter, the motion was withdrawn after a full debate.

#### INDO-BURMA TRIBUNAL (Contd)

**28th. MARCH :—**After questions to-day, Sir James Grigg made a statement correcting and supplementing the information he gave regarding the Indo-Burma Tribunal during the adjournment debate on the 26th. The Tribunal actually started work about the middle of December last. When the debate took place in the House, a telegram was received in the Secretariat to the effect that the Tribunal had actually signed the report. Sir James Grigg was not in a position to say when the report would be published, but an opportunity would be afforded to the House to discuss it before the Secretary of State framed the final conclusions. Sir James Grigg apologised to the House fully and sincerely for having misled it and asked the members to believe that this was absolutely unintentional.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* remarked that this had furnished another proof of the manner in which the bloated Civil Service worked. If this information had been given in time, the House would have saved a great deal of time. On February 21 the House was told that the Tribunal would take a long time, hence it was not advisable or feasible to associate the members of the House with the Tribunal. Then came the answer that the Tribunal would take probably three days. And now they were told that the report had actually been signed. That the Civil Service here or in England should carry on the work in this manner was a matter to be regretted.

Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* expressed surprise that the Tribunal was appointed in December and the information was given at the end of March after it had signed the report.

Mr. *M. A. Jinnah* said that it was no use flogging a dead horse, but the fact remained that the Government of India were not consulted before the Tribunal was appointed and that the Secretary of State kept the Government of India in the dark as to whether the report was concluded. The fact that the Secretary of State would not take a decision until the Assembly had discussed the matter was poor satisfaction, as they would be told when the time came that the opinion of such a Tribunal was weighty. He hoped that the Finance Member would realise that that was not the way to treat the House in a matter of such vital interest to India and Burma.

#### CR. LAW AMEND ACT (1908) REPEAL BILL

**29th. MARCH :—**Mr. B. Das moved to-day consideration of the Bill to repeal the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, and said that whenever an instalment of reforms was granted repressive laws preceded it. This law was enacted before the Minto-Morley Reforms were granted. At that time even Moderate leaders like the late Maharaja of Darbhanga opposed it. The Repressive Laws Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir T. B. Sapru consisted of Moderates, and it did not recommend the immediate repeal of this law, but made certain remarks which he quoted.

The Law Member asked him to read further on.

Mr. B. Das said that he would read what suited to him, leaving the Law Member to read the other parts. Mr. Das thought that the Sapru Committee's intention was that the law should be repealed in two or three years. (Sir Henry Craik—No).

Mr. Das—If the Committee has made any confidential recommendation the Home Member would tell us. He added that the fact of the matter was that whereas the Act intended merely to deal with anarchistic organisation, it was misapplied in 1920 against a non-violent movement and organisations were declared unlawful in the pen-

ing and their members were arrested the next morning. Many members of the House had suffered from the misapplication of the law. The speaker was an engineer and knew scientific argument, but lawyers had a genius of perversicating and misinterpreting law. He asked Sir N. N. Sircar, whose eminence in Bengal equalled to that enjoyed by the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose, to examine the law and see whether it had been misapplied. He also appealed to Sir Henry Craik as an Englishman not to do wrong and destroy the elasticity of the English language by misinterpreting the law.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt characterised the Criminal Law Amendment Act as lawless law, wrong in principle and aiming to deprive the people of the primary rights of citizenship. The speaker narrated at length the alleged police excesses in Comilla and other districts of Bengal, where peaceful processionists were forcibly dispersed by the police for no other offence than merely singing of 'Bande-Mataram'.

Sir Henry Craik—I don't believe that

Mr. Dutt asserted that he was speaking from personal knowledge and if the Home Member did not believe he could not help. There were still 205 associations in Bengal under ban and he asked why even after civil disobedience was withdrawn the Government took no action to withdraw the notification. Mr. Dutt referred to the ban on the Abhay Ashram, Comilla, and challenged the Government to prove that this organisation was ever associated with revolutionary activities. A Bengal official, Mr. Mukherjee, had said that a murder had been committed in broad day-light while a procession was progressing along a street in Comilla. The Abhay Ashram was not declared unlawful even after the commission of that murder. The procession referred to consisted of people of the whole town, and was it fair for the Government to ban an useful organisation because certain isolated individuals had committed a murder in the street? Proceeding, Mr. Dutt gave a list of 3,372 persons who had suffered under the Regulation of 1818, Ordinances and other Acts and were detained in Bengal and outside, and his inference was that most of the detentions were in connection with civil disobedience activities.

Mr. Dutt emphasised that at present there was no riot, murder or any unlawful activity and for the last year not a single terrorist crime, and it was surprising that the Government still remained unrelenting. According to him, the problem of Bengal was acute unemployment among the educated "bhadralogs" and unwarranted harassment of youngmen by the police.

Sir N. N. Sircar next spoke at great length. The question before the House, he said, was whether the Act should be repealed or allowed to continue. For this purpose the Law Member felt that it was necessary to recapitulate the history of the last twelve or fourteen years and he assured the House that all his facts and conclusions were based on records of judicial proceedings before Sessions Judges or High Courts where the accused were defended and had the right of rebutting the evidence. He asserted that terrorist associations in the older days of 1906-07 were small associations, comparatively speaking. Whatever they did was done in secret and was worked underground. Later terrorist activities were, however, conducted by men who misused a large number of volunteers and other people originally employed for different kinds of works. When the non-co-operation movement was launched boys began to leave schools and colleges. They joined physical culture and volunteer classes, which started in many places all over Bengal. Gradually a spirit of defiance of the constituted authority and lawlessness engendered by speeches led to a change in the mentality, which, whatever might be the case in other provinces, resulted in Bengal in deliberate departure from the path of non-violence, which was being insisted on by Mr. Gandhi and for which Mr. Gandhi sincerely and strenuously fought. Unfortunately, there was in Bengal a background of violence which started long before the non-co-operation movement. From 1921 to 1924 the process was going on and idle boys in hundreds were going in the defiance of law, so that non-violence was losing its hold over the youths in Bengal and the critical stage was reached in 1924.

Mr. Saxena—It was due to Governmental violence.

Sir N. N. Sircar—I am sure some of these things are rather unpleasant but I am going to tell you what is absolutely true.

The Law Member continued that in 1924 a resolution was passed at the Serajgunj Provincial Conference expressing admiration for the patriotism and sacrifice of the murderer of Mr. Day. Mr. Gandhi had written strongly against this resolution, stating that its authors by paying a lip service to non-violence were only indulging in self-deception. This glorification of the murderer had dangerous effect and in 1924 the Ordinance Act was passed and a large number of suspects were detained.

In 1928 the Ordinance expired and the Government, misled by the quiescence of the movement, released prisoners, who when they realised that the Ordinance was not going to be renewed, set about organising terrorist activities. They captured the Congress machinery at Chittagong and organised a raid of the armoury after a year and a half of intensive preparation for which a large number of boys were trained in military uniform. Letters whose authenticity was not challenged in court were exchanged among them stating that they were not being watched by the police and this was the time for them to act. This showed that the moment pressure was removed detenus who had been released started a movement and such a situation could not be coped under the ordinary law. Among Congressmen there were black sheep, who did not observe Congress rules. Persons who took part in terrorist outrages were not merely Congress volunteers, but belonged to the executive of the Congress organisations. The murderer of Mr. Day was a person who left college on account of the non-co-operation movement. Accused in the Mechuabazar bomb case included persons who were members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and were on the executive of their District Congress Committees.

Mr. Dutt interrupting, asked, "Was it in this case that the court held that the police evidence was manufactured?"

In the Dalhousie Sque bomb case, one of the accused was a member of the Congress group of the Calcutta Corporation. Some other accused were members of the Bengal P. C. C. and Congress Committees at Khulna and Madaripur. He referred to the Jorabagan bomb case where the accused confessed that speeches at the Congress session in Calcutta 1928 impressed him and he took to manufacture of explosives and at the Lahore Congress made arrangements with another delegate to supply bombs. The accused in this case were prominent members of the B. P. C. C. The accused in the Writers' Building outrage was on the staff of Bengal Volunteers, which was a Congress organisation. The Shambazar Post Office case brought out the fact that the accused were members of the South Calcutta Congress Committee. Then again Bina Das, a young girl, who attempted to murder the Governor Sir Stanley Jackson was a member of an organisation started under the auspices of the South Calcutta Congress Committee. Attempts on the life of Sir Alfred Watson were made by one accused who left college and joined the civil disobedience. The Law Member cited the case of another terrorist, who was the brother of the Dictator for the time being of the B. P. C. C. He also referred to the Sealdah Arms Act case wherein the accused were members of the Volunteer Corps of the B. P. C. C. and the Lebong case wherein also the accused had connection with the Congress organisation. Proceeding, Sir N. N. Sircar quoted numerous other cases of either violence or conspiracy or dacoity or attempted dacoity etc. in which one or other of the accused were connected with some Congress Committee or other in Bengal or some association with some Congress Committee or other in Bengal. The Mymensingh Congress Committee was frequently referred to in this connection. He referred to Charpara case in which the approver Nareh was a member of the Tangail Congress Committee. In a robbery case the leader was connected with what was called the Village Welfare Society, which formed part of the Congress organisation. In Charnugoria case two of the accused were members of the Madaripur Congress Committee. In Kaneswar mail robbery case two of the accused were members of the Gosainhat Congress Committee. In the Naldanga dacoity case culprits were found with booty and one accused was sentenced and he had been connected with the Gaibanda Congress Committee. In another case the Law Member stated that three accused were enlisted in Yugantar Party and one girl was a member of the Anusilan Society. These girls who were engaged in such crimes had been described as brave ones.

Sir N. N. Sircar then gave some more cases, including the Pahartali outrage, in which the accused had been secretary of the Chittagong Congress Committee and, proceeding, said that he had read these cases to disprove the contention that persons who professed non-violence could not have possibly taken part in these murderous dacoities and other crimes. He admitted that the actual number convicted was very small compared to those Congressmen who were pledged to non-violence, but the fact was that the machinery of the Congress had been got hold of by those Congressmen who counted in pursuance of such crimes. Continuing, Sir N. N. Sircar said that it did not matter whether the organisations referred to were Congress or non-Congress, but the fact remained that there were various organisations, some of whose prominent men were connected with and convicted in such crimes. The main cause of their success was due to the laudation which they received from a section of the Press and from public speeches (Hear, here). Mr. Gandhi, no doubt, condemned these actions and even the

motives behind them, but that did not avail at any rate in Bengal. At the Karachi Congress a resolution was passed dissociating the Congress from political violence, but it recorded the admiration and bravery and sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in moving that resolution said that he was not ashamed of the cult of violence, but that the cult of violence for the present could not be in the best interests of the country, especially because of the communal tension. Some months later, Mr. Gandhi himself had to express his view that it was a mistake on the part of the Karachi Congress to have adopted that resolution, and he wanted the All India Congress Committee to condemn violence. But what did the followers of Mr. Gandhi do in Bengal? They brought Mr. Satyamurthi from Madras, gave him a rousing reception and installed him on the presidential chair of the Bengal Students' Association Conference and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose made a speech attacking Mr. Gandhi for neglecting the case of Bengal terrorists. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose concluded his speech by quoting Pandit Jawaharlal's advice to the youth to live dangerously, think dangerously and be dangerous to the British Government. And Mr. Satyamurthi's own address had talked of reckless patriotism and used milk and water language to condemn violence, whereas he was most vehement in condemning the Government. Let the House note the cumulative effect of all these utterances on the youth of Bengal. Sir N. N. Sircar quoted from the Sapiro Committee Report, which was signed in 1921, just before the non-co-operation movement was started, and which did not feel justified in the circumstances then existing to recommend repeal of this Act. He asked whether the possibility of renewal of a mass movement was so remote that the Government should remove this weapon from their armoury. He read out to the House a statement made by Mr. Govind Das, a prominent member of the Congress Party in the Assembly in which Mr. Gobind Das had predicted a bigger agitation in the near future, and asked whether the Government was justified in entertaining fears for the future.

#### Finance Bill Debate (Contd.)

**1st. APRIL :—**Discussion of the Finance Bill clause by clause was taken up to-day Mr. *M. A. Ayyangar's* motion seeking to reduce the salt duty from one rupee and four annas to twelve annas was carried by 63 votes to 55.

Earlier the House, by 61 votes to 54, rejected Pandit *Govind Bullabh Pant's* amendment to the Salt Tax to the effect that despite the provisions of section 7 of the Salt Act, the Government should not impose any duty on salt manufactured in, or imported into, any part of British India other than Burma or Aden during the year beginning from April 1.

The motion of *Seth Gobind Das* urging abolition of the salt duty was rejected by 61 votes to 57.

**2nd. APRIL :—**Government suffered yet another defeat to-day on the question of export duty on hides, which was proposed to be abolished in the Finance Bill. The House by 61 votes to 60 carried Mr. *Ananthasayanam Ayyangar's* motion to retain the export duty on hides.

Earlier, Sir *James Grieg* gave an assurance that the Government adhered to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in respect of salt manufactured for non-commercial domestic purposes.

The vote of the Assembly on salt duty reducing it to twelve annas from Rs. 1-4 per maund was independent of the 25 per cent. surcharge. This meant that if Government accepted the Assembly's decision the duty leviable on salt would be fifteen annas instead of Rs. 1-9 per maund.

**3rd. APRIL :—**Three more non-official victories marked the proceedings of the Assembly when discussing Schedule I of the Finance Bill relating to the Postal Department. Prof. *Kanga's* amendment to fix one anna for weights not exceeding one tola and one anna three pies for weights between one and two and a half tolas was carried by 80 to 35 votes.

Mr. *B. K. Das's* amendment that the rate of postcards should be half-anna for single and one anna for reply card was carried by 79 to 44 votes.

Mr. *F. E. James's* amendment reducing the rates on book-posts and sample packets to six pies for 2 and a half tola weight, nine pies for 5 tola weight, and six pies for every additional weight of 5 tolas, was carried by 84 votes to 39.

A motion for reduction of postage on newspapers was lost.

**4th. APRIL.**—By 73 votes to 42 the Assembly carried to-day *Quari Mahammad Ahmad Kazim's* motion fixing the minimum income-tax level at two thousand rupees.

There was a trial of strength between the Europeans and the Government when the House divided on Mr. *F. E. James's* amendment to clause 5 of the Finance Bill urging reduction of the proposed surcharge from 1-6 to 1-8. Congress and some Nationalist Members did not vote. The motion was, however, defeated by 42 votes against 32.

Sir *James Grigg* stated that it was contemplated that in the next cold weather some experts on income-tax law would come to India with whom the present staff in the Income-tax Department would be associated to conduct a comprehensive review of the income-tax system and see what improvements could be suggested and to recommend to what extent the Income-Tax law should be revised in structure and procedure.

After the second reading of the Finance Bill was over, Sir *James Grigg* announced that as the Bill had been mutilated in great many respects and a situation had arisen which the Government must consider, he did not propose to move the next motion in his name, namely, the third reading of the Bill. Neither would he move for the passing of the Bill the next day.

### Viceroy Restores Finance Bill Cuts

**5th. APRIL.**—In the Assembly to-day the President read a message from the Governor-General asking the Assembly to pass the Finance Bill in the form in which it was originally introduced as the Government were unable to accept any of the changes made by the House. In the Governor-General's opinion these amendments would create a deficit budget and have a deleterious effect on India's credit.

The Viceroy sent the following message to the Assembly, which was read out by the President immediately after the questions were over :—

"The Finance Bill as introduced contains provisions designed to reduce taxation to the maximum extent possible within our existing resources and incidentally to provide some benefit to the agriculturist by removing the bar on the profitable sale of one of his products.

"The Bill was a counterpart of the policy represented in the allocation of non-recurrent surplus for development of roads, broadcasting, civil aviation and above all for the improvement of the economic position of villages in this country.

"So far as the Finance Bill is concerned, amendments made by the Legislative Assembly would, if accepted, amount to a serious mutilation of the bill. They entail loss of revenue of from four to five crores of rupees and so involve budgeting for heavy deficit and all the deleterious results of India's credit which have invariably followed an unsound procedure of this character. The amendments cannot, therefore, be accepted.

"After anxious consideration I have decided to recommend to the Assembly that the bill be restored to the form in which it was originally introduced. I have considered whether it is possible to accept some of the financially less important amendments made, but some of these is definitely opposed to the interests of agriculturists and others are minor postal concessions, which though affording little or no benefit to the poor, would more than double the estimated deficit on the Posts and Telegraphs Department and postpone the restoration of solvency in that service.

"Every one of the remaining amendments involves loss of at least half a crore of revenue and so must be ruled out so far as the current year is concerned."

### TEXT OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is the text of the recommendation :—

"In pursuance of the provisions under section (1) of section 87-B of the Government of India Act, I Freeman, Earl of Willington, do recommend to the Legislative Assembly that it do pass the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in or imported by land into certain parts of British India, to vary certain duties leviable under the Indian Tariff Act 1934, to fix the minimum rates of postages under the Indian Post Office Act 1898, to fix rates of income-tax and super-tax and to vary the excise duty on silver leviable under the Silver (excise duty) Act 1930 in the form hereto annexed."

### TARIFF ACT AMEND. (RICE & WHEAT) BILL

Sir *Joseph Bhoré* then moved for the consideration of the Bill amending the Indian Tariff Act relating to duties on wheat and rice. He said that it was not necessary to enter into any elaborate justification of duty on wheat for another year. Certain basic facts were taken for granted, firstly, that it was necessary to keep the Indian

market for the Indian producer having regard to the fact that India produced in sufficient quantity and, secondly, that there was still large, though steadily diminishing, not exportable surplus wheat in the world available at prices below the Indian price. The only question was at what level that duty would be. The most important adverse factor in the situation was the availability of large surpluses of wheat in the world since 1928-29. During the year 1933-34 the forecast of the world surplus was four hundred million bushels. In other words, the position was approaching or beginning to approach normality and thus to reduce menace to the Indian industry. Therefore, it had become essential to reconsider the duty which they should impose. Originally the duty was fixed having regard to two factors. Firstly, the ex-duty prices at Calcutta of the Australian wheat was Rs. 2-7cw and secondly, the freight charged on the Panjab wheat sent to Calcutta was Rs. 1-6 per maund. To-day freight had been reduced to rupee one and pice eight per maund, which amounted to four annas reduction per cwt. and price in Calcutta of the Australian wheat since the beginning of the year had been not lower than Rs 2-15-8 per maund as against Rs 2-7 per maund of the Panjab wheat. This factor alone would justify even a large amount of reduction in duty than eight annas. Sir Joseph Bhore quoted further figures to show that after the reduction of eight annas in duty, Indian wheat would reach Calcutta cheaper than the price of the Australian wheat after paying the duty. Lastly, he said that the Government were placing this duty under protective clause, which meant that the Government could by executive action raise on occasions the price of the Indian wheat. Sir Joseph then turned to rice. He quoted the report of the special officer appointed in Madras to show there was scarcity in certain districts of Madras, where millet was chiefly taken by the people. Any rise in the price of rice would be reflected in the price of millet. The Government was therefore circumscribed in the imposition of duty within narrow limits. The chief factor in the competition was broken rice and seventy-five per cent of the total imports of rice and paddy into Madras were of broken rice. Continuing, Sir Joseph Bhore dealt with the question of appropriate duty. Rangoon rice was the measuring standard as it was always imported into Madras in large quantities. Statistics showed that the average difference between Rangoon rice and imported broken rice was eight annas per maund and this conclusion was confirmed by a special enquiry conducted at the request of the Council of Agricultural research.

After non-official speeches the motion for consideration of the Bill was passed.

An interesting situation arose on Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's request for moving amendments, which proposed to restore the wheat duty to two rupees and make it applicable for an indefinite period. He contended that his amendment was to the Bill as it stood and was in order.

Sir Joseph Bhore said that the Act having already lapsed the amendment amounted to a new tax and required the Governor-General's sanction.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir thought that in view of the situation created by the fact that the Bill, though introduced early in March, was not taken into consideration till April, the entire Bill was out of order.

Sir Lancelot Graham said that his amendment of a formal character had been already tabled, and would put the Bill in form.

The President ruled that the Wheat Import Duty Act having already expired, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's amendment to restore the duty of two rupees was out of order, and his other amendment to make the duty run to an indefinite period was clearly out of order.

Thereupon, Mr. Satyurmurthi said that as the Government had taken advantage of a technical position, which had occurred through the fact that the House had not been able to handle the Bill in March, he objected to the Government's amendment of which due notice was not given, and requested the President not to suspend the standing orders.

The President asked, what inconvenience would be caused if the standing orders were suspended.

Mr. Satyurmurthi said that the opposition would have liked time to give notice of amendments arising out of the new situation.

Sir N. N. Sircar, leader of the House, said that he had no objection to the matter standing over to the Simla Session (Opposition voice : It is a threat). Sir N. N. Sircar was also willing to let the matter be put off till to-morrow after the Finance Bill was disposed of, so that the opposition members could send in any amendments.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir said that it would really suit both sides better to finish the matter to-day, and wanted the point of order to be withdrawn.

*Pandit G. B. Pant* said that the Government's attitude showed how callous the Government was regarding the interest of agriculturists and requested Mr Satyamurthi to withdraw the point of order.

Mr. *Satyamurthi* did so, and Sir Lancelot Graham moved his formal amendment.

Mr. *G. Morgan*, supporting the motion for reduction of the rate of duty from two rupees to 1-8 per hundred weight, said that they did not want the consumers to be exploited by middlemen. Regarding the one million tons of surplus wheat for export referred to by Sardar Mangal Singh, the speaker asked how export was at all possible so long as prices in India were above the world parity. He believed that two rupees duty was too high and that a reduction of the duty would do no harm to the agriculturists.

Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* considered the Commerce Member was wrong in taking the price level of January and February instead of April and May, and affirmed that Government had repeatedly disregarded the interests of consumers and agriculturists.

Thereafter, Sir Lancelot Graham's formal amendment, proposing the same duty as originally proposed in the Bill, was passed.

When the clause relating to broken rice was put to the House, Dr. *T. S. S. Rajan* expressed the fear that the import trade would now divert from broken rice to rice and paddy, and even the little advantage gained under the proposed duty would be shortly lost. He recalled the adjournment motion passed by the Madras Council and the opinions expressed by local bodies and associations, showing that his presidency was dissatisfied with the Government proposal, which would not effectively help the agriculturists or prevent emigration of labour.

The closure was moved and carried and the rice clause was passed.

Sir *Joseph Blore* moved that the Bill be passed, but the House adjourned at this stage.

#### Finance Bill Debate (Contd.)

**6th. APRIL :—**When the consideration of the Finance Bill was resumed, Sir *James Grigg* moved an amendment that the Salt duty be restored as recommended by the Viceroy.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* said that the Finance Member should have fully considered and reconsidered the position before merely asking the Assembly in his brief speech to reverse its own decision. It looked as if that the decision of the House had no value or effect at all in the eyes of those who governed India. To call this action of the Government insult to the Assembly would be to use a hackneyed word. The Assembly, in order not to make itself open to the charge that it was irresponsible and consisted of men who did not understand the art of Government, discussed the Bill clause by clause and moved amendments which it was considered essential by way of giving relief to the people. Now there was the categorical and imperative demand that the Assembly should swallow that opinion. The Assembly was not prepared for it. Whether the Government smiled or frowned, the Assembly would not be guided by any of those considerations. Mr Desai mentioned the large majority of non-official votes on every one of the amendments carried to the Finance Bill, including those of the European group and contended that those votes were voluntarily cast on the side of those decisions. Proceeding, Mr. Desai said that if by that word 'caucus,' it was meant that they had maintained discipline, solidarity, strength and independence and by reason of their honest and straightforward attitude obtained the co-operation of other sections of the House, they were indeed guilty of that charge. In his opinion the word 'caucus' could better be applied to the present Government, which was not accountable to the House. Why should every single department of the Government have everything that they required and that poor man should not get relief of even a pie? The army expenditure was non-votable. Then the five per cent cut in salaries had been restored, costing two crores. At a time when the price level had fallen by forty per cent, could not the servicemen have continued the cut which they imposed on themselves three years ago? They talked of the pledge. They pledged to themselves that the cut should be restored and now they had restored it, irrespective of the burden on the taxpayer. If there was the smallest desire on the part of the Government to meet opinion of those who represented the people and who had been elected to the Assembly by the people, then the Government of India would have accepted the amendments made by the Assembly, even at a certain amount of risk, if there was risk. They were invited to a prepared programme which, if the Assembly had assented, would have been called responsible, but if they had dissented, would have been called irresponsible. "I am responsible to those who have sent me and to my land, but I and they are responsible to Providence". but



without taking note of that position, the Government merrily restored its own pledge and thereby betrayed itself into an act of unenlightened selfishness. It did not matter to the Government what happened to the people. He would rather be irresponsible and take the consequences than agree to restore the salary cut at this stage. Continuing, Mr. Desai quoted extensively from Lord Durham's description of the situation in Canada given 101 years ago, which aptly described the situation in India to-day. Lord Durham had condemned the system of Government, where hostility to the people of the country by those who governed was a qualification for honour, so that incompetent men were given positions of glory and the advice tendered to the Governor-General was bad advice. Similarly advice tendered to the Governor-General was bad advice, because five crores could have been easily found. The Government's interpretation of the law was that of an act of Sovereign authority having sanction behind it to enforce law. Mr. Desai interpreted law to mean a course of conduct for men in order to best serve the interests of society. Here was popular will expressed in the House and yet the Government wished to enforce its own views encouraged by people who never stated correct popular feeling and always egged the Government to proceed on its present course of defying public opinion as an evidence of strength and power.

Mr. Desai said, "Sir, this is the culmination of eight or ten weeks of desperate effort on our part to assist the Government. Our attitude is clear. We will certainly prevent any preventible mischief and we will leave those who have the power to exercise it as they choose and as to our suffering. I can only say those in power will have to wait for Nemesis. If we serve no other purpose, we shall at least show that the Legislature does not approve of your acts and that there is no reality of devolution of power either in this or in the coming constitution (applause)."

Continuing, Mr. Desai said that his attitude thus was not only that money could be found, but that in the matter of selection of relief from taxation, they would begin at the lowest and broadest foundation, because salt was consumed not only by every human being, but also used by animals and even vegetable kingdom. Some months ago he met a high and influential member of the conservative Party in England and when in the course of the discussion he convinced his friend that there was no devolution of power and asked why he (conservative) resisted the Indian demand, the reply was "The psychology of the Indian mind is that once we yield to any demand of theirs that is the beginning of the end." Mr. Desai said that was the state of mind of all Imperialistic powers in the past at such a stage, but it was a sign not of strength but of growing weakness (applause). The difference between England and India was that in England the voice of the people was considered the voice of God, while in India the voice of the people was considered the voice of the beetle. He asked the House, therefore, to reject the motion not in any sense of irresponsibility but in the full consciousness of what they were doing and with the readiness to struggle and even to die (applause).

*Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq* said that their self-respect made it impossible for them to obey the Viceroy's mandate and everyone who had voted previously for the amendments was honour-bound not to go behind that vote (applause). The Finance Member had even before the framing of the budget proposals restored the salary cut without consulting the House and had allocated a crore for village reconstruction, which money would be misspent. The Government had been playing ducks and drakes with the public money, as was shown by the reply this morning to his question stating that twenty-six lakhs had been spent on the War memorial gate in New Delhi. The speaker would not spend Rs. 2,600 for that.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* expressed his sincere regret that the Government should have acted in the way they had acted. If they believed that they could not spare three crores for the cut in the salt duty, they could have accepted the other amendments. Those officials who had advised the Governor-General to act in the manner in which he had acted, had acted in a spirit of complete responsibility. There was one amendment which put six lakhs in the pocket of the Government, namely, the one retaining the duty on raw skins. He would have voted against that amendment, but for the language used by the Finance Member in his speech on that amendment. What right had the Government members in advising the Governor-General to reject even that amendment. Then there was the amendment regarding postage on letters which was carried with the vote of nearly every elected member. With what respect was that amendment treated? The rejection of all amendments would have cost the Government about one crore and seventy lakhs. Taking it for the sake of argument that the Government could not afford to find 170 lakhs, could not the Government have afforded fifteen, twenty or

thirty lakhs ? In the circumstances the non-officials had strong ground for complaint. If ever there was proof that radical change was required in the present constitution, that proof had been supplied by the Government benches. What about the safeguards, were they to be used in the same way ? (Voices : Worse ways). *Sir Cowasi* said that the safeguards would prove the greatest hindrance to the Government of the future. The worst of this was that moderates like the speaker who had stood by the Government loyally were deprived of every argument for continuing their present attitude.

*Mr. M. S. Aney* appealed for combined and consistent vote to reject the bill in toto, in view of the rebuff which they had received and particularly pleaded for the co-operation of Europeans who also received the same treatment. Discussing the legality of *Sir James Grigg's* motion, *Mr. Aney* quoted the rules and maintained that Government had not fulfilled any of those conditions contemplated under it. He asked why the Finance Member gave no argument supporting his unusual amendment (A voice : He has no argument). If the Government had a little sympathy for the poor and wanted to give relief to the taxpayer, they would have been more prudent and cautious and would not have gone head-long defying the popular wishes. He stressed how the Opposition members had carefully considered everyone of the proposals contained in the Finance Bill and recorded votes fully realising their responsibility and now there was no course open to them except to vote down the Government's proposal.

*Sir Leslie Hudson*, on behalf of the European Group, declared : "The particular amendment now before the House relates to salt duty and restores it to the level at which it stood in the original Finance Bill. When the amendment was carried by this House, we voted against it and, were this now the sole issue, we should vote for the recommended amendment before us. But the procedure on the recommended bill is such that should this amendment be rejected, there would not be another opportunity of stating our general attitude to the position taken up by the Government. We are frankly disappointed that the Government have seen their way to accept some at any rate of the amendments supported by our Group and accepted by the House and that as yet the Finance Member has given no explanation of the reasons which have led him finally and on review of all the amendments to take this view. We believe that some of them might have been accepted without detriment to the budgetary position and that such action could be taken in the interest of this country. We recognise that the Government alone are ultimately responsible for the consequence of their policy. We are also responsible to our constituents for the fullest expression of their views. The Government, therefore, cannot expect us in this matter to shirk our responsibility and share theirs, whom they have not heeded our representations. And under the circumstances and in order to express our disappointment, we propose to remain neutral on this vote" (Cheers).

*Mr. S. Satyamurthi* felt happy that *Sir Cowasi Jehangir* and the European group would remain neutral. He hoped that this partially friendly attitude of the Europeans would grow so that the European community might realise that it was better to rely on the co-operation of the elected Indian representatives than on the co-operation of the dying Government. The Government through the Governor-General's recommendation had reduced the last few days' proceedings over the Finance Bill to a farce. They complained of the possible deficit in the budget if recommended amendments were not accepted. At the same time they would not accept the gift of seven or eight lakhs of rupees which the Assembly gave them regarding the export duty on skin. Then why did they undergo the long process of inviting amendments for meeting them, and why did not they merely tell at the time of introducing the Finance Bill "You cannot touch the Bill, but must accept it without a change ?" *Sir James Grigg* had referred to the Congress Party as "communistic" and "caucus". *Mr. Satyamurthi* quoted *Sir Henry Craik's* speech in the Assembly that the Communist Party hated the Congress.

*Sir James Grigg*, replying to the debate, quoted from *Sir George Schuster's* remarks made five years ago on a similar occasion when *Sir George* pointed out that under the existing condition the Government could not put responsibility on other shoulders and the Government had been told by *Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar* that they could not expect help from the Opposition and the Opposition had no chance of being called upon to give effect to their argument. *Mr. Desai* had said that his responsibility was to his conscience and none wanted any person to shallow his own opinion, but *Sir James Grigg* held that when it came to backing that opinion by votes, the Opposition should, if they wished their votes to be considered sympathetically, act as if they might be called upon to assume immediate responsibility for carrying on the business of the country. The opinion of the Opposition in the Assembly was not given under

that shadow and therefore could not be said to be fully responsible opinion. Mr. Desai said that anyhow and from somewhere the Government could find five crores. Sir Cowasji had expressed a fundamentally different view, namely, he did not expect the Government to accept all changes, but to make a choice. Certainly that would not have been the attitude of Sir Cowasji, had he the chance of being called upon to put them forward for immediate adoption. He asked them to be practical and feel whether at this stage of the session, the Government could be expected to find ways and means of finding five crores of new revenue. Mr. Desai wanted twelve and a half per cent cut on Government servants' pay. This suggestion did not apply to higher paid officials only, but touched all Government servants down to the bottom. Sir James Grigg was certain that Mr. Desai would not have come to a democratic Assembly and made such a proposal. Sir Cowasji's suggestion of making a choice between the various changes voted by the House was unfair to the Government, who had already made their choice. Continuing, Sir James Grigg said that Sir Cowasji and Mr. Satyamurthi had suggested that the deficit could be budgeted for. The speaker was certain that it would not have been their attitude had they been responsible for the budget.

*Sir James Grigg* next turned to the question of responsiveness. The question was whether the Opposition desired to co-operate in promoting the welfare of the Indian people. He asked whether there had not been a consistent plan in raising vexatious (as the House was in a charitable mood he would call it complicated) points of order, some of which ran for an hour at a time. Was not it a consistent policy to move an adjournment motion every day of the week? Some of them raised important points, but many others were matters of pure caprice. Was it not a fact that the disciplinary rules of the Congress Party were drawn up with a view to throw out every motion and every demand for grant which hoisted up the present form of government? (Opposition voices—(Quite right). *Sir James Grigg* quoted that part of Mr. Satyamurthi's speech in the Assembly in which Mr. Satyamurthi had stated that their purpose was to destroy the prestige of the Government on which the Government rule depended and that if the Congress succeeded in that, they would win the affection of their people. *Sir James Grigg* asked: "What is the implication of all this? The Congress Party is going to take a course of action which would force the Government to use emergency powers to show the naked rule of autocracy. Another instance occurred this morning when *Mr. Satyamurthi* at question time made the following extraordinary statement, 'Do the Government propose to exterminate all anti-British persons, if so, they will have to exterminate most of us.'" *Sir James Grigg* contended that it could not be denied that the Opposition had been trying to make public business difficult and asked: "Is it unreasonable to hold that so long the policy of the Opposition is obstructive and destructive so long must the Government resort to special powers conferred upon them by law?" (*Pandit Pant*—Then it is all a case of political motive. That's why you have adopted this attitude. The cat is out of the bag).

*Sir James Grigg*: "Our position is clear. When there is a change of heart (*Mr. Satyamurthi*—That's a Gandhian phrase) and we are satisfied that they (Opposition) are prepared to co-operate with us in the true interests of the people then, sir, but only then, are we prepared to consider meeting their view to the maximum extent consistent with the discharge of our own responsibility." *Sir James Grigg*, proceeding, said it was true that the position both of the Government and the Opposition was intractable under the present constitution. Under a democratic Government the Finance Member brought a measure with a fair assurance of majority support. Here the Government had no party of their own.

We can all agree that the existing constitution is the most unsatisfactory. (*Mr. Satyamurthi*—What's coming is worse). Whatever its shortcomings, the new constitution will place a far larger measure of responsibility on the ministers answerable to legislatures. That is after all the burden of complaint of the Opposition that you can neither make us what you wish nor turn us out under the new constitution. You will at least be able to see that the real moral of this discussion is that the Opposition, instead of blindly rejecting a very definite advance on the present position, should think not once or twice but again and again before they maintain their proclaimed attitude. (Loud applause)."

The amendment of *Sir James Grigg* for restoring the salt duty was rejected by 64 to 1 votes. Besides the European group some non-official members kept neutral.

*Sir James Grigg* next requested the President under Rule 36 to certify that the Assembly had failed to pass the Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General.

*Mr. Satyamurthi*, on a point of order, quoted the language of Rule 36 and Section

67 of the Government of India Act and said that this was not the stage at which that kind of certificate could be issued as the third reading was not yet put. Secondly, he maintained that Rule 36 referred to the procedure in the House and did not contemplate giving a certificate by the President.

The *President* pointed out that even if one amendment out of several recommended by the Governor-General was not accepted by the House, then it meant that the House had failed to pass the Bill in the form recommended and therefore the Chair ruled out the objection.

#### TEA CESS BILL

The Assembly next passed the Tea Cess Bill which raised the cess from eight to twelve annas for conducting propaganda in favour of tea drinking.

#### TARIFF ACT AMEND. (RICE & WHEAT) BILL PASSED

The Rice and Wheat Import Duty Bill as amended yesterday was next passed by the House which then adjourned till the 8th.

#### GRANT IN JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

**8th. APRIL.**—The Assembly voted to-day the supplementary demand for the grant of two lakhs for His Majesty's Silver Jubilee celebrations. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* said that so far he himself and his party were concerned they had a feeling of infinite regard for the well-being of His Majesty and members of his family. But His Majesty was constitutionally associated with the British rule in India and the Congress held definite views regarding the result of that rule in this country. The Congress Party would not associate with any celebration which might directly or indirectly serve the purpose of that rule.

#### SALT ADDITIONAL IMPORT DUTY BILL

A strong appeal on behalf of Bengal was made by Mr. *George Morgan* during the discussion which followed a motion by *Sir James Grigg*, Finance Member, that the House should take into consideration the Salt (Additional Import Duty) Bill. Mr. Morgan laid stress on the disproportionate share that Bengal paid of the cost of protection of the salt industry in comparison with other parts of India, and, declaring that Western India was benefitting at the expense of Bengal, demanded that if India was made self-sufficient in the matter of her salt requirements, not only Bengal but the whole of India should be made to pay the cost of the protection. Mr. Morgan's other demands were a bounty to the producers of the salt imported into Bengal and Burma and grants for experimental work for the manufacture of salt to Bengal, Bihar & Orissa and Burma.

*Dr. Paliwal's* amendment to the Bill ear-marking the proceeds of additional salt duty for development of salt industries of Bengal and Burma was rejected by 43 votes against 43. The Bill was next passed by the House.

#### INDIAN MINES ACT AMEND. BILL

The Assembly next passed a Bill amending the Indian Mines Act Amendments to the measure by a Labour Member were withdrawn upon a Government assurance that the question of hours of work and other matters would be examined carefully at the end of three years. The House then adjourned.

#### ATTACHMENT OF SALARIES

**9th. APRIL.**—The Assembly held its 49th and last sitting of the session to-day.

*Sir Henry Craik* moved the appointment of a Select Committee on the Bill amending section 60 of the Civil Procedure Code relating to attachment of salaries of workmen and Government servants. The Home Member said that it was regrettable that throughout the session there had been few subjects on which both sides of the House were in agreement, but members would agree that there was one subject on which all sides of the House agreed—that it was the duty of the Government and the legislature to do whatever they could to improve the conditions of the poor. (Cheers). The Bill, he said, aimed at giving relief to poor debtors. It implemented the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour. It went, in some respects, beyond, and in some, not quite so far as the Commission's recommendation. He fully explained the main and subsidiary provisions of the Bill and asked the House to accept his motion. Mr. *S. Gupta* moved that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion by June 30, but after *Sir Henry Craik's* reply he withdrew his motion for circulation and the Home Member's motion for the appointment of a Select Committee was adopted. Amidst cheers, the President then adjourned the Assembly *sine die*.

# The Bengal Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

### President

- 1 THE HON'BLE RAJA SIR MANMATHA NATH RAY CHOWDHURY, KT., OF SANTOSH.

### Deputy President

- 2 MR. RAJAUR RAHMAN KHAN.

### Members of the Executive Council

- 3 THE HON'BLE SIR JOHN WOODHEAD.
- 4 THE HON'BLE MR. R. N. REID.
- 5 THE HON'BLE SIR BROJENDRA LAL MITTER.

- 6 THE HON'BLE KHWAJA SIR NAZIMUDDIN

### Ministers

- 7 THE HON'BLE NAWAB K. G. M. FAROQUI
- 8 THE HON'BLE SIR BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY.
- 9 THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR M. AZIZUL HAQUE.
- 10 MR. G. P. HOGG.

### Official Members (Nominated)

- 11 MR. S. K. HALDAR.
- 12 MR. D. GLADDING.
- 13 MR. G. G. HOOPER
- 14 MR. H. P. V. TOWNEND.
- 15 MR. H. S. E. STEVENS.
- 16 MR. L. R. FAWCUS.
- 17 MR. H. R. WILKINSON.
- 18 MR. T. J. Y. ROXBURGH.
- 19 MR. S. BASU.
- 20 MR. R. N. GILCHRIST.
- 21 MR. R. L. WALKER.
- 22 MR. A. K. CHANDA.
- 23 MR. S. C. MITTER.

### Non-officials (Nominated)

- 24 REV. B. A. NAG.
- 25 BABU GURUPRODAS DAS.
- 26 MR. K. C. RAY CHOWDHURY.
- 27 MAULVI LATAFAT HUSSAIN.
- 28 MR. D. J. COHEN.
- 29 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI HAFIZAR RAHMAN CHAUDHURI.
- 30 MR. P. N. GUHA.
- 31 MR. MUKUNDA BIHARI MULICK.
- 32 BABU JATINDRA NATH BASU.
- 33 MR. S. M. BOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.
- 34 SETH HANUMAN PRASAD PODDAR.
- 35 RAI DR. HARIDHAN DUTT BAHADUR.
- 36 SIR HARI SANKAR PAUL.
- 37 DR. SIR NILRATAN SENGAR.
- 38 MUNINDRA DEB RAI MAHASAI.
- 39 DR. AMULYA RATAN GHOSH.

- 40 BABU PRAFULLA KUMAR GUHA.
- 41 RAI JOGESH CHANDRA SEN BAHADUR.
- 42 RAI SATYENDRA KUMAR DAS BAHADUR
- 43 MR. SAILESWAR SINGH ROY.
- 44 BABU JITENDRALAL BANERJEE.
- 45 MR. J. N. GUPTA.
- 46 RAI SATYA KINKAR SAHANA BAHADUR
- 47 BABU HOSENI ROUT.
- 48 R. MAITI, BAR-AT-LAW
- 49 RAI SAHIB SARAT CHANDRA MUKHOPADHYAYA.
- 50 RAI SATISH CHANDRA MUKHERJI BAHADUR.
- 51 BABU HARIDANNA ROY
- 52 BABU SARAT CHANDRA MITTRA.
- 53 MR. P. BANERJI.
- 54 RAI DEBENDRA NATH BALLABH BAHADUR.
- 55 MR. NARENDRA KUMAR BASU.
- 56 SRIJUT TAJ BAHADUR SINGH.
- 57 BABU ANULYADHAN RAY.
- 58 BABU JITENDRA NATH ROY.
- 59 BABU SUK LAL NAG.
- 60 RAI KESHAD CHANDRA BANERJI BAHADUR
- 61 DR. NARESH CHANDRA SEN GUPTA.
- 62 BABU SATISH CHANDRA RAI CHOWDHURI.
- 63 RAI AKSHOY KUMAR SEN BAHADUR.
- 64 RAI SARAT CHANDRA BAL BAHADUR
- 65 MR. B. C. CHATTERJEE,
- 66 BABU LALIT KUMAR BAL.
- 67 RAI KAMINI KUMAR DAS BAHADUR.
- 68 BABU KHETTER MOHAN RAY.
- 69 BABU HEM CHANDRA ROY CHAUDHURI.
- 70 BABU KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI.
- 71 BABU PREM HARI BARMA.
- 72 RAI SAHIB PANCHANAN BARMA.
- 73 BABU NAGENDRA NARAYAN RAY.
- 74 DR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA CHAUDHURI.
- 75 MR. SHANTI SHEKHARESWAR RAY.
- 76 MR. PROSANNA DEB RAIKAT.
- 77 MR. A. RAHEEM.
- 78 MR. H. S. SUHRAWARDY.
- 79 MAULVI SHAIK RAHIM BAKSH.
- 80 MAULVI MUHAMMAD SOLAIMAN.
- 81 MAULVI MUHAMMAD SAADATULLAH.
- 82 NAWAZZADA K. M. AFZAL.
- 83 MAULVI ABDUL KASEM.
- 84 MAULVI ABDUL KARIM.
- 85 KHAN BAHADUR A. F. M. ABDUR-RAHMAN.
- 86 MAULVI ABDUS SAMAD.
- 87 MAULVI SYED MAJID BAKSH.
- 88 MAULVI SYED NAUSHER ALI.

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|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 89 MAULVI ABDUL QUASEM.              | 116 MR. J. W. R. STEVEN         |
| 90 MAULVI ABDUL GHANI CHOWDHURI.     | 117 MR. R. H. FERGUSON.         |
| 91 MAULVI AZIZUR RAHMAN              | 118 MR. L. T. MAGUIRE.          |
| 92 MAULVI NUR RAHMAN KHAN EUSUFFI.   | 119 MR. E. T. MCCLUSKIE.        |
| 93 MAULVI ABDUL HAMID SHAH.          | 120 RAJA BHUPENDRA NARAYAN      |
| 94 MAULVI ABDUL HAKIM.               | SINGHA BAHADUR.                 |
| 95 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI ALIMUZZAMAN   | 121 MR. SARAT KUMAR ROY         |
| CHAUDHURI                            | 122 MR. ARUN CHANDRA SINGHA.    |
| 96 MAULVI TAMIZUDDIN KHAN.           | 123 KUMAR SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY |
| 97 MAULVI MUHAMMAD HUSSAIN           | 124 MR. SYAMAPROSAD MOOKHERJEE  |
| 98 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI HASHEMALI     | BAR-AT-LAW                      |
| KHAN.                                | 125 RAI SOSANKA COOMAR GHOSE    |
| 99 MAULVI ABI ABDULLA KHAN.          | BAHADUR.                        |
| 100 MAULVI NURAL ABSAR CHOWDHURY     | 126 MR. THOMAS LAMB.            |
| 101 HAJI BADI AHMED CHOWDHURY.       | 127 MR. F. T. HOMAN.            |
| 102 MAULVI SYED OSMAN HAIDAR CHAU-   | 128 MR. W. H. THOMPSON          |
| DHURI.                               | 129 SIR HENRY BIRKMYRE, BART.   |
| 103 KHAN BAHADUR MUHAMMAD ABDUL      | 130 MR. G. W. LEESON.           |
| MOMIN.                               | 131 MR. W. C. WORDSWORTH.       |
| 104 MAULVI MUHAMMAD FAZLULLAH        | 132 MR. J. R. WALKER.           |
| 105 KHAN SAHIB MAULVI MD. BASIRUDDIN | 133 MR. C. G. COOPER.           |
| 106 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI EMADUDDIN    | 134 MR. C. G. ARTHUR.           |
| AHMAD.                               | 135 MR. J. B. ROSS.             |
| 107 MAULVI HASSAN ALI.               | 136 MR. H. R. NORTON.           |
| 108 MR. A. F. RAHMAN.                | 137 MR. SURENDRA NATH LAW.      |
| 109 KAZI EMDADUL HOQUE.              | 138 MAHARAJA SRIS CHANDRA NANDY |
| 110 MAULVI RAJIBUDDIN TARAFDER.      | 139 RAI RAM DEV CHOKHANY BABA-  |
| 111 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI MUAZZAN      | DUR.                            |
| ALI KHAN.                            | 140 MR. ANANDA MOHAN PODDAR.    |
| 112 NAWAB MUSHARRUF HOSAIN,          | 141 RAI GIRIS CHANDRA SEN BABA- |
| KHAN BAHADUR.                        | DUR.                            |
| 113 MR. F. C. GUTHRI.                | 142 MAJOR-GENERAL D. P. GOIL.   |
| 114 MR. W. L. ARMSTRONG.             | 143 MR. F. A. SACHSE.           |
| 115 MR. A. B. E. LOCKHART.           | 144 RAI S. N. BANERJEE BAHADUR. |

## Proceedings of the Council

### Budget Session—Calcutta—11th. February to 9th. April 1935

The Budget Session of the Bengal Legislative Council commenced in Calcutta on the 11th. February, 1935, and was opened by *H. E. Sir John Anderson*, the Governor, who in the course of his speech referred to the scheme of Reforms now before Parliament and expressed his personal conviction that in a matter so beset by difficulties here and elsewhere no further or more prolonged effort, through whatsoever agency, was likely to result in a plan of constitutional advance better turned to the realities of the situation or better calculated to bring about, in the course of time and with the goodwill of those upon whom, in varying degrees, the responsibility for its execution will be laid, consummation of the hopes of those who had the well-being of the people of this country genuinely at heart. As regards safeguards, he observed that these were appropriate only in special circumstances, adding that he did not agree with the view that application of those safeguards and exercise of those powers were likely to be a normal feature of day-to-day administration of the province.

Referring to terrorism, His Excellency said that desperate characters were, however, still at large and recruiting and plotting were still proceeding actively. Until, therefore, the Government could satisfy themselves that these activities had abated, relaxation of pressure must necessarily be delayed.

Referring to the official plan for restriction of jute cultivation, His Excellency observed that indications at present were entirely favourable.

## NEW TAXATION BILLS INTRODUCED

**12th FEBRUARY** — A lengthy statement was made to-day by *Sir John Woodhead*, Finance Member to the Government of Bengal, in defence of the new scheme of taxation proposed by the Government of Bengal on the eve of introducing the several bills for this purpose. The Finance Member made an estimate of the excess of the expenditure over the income of the province during the current financial year, which he said would amount to Rs. 228 lakhs, and drew the attention of the Council to the fact that the Central Government had agreed to give Bengal half the amount of the Jute Duty provided that they were satisfied that the Bengal Government and the legislature were doing all that was possible to help themselves. Urging the House to agree to the proposals for further taxation, the Finance Member said that in the alternative the Central Government could not be expected to be satisfied that "we on our part are doing everything that we possibly can to improve our financial condition. Shall we not be in great danger of losing for this year an addition of over Rs. 1 crore, for the next year Rs. 1 and a half crores and 1 and a half crores for the following year also?" queried the Finance Member. The probable income from the new taxes will be Rs. 24 and a half crores.

## BENGAL ELECTRICITY DUTY BILL

*Sir John Woodhead*, Finance Member then moved his Bengal Electricity Duty Bill.

The Electricity Duty Bill provides for additional revenues for the province of Bengal, in order to remove part of the existing deficit in the provincial revenues. *Sir John* explained that it was proposed, subject to certain exemptions, to levy a small surcharge on electricity, which was used for the purpose of lights and fans. Exemptions included exemption of persons who did not use more than twelve units of electricity in any one month. The rates of duty and exemptions were so fixed that they would neither adversely affect the development of electrical facilities nor handicap the users of electricity. *Sir John* said that the Weston Settlement had placed a millstone round Bengal's neck since 1921. He assured the House that they would not relax efforts to obtain under the new constitution, a financial settlement which would redress the injustice of the past and render the possible expansion of constructive services, the proper development of which was rendered impossible by the persistent financial difficulties of the last fourteen years. As for the reasons for the proposed taxation, the Finance Member said that recognising that Bengal's financial position was rapidly becoming unmanageable under the present settlement, the Central Government and the Legislature had decided last year to give relief by the grant of half of the jute export duty to Bengal, on the stipulation that it was established to the satisfaction of the India Government that the Bengal Government and the Legislature were rendering all possible help to themselves. Bengal's financial position, as disclosed by budget estimates for the year 1935-36, was that the excess of expenditure over receipts would be Rs. 70 lakhs even after receipt of one and a half crores on account of the jute duty. The Government had fully explored the retrenchment question. Measures had been adopted, wherever possible, without seriously affecting the efficiency of administration. The proposed taxation would fill only a part of the gap yielding about 25 lakhs. The Finance Member moved for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee of 16, with instructions to report by March 9.

*Mr. P. Bannerjee* moved, by way of amendment, that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon, by the end of June, 1935. The mover charged the Government with taking the House by surprise. It had been stated not long ago on the floor of the House that the charges for electricity supply in Bengal were prohibitive and were capable of being reduced to 2 annas per unit. In sheer justice to the public, the tax required by the Government should be collected not from the poor consumers, but from the electric supply companies. It was only last year that the Finance Member had admitted that all sources of taxation had been exhausted and now the Government had suddenly discovered a Bombay example. Bombay's position was different. Bombay could boast of multi-millionaires but poor Bengal could not bear the burden of this increased taxation. It is impossible to pay more for the upkeep of this Government," declared *Mr. Bannerjee* and urged that the Bill was unjust and should be voted down.

Messrs. *N. K. Basu*, *Shanti Shikhareswar Roy* and others bitterly complained against the taxation and urged that the only way of setting their house in order was to reduce expenditure. *Mr. P. Bannerjee's* motion was lost by 67 voters to 40. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee after which the House adjourned.

## BENGAL TOBACCO (SALES LICENSING) BILL

**13th. FEBRUARY :—**The attempt to tax the poor man's tobacco which constituted his only solace after a hard day's toil, met with vigorous opposition from non-official members in the Council when the *Finance Member* introduced and moved for reference to a select committee the Bengal Tobacco (Sales Licensing) Bill, 1935, which required licenses to be taken out for the sale of tobacco and enabled Government to levy fees for such licenses. The Finance Member claimed that the amount of fee to be levied on licenses was extraordinarily small in comparison with what was levied in countries in the West and explained that the Bill expressly provided that cultivators of tobacco might sell the produce of their cultivation without taking out a license.

The debate on the Bill had not finished when the Council was adjourned.

**14th. FEBRUARY :—**The Council dealt with three taxation bills to-day. Following close voting, the Bengal Tobacco (Sales Licensing) Bill, 1935, was referred to a select committee, by 57 against 44 votes, with instructions to submit their report by March 9 next. Mr. *P. Banerjee's* amendment to circulate the bill for eliciting public opinion thereon by the end of June next, was rejected by 46 against 51 votes

## , BENGAL AMUSEMENTS TAX AMEND. BILL

The Bengal Amusements Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1935 was referred to a select committee with instructions to submit their report by March 9 Mr. *Premkhar Burma's* amendment to circulate the motion for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon was rejected by 20 against 54 votes. The bill imposed an amusements tax on certain low-priced tickets of admission that are at present exempt from the amusements tax, namely, (a) by extending the tax of one anna (which at present applies to tickets for admission whose cost exceeds eight annas but does not exceed twelve annas) so that it is payable also on tickets whose cost exceeds four annas, and (b) by imposing an amusements tax of half an anna on tickets of admission whose cost exceeds three annas but does not exceed four annas.

## INDIAN STAMPS (BENGAL AMEND.) BILL

The Indian Stamp (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1935, was referred to a select committee with instructions to submit their report by March 9 Mr. *N. K. Basu's* amendment, suggesting circulation of the bill for eliciting public opinion thereon, was rejected by 48 against 30 votes. The bill sought to increase the stamp duty imposed on bonds, partition deeds, hypothecation of crops, Letters of license, memorandum of association, articles of association etc. The House then adjourned till the 18th.

## BENGAL DEVELOPMENT BILL

**18th. FEBRUARY :—**The *Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin*, Member-in-charge of Irrigation, introduced the Bengal Development Bill, 1935 which provides for the improvement of land in Bengal and imposition of a levy in respect of increased profits resulting from improvement works constructed by the Government.

The Bill embodies proposals which are designed primarily to avoid the financial difficulties which prevent Government from taking up works undoubtedly necessary for the prosperity of the province and to enable complex and far-reaching schemes of improvement to be undertaken with the knowledge that so far being a burden on the provincial revenues they will prove remunerative. It is proposed that the cost of schemes financed by Government out of loan-funds should be met by means of a cess levied at a flat rate on the total area benefitted. The main principles on which the proposals are based is that the Government should be entitled to recover a portion of the increased profits which accrue to private individuals and companies from lands of any description, whether used for agriculture or not, owing to works undertaken at the cost of the State and which they would otherwise not have enjoyed. It is contemplated that this principle should be applicable to areas where schemes for the improvement of land have only recently been carried into effect as well as to areas where such schemes are undertaken in the future.

The works to which the Bill refers would for the most part be carried out under the Act, such as the Bengal Irrigation Act of 1876 and the Bengal Embankment Act of 1882, but it is proposed by this Bill to give the Local Government more general powers with regard to drainage schemes that it possess under the latter Act. The opportunity is also being taken to improve the procedure for dealing with obstructions to water channels which constitute one of the great difficulties in dealing with drainage and irrigation in Bengal.



## ALBERT VICTOR LEPER HOSPITAL BILL

The Albert Victor Leper Hospital Bill was introduced by Hon'ble Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Minister-in-charge of Local Self-Government, and the same was referred to a Select Committee on the motion of the Hon'ble Minister

## BENGAL VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT AMEND. BILL

The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1935, as reported by the Select Committee was next discussed clause by clause

The Bill owes its origin to a conference of Presidents of Union Boards held at the Town Hall in Calcutta in December 1931. It aims at removing practical difficulties experienced in the working of the Act.

The Bill provides for wider electorate to the Union Board by lowering the minimum franchise qualifications and the inclusion of minimum education qualifications.

It also provides for wider power to the Board to effect sanitary measures in villages and excludes the jurisdiction of civil courts in the matter of election disputes. Henceforth, they will be decided by the District Magistrate, an appeal against which can be made to the Divisional Commissioner. The debate on this bill was continued till the 20th. February when it was passed by the Council.

## Financial Statement for 1935-36

**22nd. FEBRUARY.**—A distinct improvement in the financial outlook was indicated in the speech delivered to-day by the *Hon'ble Sir John Woodhead*, Finance Member, introducing the budget for 1935-36.

In the Budget estimates for 1934-35, the receipts on the revenue account were Rs. 9.19 and a half lakhs. According to the revised estimates, the figure was Rs. 10.51 and a half lakhs. The increase was mainly accounted for by the grant of half the Jute Duty calculated on a 8 months' basis, while Rs. 20 and a half lakhs represented a slight improvement in the provincial heads of revenue. The net result is that Bengal now expects to close with a deficit of Rs. 46 lakhs, instead of Rs. 1.94 lakhs as originally estimated.

Referring to the Budget estimates for 1935-36, Sir John Woodhead said that the conditions were too uncertain to warrant the Government taking an optimistic view of the revenue prospects. Apart from the increase of Rs. 46 and a three-fourth lakhs in Bengal's share of the Jute Export Duty, the Budget figures for the receipts on the revenue accounts followed closely the revised estimates. The receipts on capital account also called for no comment.

Exclusive of the advance to be taken over to cover the anticipated deficit, the estimate of the total receipts on revenue and capital stood at Rs. 11.60 lakhs as against Rs. 11.12 and one-fourth lakhs during the present year.

As regards expenditure, estimates provided for an expenditure on revenue account of Rs. 11 crores 71 and a half lakhs. An increase of Rs. 54 lakhs over the revised estimate was then explained. The restoration of the 5 per cent cut in the pay, the restoration of provision for the reduction of debt, the cost of preparing electoral rolls, the increase in the additional expenditure thrown on the province by the terrorist movement, the increase in interest and pensionary charges and additional expenditure on roads from the Central Road Development Fund and from the proceeds of the taxes on motor vehicles accounted for Rs. 50 and a half lakhs, out of the total increase of Rs. 54 lakhs. The balance was spread over a large number of budget heads.

The Finance Member who felt proud of the story disclosing what he characterised as a distinct improvement in the financial outlook added: "This improvement is due, however, not to any substantial recovery in the yield from the provincial sources of revenue, but to the decision taken last March by the Central Government and the Central Legislature to make to the jute producing provinces, which, of course, means mainly Bengal, a grant equal to half the proceeds of the Jute Export Duty. The grant was subject to an important condition which I discussed at length when introducing the taxation measures which now have been referred to Select Committees. For the purposes of our estimates, we have assumed that the condition will be held to have been satisfied. In order to enable themselves to make this grant, the Central Legislature imposed an excise duty on matches, but as this excise was not likely during the current year to produce more than 8 months' full revenue, we were told that we might expect the grant for the current year to amount to Rs. 111 1-3 lakhs. This is the figure that we have taken in our revised estimates. But we hope for more than this; for the Hon'ble the Finance Member to the Government of India clearly stated that the grant would be raised to a twelve months' level if the out-turn of the Central

Budget made that possible. The grant that we expect to get next year is Rs. 158 lakhs."

"In my Budget speech last year, I drew attention to the extremely low level to which the prices of two principal agricultural products of Bengal, jute and rice, had fallen during the year 1933 and expressed the hope that although there were at the time no indications that the year 1934 would be marked by a considerable improvement in the prices of these primary products, prices during that year would exhibit some measure of recovery. Unfortunately, as regards jute, that hope has not been fulfilled for, during the harvest season of 1934, the price of jute was, if anything, lower than in 1933. It was true that the price has since risen considerably, but the rise came too late to be material benefit to the large majority of cultivators.

"Paddy prices, however, fared better. Prices during 1934 were higher than during 1933 and prices to-day are better than they were early in 1934, but they are still at a low level. The course of agricultural prices was not favourable to a substantial recovery in our receipts and although the estimated yield was Rs. 805 lakhs in 1934-35 from our five main heads of revenue, namely, Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, Forests and Registration is slightly better than in 1933-34, it is still two crores below the receipts for 1929-30—the year immediately preceding the onset of the trade depression.

"Both last year and the year before I dwelt on the heavy additional expenditure thrown on the revenues of the Province by the terrorist movement. The additional expenditure is a factor which has contributed in no small measure to the difficulties of our financial position and unfortunately it continues to be a very heavy burden on our resources. In the year 1934-35 this expenditure, according to the revised estimates, is Rs. 57 lakhs and the budget for 1935-36 makes provision for 62 and one-fourth lakhs. Figures for the year 1931-32, 1932-33 and 1933-34 are Rs. 21 and a half lakhs, Rs. 47 lakhs and Rs. 53 and three-fourth lakhs respectively. So, by the close of the year 1935-36, the promoters of anarchy will have involved the province in an expenditure amounting to Rs. 24 and a half lakhs and interest charges thereon amounting to 21 lakhs—a total expenditure of Rs. 262 and a half lakhs. This figure of Rs. 262 and a half lakhs is a very large one indeed; and might I ask the members of Council to pause for a moment and consider how different our financial position would be if we had not been faced, and were not still faced, with this unproductive expenditure?

"By the end of 1935-36 I estimate that the total debt of the province will be in the region of Rs. 559 1-3 lakhs. It may be less, but it is not likely to exceed their figure. Of course, that is, assuming that we receive the grant from the central revenues out of the Jute Export Duty. If the Province had escaped Civil Disobedience and the terrorist movement deficits, the debt at the close of the current year would be less by nearly one-half instead of being in the region of Rs. 5 and a half crores. Again, according to the budget estimates for 1935-36, the excess of expenditure over receipts on the revenue account is Rs. 69 lakhs, but if the province had not been infected with the terrorist blight, the excess would be only Rs. 6 and three-fourth lakhs. As I said last year, it is nothing short of a catastrophe that movements subversive of law and order should have placed such a large additional burden on the resources of the province."

Sir John Woodhead concluded: "I have dealt on many occasions with Bengal's case for an equitable financial settlement and I do not propose to go over the ground again to-day. Members have also doubtless studied the Government of India Bill and here again I do not propose to weary the House by an examination of its financial provisions. I will content myself by inviting the attention of the House to one clause and that is the clause which deals with the allocation of the Jute Export Duty. According to that clause, one half, or such greater proportion as His Majesty-in-Council may determine, of the net proceeds of the Jute Export Duty shall not form a part of the revenues of the Federation, but shall be assigned to the provinces or the Federated States, in which jute is grown. As I indicated when speaking on taxation measures 10 days ago the Joint Select Committee approved of the proposal made in the White Paper that a financial enquiry should be held at the last date before the inauguration of the new constitution. At the time of that enquiry we shall have once again to press our case not only for the whole of the proceeds of the Jute Export Duty, but also for an adjustment to cover the excess of expenditure over receipts of the Revenue Account that has accumulated since the year 1930-31, and for the assignment to the provinces from the outset of the new constitution of a substantial proportion of the provincial share of the proceeds of taxes on income. The Council may rest assured that we shall not relax our efforts to obtain for Bengal

what we all consider Bengal can justly claim—a settlement which will place the finances of the province on a sound basis and which will permit of the development of the more beneficial activities of the Government beyond the present inadequate standards'.

#### COURT FEES (BENGAL AMEND.) BILL

**25th FEBRUARY:**—There was a short meeting of the Council to-day when the Court-Fees (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1935, was passed into law. The primary object of the Bill is to provide a suitable machinery for preventing the evasion of the existing law relating to court-fees. It was stated that although the Court-Fees Act, 1870 was amended for revenue purposes in Bengal by the Bengal Court-Fees (Amendment) Act, 1922, recent inquiries had shown that there was frequent evasion of the existing provisions of the law relating to court-fees and in consequence loss of large sums of revenue due to the Government. The Bill further provides for the removal of the more serious anomalies and defects in the procedure under the existing Act to which attention has been drawn in numerous decisions of the various High Courts and the report of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee.

Moving for the consideration of the Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee, Sir *Brojendra Lal Mitter* explained that the changes that had been effected by the Select Committee were towards mitigating the rigours of the court-fees law. The Bill as it now stood was a great improvement on the existing state of things under which court-fees charges were anomalous and which permitted of leakage of revenue through very many sources. But the machinery provided in the Bill as it had emerged from the Select Committee was calculated to stop this. It was calculated to charge an equitable court-fee in all cases without variation which the existing law contained.

Over 50 amendments to the 20 clauses of the Bill were tabled for discussion. Most of them were not moved and the few that were moved, excepting in one important instance, were rejected with little or no discussion. This referred to the clause relating to the basis of court-fees assessment.

The Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee provided that instead of the Court, in the first instance, proceeding on the basis of the market value, as in the Bill as introduced, it should compute the court-fee chargeable at 15 times the net profits. To this, Mr. *Narendra Kumar Basu* moved an amendment, suggesting that in suits for the possession of land, buildings or gardens, the court-fee should be computed according to the market value of the property or 15 minutes the nett profits accruing therefrom, whichever was lower. This was accepted by the Hon. Member in charge of the Bill which was eventually passed with this modification.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**26th. FEBRUARY:**—The close-listed policy followed by the Bengal Government in the matter of education and other nation-building works and the spend-thrift policy followed by them in the matter of eradicating the menace of terrorism came in for a certain amount of criticism in the Council when the House proceeded to discuss the Budget. Initiating the discussion, *Maulavi Tamizuddin Khan* said that the Finance Member had taken an inconsistent and irreconcilable stand point in many of his major performances. The Finance Member claimed to be a friend of the poor and was naturally solicitous for their welfare, so while out in his quest for new sources of revenue, he made a solemn declaration that he was anxious to avoid any further burden on really poor men. He recognised that the burden on the Bengal tax-payers was already too heavy but at the same time he ignored the additional toll of misery that some of his new measures must bring to the hard lot of the poor. The Finance Member's tobacco tax would be a smart slap on the cheek of those poor men whom he tried to save from the brunt of his new measures.

Mr. *Shanti Shekhareswar Roy* failed to see anything in the Budget to congratulate the Finance Member. The Budget had proved to the country that the position of the Government of Bengal was financially very insecure. The Finance Member had tried to throw the blame on terrorists and terrorism in this province for this state of things. That was a statement which the speaker thought must be challenged. The speaker was of opinion that the expenditure incurred by the Bengal Government in combating the menace of terrorism was due largely to their own inefficiency and mishandling of the situation. If the Government of Bengal had taken their advice and had tried to shape their policy on popular lines, there would have been no necessity for this huge expenditure. Mr. Roy thought that the Government of Bengal should adopt a bold

policy in meeting the present economic situation. In the past, they had been more or less toying with this problem, nay, they were, if he might say so, sleeping over the problem.

*Rai Bahadur Satyendra Nath Das* attacked the policy of Government in restoring the pay cut of its officers which he characterised as an unwise policy and failed to understand why full effect was not given to the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. The main defect of the present Budget was that nation-building problems were utterly neglected.

*Rai Bahadur J. C. Sen* advised the Government to adopt the policy followed by the Government of Japan in their paternal solicitude for the well-being of the people. Punish the people, he said, if they were wrong but encourage them when they were right. He thought that by proper adjustment it was quite possible to cut down the cost of administration. He suggested that members of the Council might be given an opportunity to express their opinion before the Budget was framed.

*Mr. Hanuman Prasad Poddar* wondered why the pay-cut imposing an added expenditure of Rs 17 lakhs had been restored this year.

*Mr. J. N. Gupta* thought that it was just as imperative to take immediate steps to stem the downward course of their economic and agricultural deterioration as it was to uphold the reign of Law and Order in the province. They did not deny for a moment that the foundations of society and of ordered government must be maintained and that the lives of the officers of the Government who were responsible for carrying on the administration, must be safeguarded; but they were equally convinced that it was no less important and no less a primary duty of the Government to save millions of its people from the grip of disease and poverty and a life of stagnation and misery which was worse than death.

*Mr. N. C. Sen Gupta* thought that the present budget did not show any new orientation of ideas; it did not show accession of imagination any more than other budgets in the past. In the budget there was no cheery message for the recovery of the province from the slough of economic despondency into which the country had fallen.

*Maulvi Abul Quassem* said that on a careful perusal of the Budget, his impression was one of unutterable gloom in which there was not one ray of light anywhere. The condition of the people in the countryside begged description. What had the Government done to meet the undoubted economic distress that was prevailing? They were imposing fresh taxation. People felt that there was ample scope for retrenchment in the cost of administration. The speaker pointed out that Mahatma Gandhi, that great Indian patriot, had started the All-India Village Industries Association, and what had been, he asked, the effect of starting of this organisation? Their Government had been suddenly galvanised into action.

**27th. FEBRUARY :—***Moulvi Abdul Karim* said that perhaps it would be a waste of time and energy to attempt an analytical dissection of particular items of the Budget. To criticise those in power seemed to be as futile as to cry in the wilderness. Since the iniquitous Meston Award had reduced the richest province in the Indian Empire to the position of the poorest, deficit budgets had been produced year after year and they had cried themselves hoarse over the top-heavy administration of the Montford scheme. As for the restoration of salary cuts and imposition of taxes, the less said the better. Proceeding the speaker said that the appalling illiteracy prevailing in the country was a standing discredit of its administration. As regards the secondary education the system in vogue had outlived its utility. It was high time that the system of education suited to the taste, temperament, needs and aspirations of the people was devised without further delay.

*Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy* said that there was no doubt that they had taxed themselves beyond their capacity. The Government of Bengal, he thought, had committed a very substantial mistake. The Government of Bengal had deliberately starved itself and carried on the administration on a very low scale. The speaker ascribed the terrorist activities in Bengal to the Meston Settlement. It was because they could not devote sufficient funds to develop themselves, to meet the pressing needs of the province, it was because they could not devote sufficient funds for the relief of unemployment, and the acute distress of the agriculturists, it was because they could not effect revision of taxes and grant remission of land revenue in case of distress, that the terrorist activities had assumed their present proportion.

*Mr. S. M. Bose* asked the Finance Member to explain why in the face of a deficit there was to be restoration of out in pay. The speaker asked the Finance Member

to explain why there was such a heavy police budget, when it was admitted that terrorism was on the wane. Mr Bose asked the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Judicial Department to explain the necessity for keeping two additional Judges in the High Court, a luxury estimated to cost Rs 58,000 annually. Last year during the Budget discussions, the need for retrenchment in the High Court expenditure was dwelt upon but nothing tangible resulted. What was the necessity for having two extra Judges?

*Moulvi Abdus Samad* would like to make one suggestion to the Finance Member by which he could provide money for the nation-building departments. He suggested that a loan of 26 crores of rupees at an interest of 3 per cent. should be raised on the security of eighty lakhs of rupees which was half of the jute export duty they expected to get from the Central Government.

Mr *Hassan Ali* saw no reason why the cost of administration should go up and the poor people should continue to groan under the burden of their miseries. They claimed the duty as of right and not as a favour.

Replying to Mr. S. M. Bose's criticisms about the appointment of two additional judges in the High Court, Sir *B. L. Mitter* felt that so far as the question of quality of work was concerned, it would be impertinent on his part to express any opinion. So far as the question of quantity of work was concerned, he cited figures to show that an appalling number of cases were pending in the High Court and since it was well-known that justice delayed was justice denied, it was to the interest of every body that these cases should be expeditiously disposed of.

In his reply to the criticisms made by non-official members, Sir *John Woodhead*, Finance Member, explained as to why the Government of Bengal had decided to restore the five per cent. cut in the salary of their officers. The position, he said, was this: The Government of India decided—and the announcement was made in February—that the cut in the pay would be restored as regards All-India and the Central Services. The Bengal Government considered carefully the position created by the announcement of the India Government and they came to the conclusion that in view of the fact that cut had been restored in regard to officers of the All-India and the Central Services, whether serving under the Government of India or in the Provinces, the Local Government could not justify the maintaining of the cut in regard to officers under their own rule-making powers. Speaking on the question of retrenchment, the Finance Member claimed that they had effected very considerable retrenchments. Of that, he said, there was not the slightest doubt. He would remind those who were urging further retrenchment of a substantial character that their expenditure per head of population in Bengal was still one of the lowest in India and it was still the lowest in spite of the expenditure of sixty lakhs on suppression of terrorism and the other twenty lakhs as interest on deficit loans. He told the House that the expenditure per head of population in Bengal was Rs. 2.4 while it was Rs. 3.9 in Madras, Rs. 2.5 in U. P. Rs. 7.9 in Bombay and Rs. 4.3 in the Punjab. He hoped members would realise that their expenditure was the lowest in comparison with all those provinces and there was therefore the least scope for retrenchment. A lot had been said, the Finance Member proceeded, about unemployment. It was said by one member that it was due to Mr Gandhi launching his Village Industries Association that Government was galvanised into activity. That was entirely wrong, said the Finance Member. Members of the Council would remember that the Weaving School at Serampore was established many many years ago. Government had demonstration parties regarding cottage industries for a considerable number of years. They had a Technical School in Calcutta and the Training School at Kanchrapara for imparting technical education. They had established technical schools in various parts of the province.

#### NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

**28th. FEBRUARY:**—No fewer than 16 non-official Bills were disposed of by the Council to-day. They were: The Estates Partition (Amendment) Bill (two in number); the Bengal Fisheries (Amendment) Bill; the Bengal Tenancy Bill (four in number dealing with Sections 148, 48C, 109, 158A, 65 and 163); the Bengal Public Gambling (Amendment) Bill; the Bengal Primary Education (Amendment) Bill; the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill (two in number); the Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Bill (two in number); the Bengal Suppression of Private Lotteries Bill, 1935 and the Bengal Race Course Betting Bill 1935 and the Bengal Wakf Act (Amendment) Bill.

Mr. *Kishori Mohan Chowdhuri* was responsible for the introduction of three of the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bills and the passing of one of the Estates Partition (Amendment) Bill. The main object of the latter Bill of Mr. Chowdhury was to allow rent-free lands to be partitioned without the consent of all the proprietors.

The Hon. Sir *B. L. Mitter* having presented the report of the Select Committee, Mr. Chowdhury moved for its consideration and the House without discussion passed the Bill into law.

The other Estates Partition Bill, which was sponsored by *Rai Bahadur Keshab Chandra Banerji*, sought to remedy certain defects in the existing law relating to rights of a co-sharer of a property. This was referred to a select committee.

The object of the Bengal Ferries (Amendment) Bill, which was introduced by Mr. *Abdul Hakim* was to fix the maximum limit of the period to which a ferry should be leased. On a motion by the Hon. *Sir B. P. Singh Roy*, the House decided to circulate the Bill.

One of the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bills (Section 148) of Mr. *Kishori Mohan Chowdhury* was introduced and later withdrawn on an assurance given by *Sir B. L. Mitter* that he would bring the matter to the notice of the High Court. The other two, however, did not go beyond the introductory stage motions for circulation and also reference to select committee's having been lost.

#### PUBLIC GAMBLING AMEND. BILL

Proceedings up to this stage were dull but matters brightened up somewhat when Mr. *P. Banerjee* got up to move the Bengal Public Gambling (Amendment) Bill.

Urging that the bill be taken into consideration, Mr. Banerjee saw no reason why betting on dog-racing should not be legalised when betting on horses had been legalised on the race-course. Dog-racing had been legalised in England by a recent Act of Parliament. Mr. Banerjee maintained that if his bill was accepted, that would fetch some money to the Government which was hard pressed to meet its deficit.

The motion to take the bill into consideration was then put to vote, pressed to a division and was lost by 47 against 8 votes.

#### PRIVATE LOTTERIES BILL

Mr. *P. Banerjee* also introduced and moved for consideration of a bill to stop private lotteries in Bengal. The House without a division declined to take it into consideration. Mr. Banerji also introduced a bill to provide for the betting on horses and dogs. The House then adjourned till the 6th March.

#### TUBERCULOSIS MENACE IN BENGAL

**6th. MARCH :—**The urgent need of tackling the problem of tuberculosis menace in Bengal was emphasised to-day by Mr. *Narendra Kumar Basu* who moved :—"This Council recommends to the Government that immediate steps be taken for establishing a climatic sanatorium for tuberculosis patients in Bengal." In moving the resolution Mr. Basu pointed out that incidence of tuberculosis was on the increase daily. According to medical authorities in this country the ravages of tuberculosis in Bengal were second only to malaria. Year after year in this Council they had been asking the Government and the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of public health department to allow more and more money for combating this fell disease. The speaker was glad that some assistance was proposed to be given in this year's budget for this very object. But that only touched the fringe of this stupendous problem. It might be news to the members of the House that to-day in Calcutta alone there were over eight hundred thousand cases of lungs tuberculosis. It must be admitted that these figures were appalling and if proper steps were not taken in proper time to check the spread of this disease one shuddered to think what the consequences would be.

Speaking on the resolution, *Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Minister in charge of the Public Health Department, said that there was no doubt that tuberculosis was one of the greatest menaces with which this province was faced but it was by no means the only menace so far as Bengal was concerned. The members were aware that malaria, cholera, leprosy, beri-beri, kalazar were each a very serious menace and Government had got to take steps against them according to the means at their disposal. It was not possible nor it was desirable that they should take hasty steps. They must proceed slowly and cautiously but surely and take effective steps, if possible, against all the diseases.

The resolution of Mr. Basu was passed by the House.

#### PRICE OF SUGARCANE

*Moulvi Hassan Ali* moved a resolution recommending to the Government that proper authorities be moved to immediately introduce legislative measures to fix the minimum price of sugarcane in Bengal. The mover pointed out that Government had undertaken jute restriction propaganda and was encouraging cultivators to undertake

sugar-cane cultivation. But if Government did not fix the minimum price of sugar-cane their propaganda would be of no avail. In Bihar they had a fixed price for sugar-cane. Replying on behalf of the Government, *Nawab K. G. M. Farouqi* said that Government had every sympathy with the object underlying the resolution. Government were greatly interested in securing the cultivator a fair share of the value of his produce. The resolution was withdrawn.

#### DEPRESSED CLASSES EDUCATION

Mr. *Mukunda Behari Mullick* moved a resolution recommending to Government that a special officer be forthwith appointed to make a special survey of the condition, progress and other matters connected with the education of the depressed classes of the province with a view to suggesting ways and means for ameliorating their general condition and that immediate provision be made for funds necessary for the purpose.

Replying *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haq*, Minister of Education, pointed out that it had been the policy of the Government to encourage the spread of education among sections of people including the scheduled classes who were less advanced than others in the matter of education. The resolution was withdrawn.

#### ALBERT VICTOR LEFER HOSPITAL BILL

**7th. MARCH :—**Two Government Bills came up for discussion in the Council to-day. The Albert Victor Lefer Hospital Bill was passed. The Bill which was sponsored by Sir *Byjoy Prasad Singh Roy*, provided that the hospital, which is at present a State hospital conducted departmentally by the Government of Bengal and is under the supervision of a Board of management, should now be controlled by a Board of Trustees. The hospital fund shall become vested in the Board, be under its control and shall be held in trust for the purposes of the hospital. The Local Government shall, for the purposes of the hospital, contribute annually to the Board a sum of Rs. 60,000 and the Corporation of Calcutta a sum of Rs. 7,000 annually.

#### BENGAL DEVELOPMENT BILL

Sir *Khwaja Nazimuddin*, Irrigation Member, then introduced the Bengal Development Bill, a measure intended to authorise the Government to undertake the task of bringing back to prosperity the health decadent areas in Bengal by restoring the flow of dead rivers by means of construction work and by controlling irrigation and arranging for drainage throughout the province.

Requesting the House to send the Bill to the Select Committee, Sir *Khwaja Nazimuddin* said that if the House rejected, delayed or whittled down the provisions of the Bill making impracticable the work contemplated, it would mean the continuance of the present state of affairs. On the other hand, if it was enacted into law, "we can visualise the picture of flowing rivers, thickly populated districts, land covered with luxurious crops, healthy, sturdy and well-to-do peasantry and a surplus provincial budget". The House was discussing the amendment urging circulation of the Bill, when the Council adjourned.

**8th. MARCH :—**The Bengal Development Bill was referred to a select committee after the motion for its circulation had been defeated by 59 votes to 21. The Select Committee which consists of 22 members is to submit its report by the end of June next.

The Hon'ble *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin* was faced with an awkward situation when he readily acquiesced in 9 more names being added to the first of the select committee members on an amendment moved by Mr. *Kshetra Mohan Ray*, which, however, evoked strong opposition from all sections of the House on the ground of extra expenditure especially in view of the fact that the select committee would hold its sittings at Darjeeling and this amendment, which was accepted by Government, was, however, rejected by the House without a division. The House then adjourned till the 13th.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS

**13th. MARCH :—**The Council reassembled to-day to take the Budget demands into consideration.

Sir *B. L. Mitter* moved that a sum of Rs. 35,12,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Land Revenue". *Moulvi Tamizuddin Khan* moved that the demand of Rs. 1,48,000 under the head "Charges of Administration—Land Acquisition Establishment," be reduced by Rs. 100 (amendment of the Land Act, so as to make provision for erecting prayer-house on the holdings of tenants).

In moving the token-cut, Moulvi Tamuzuddin Khan said that the issue that he wanted to raise was a very important one. It was the old question of tenants having the right to erect places of worship on their holdings. The speaker said that Government could at least do one thing in the matter without being led to any consideration of the intricacies of the law. Under the Land Acquisition Act the Government could acquire lands for a public purpose and Government could so amend the Act as to empower them to acquire lands for the purpose of erecting places of worship thereon.

Explaining the view-point of the Government, Sir *B. L. Mitter* said that he had every sympathy with the object which was at the bottom of the motion before the House—a desire that adequate facilities should be afforded and that there should be no impediment and if there was any impediment in that way, that impediment should be removed. That was the real meaning of the motion. But had they any evidence that there was such impediments? Sir Brojendralal pointed out that Government could not accept the motion as it was worded because it meant the creation of individual rights. *Moulvi Tamuzuddin* withdrew his motion.

By 49 against 16 votes, the House rejected *Moulvi Abdul Hakim's* token-cut motion moved with a view to draw the attention of the House to the “undesirability of a too free investment of landlords with certificate powers.”

The House then voted without a division the entire demand of Rs. 35,12,000 under head “Land Revenue” and adjourned

**14th. MARCH :—**The Council to-day passed the entire demand of Rs. 17,73,000 for ‘Excise’, Rs. 5,21,000 for ‘Stamps’ and Rs. 8,80,000 for ‘Forests’ and adjourned till the 18th.

**18th. MARCH :—**The Council to-day passed the entire demand for grant of Rs. 18,50,000 under the head “Registration” and of Rs. 5,000 for “Scheduled Taxes” without division. When the Council took into consideration the demand for grant under the head “Irrigation”, Moulvi *Syed Mayid Baksh* moved a token cut to raise a discussion on the necessity of undertaking canalisation of the Mathabhangra in the interest of the Hardinge Bridge and of the decadent areas of Jessore and Nadia. This was however lost.

**19th. MARCH :—**For the first time in the recent history of the Council, the Government sustained a defeat over a token cut in the demand of grant under head “Irrigation”. Mr. *Narendra Kumar Basu* moved a token cut in the demand for grant of Rs. 26,10,000 for “Irrigation” with a view to criticise the Government policy in the Irrigation Department with regard to the maintenance of dredgers at an annual expenditure over a lakh of rupees. In moving the cut Mr. Basu said that they had been promised year after year that these two dredgers would be got rid of but nothing had been done so far.

Supporting, *Maulvi Abul Quassem* said that if no purchasers were available, why should they not be sunk which would relieve the province of the enormous expenditure for their upkeep. This was an expenditure which could by no means be justified. Replying, the Hon’ble Sir *Nazimuddin*, Member in charge of the Irrigation Department, said that the Irrigation Department was not sleeping over the matter. There was a prospect that they might be able to sell them. If, however, within one or two years, they did not find any purchaser it would be worth considering whether they should not be sold as scrap iron.

The cut motion was put to vote, pressed to a division and carried by 34 against 83 votes, several European Members supporting the cut motion.

The demand of Rs. 26,10,000 for “Irrigation”, as amended by the House, was thereupon sanctioned by the Council.

The Council also sanctioned the demand of Rs. 1,000 for expenditure under head “Interest on other obligations,” moved by Sir *John Woodhead*, Finance Member.

The way in which the Reserved Side of the Bengal Government had worked the present constitution during the last fourteen years, was next subjected to scathing criticism when the House took up consideration of the budget demand for grant of Rs. 1,05,05,000 for “General Administration.”

The Hon’ble Mr. *R. N. Reid*, Home Member, moved that a sum of Rs. 1,05,05,000 be granted for expenditure under the head “General Administration.”

Mr. *Shanti Shekhawar Roy* moved that the demand of Rs. 12,000 under the head “Executive Council” be reduced by Rs. 100 to raise a discussion on the “failure to work the constitution in the proper spirit.” The motion was lost and the Council adjourned.



The Mont-Ford Act, said Mr. Roy, had two objects, namely, (1) increasing the association of Indians in the administration of the country and (2) the progressive realisation of responsible Government. Mr. Roy charged the Government with failure to carry out either of the two objects in letter or in spirit. The Government had systematically ignored the Legislative Council.

Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta, supporting the motion for a token cut, averred that the story of the last decade was the story of continuous, progressive and increasing disregard of the fundamental principle of the constitution by the Government in every aspect of their administration. The way in which all the available funds were appropriated by the Reserve side, leaving the nation-building departments to suffer, showed that the Executive Council dominated the Ministry.

Mr. P. N. Guha opined that the present discussion was bound to be merely academic in view of the impending constitution.

Maulvi Abul Kasem supported Dr. Sen Gupta's contention, that the Executive Council was responsible for the undue prolongation of the Council's normal term of life. "This Council", stated Mr. Abul Kasem, "has become superannuated and has ceased to reflect public opinion."

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government, repudiated the charge of the Executive Council dominating the Ministry and declared that the two sides of the Government co-operated with each other.

Mr. R. N. Reid, replying, referred to the friendly relations between the Reserved and the Transferred halves of the Government. Referring to the charges of non-Indianisation, he informed the House that Rai Bahadur T. Bannerjoe had acted as Deputy Inspector-General of Police. As regards the extension of the Council's term of life, Mr. Reid declared that circumstances beyond their control had necessitated extension. The motion was negatived without a division and the House adjourned.

**21st. MARCH:**—The Council to-day discussed two token-cut motions on demand under General Administration raising debates on the size of the Executive Council and restoration of salary-cut. Mr. N. K. Basu, Leader of the Opposition, emphasised that there was not enough work for four Executive Councillors and the Government could easily reduce their number.

Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member, replying, said that times had changed and the work had increased and the analogy of Bombay did not apply to Bengal, whose population numbered more than 50 millions. Both motions were, however, lost.

#### DEMAND UNDER ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Calcutta High Court then came in for a good deal of criticism when the House took up consideration of the budget demand for grant of Rs. 75,09,000 under the head "Administration of Justice".

Rai Bahadur Satya Kinkar Sahana moved two token cuts in the demand for grant for "Administration of Justice", one drawing attention to the congestion of work in the Original Side of the High Court and urging the desirability of acting up to the recommendations of the High Court Retrenchment Committee and the other referring to congestion of work in the Appellate Side and emphasising the desirability of accepting the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. The mover said that there was great congestion of work in the High Court. He thought that the number of holidays in the High Court should be curtailed and there should be Saturday sittings. He wanted to know which of the recommendations of the High Court Retrenchment Committee has been given effect to and urged that such of its recommendations as were possible to be given effect to should be acted up to without impairing efficiency. Supporting, Mr. S. M. Bose wanted to know how far the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee had been given effect to. They found that High Court expenditure was going up. He opined that junior lawyers with a good practice at the Bar should be appointed to the Bench.

Speaking with the experience of one who had spent the best part of his life in the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu gave his support to the motions. The love he bore to the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Basu began, could not find adequate expression in words and expressed his deep regret that at the flag-end of his career it should have fallen to his lot to criticise the Calcutta High Court. He did not favour the idea of Saturday sittings which he thought would affect the quality of work, practically of the Bar and theoretically of the Bench.

Proceeding Mr. Basu said that time was when the Calcutta High Court was looked upon by all sections of the people of this province as the only shield between man

and man and between man and the State. Why had that state of things vanished, he asked. The reasons which the speaker assigned for this deterioration in public esteem of the Calcutta High Court were mainly two. In olden days it was well-known that the Judges of the Calcutta High Court were not hand and glove with the executive authorities of the province. Those days, according to the speaker, had passed by.

It seemed to him that now-a-days Judges of the High Court took delight in hobnobbing with higher members of the provincial executive. Before the transference of the capital, the highest executive officer of the country in the person of the Viceroy used to reside in Calcutta and it was well-known that the Chief Justice and Judges of those days fought shy of Government House. There was also a story—a well-known authenticated story—that one Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court threatened to close his court if there was executive interference with his judicial duties. Those days, according to Mr. Basu, were now vanished for ever. Judges now seemed to be in constant dread of the provincial executive. That was the principal reason for the deterioration of the High Court. And the second reason, according to Mr. Basu, was the recruitment of Judges who were not fit either by temperament, education or training to be occupants of the Bench that was why there was congestion of work in the High Court, that was why departments were made permanent, which ought not to exist for half a day, that was why the just requests of the Bar and the just complaints of the litigants were not listened to and that was why he commended the motions to the acceptance of the House.

The motions were under consideration when the House adjourned.

#### HUNGER-STRIKE IN BENGAL JAIL

**22nd. MARCH :—**The hunger-strike by political prisoners in the Dacca Central Jail for nearly two months formed the principal item of discussion when the Budget grant on jails and convict settlements came up for consideration in the Council to-day.

Replying to a question, the *Home Member* informed the House that 18 political prisoners are on hunger-strike in the Dacca Central Jail. The first batch, numbering six, who hunger-struck on January 28 last, put forward a long list of grievances relating to diet, dress, toilet requisites, nature of work, etc., most of which have been carefully considered before and rejected in connection with another hunger-strike elsewhere. The remaining twelve joined the first batch of hunger-strikers at a later stage out of sympathy. The District Magistrate of Dacca visited the hunger-strikers on March 11 last and warned them that nothing would be done until they give up the strike. The District Magistrate had been instructed to hear the grievances of the hunger-strikers and submit his report after the strike is called off.

Replying to a supplementary question, the *Home Member* stated that the list of grievances submitted by the hunger-strikers had not yet been formally enquired into.

To another query, whether rectal feeding was resorted to in the case of at least one of the hunger-strikers the *Home Member* stated that no such steps had been taken and the condition of none was precarious.

When the discussion on Budget grant was taken up, non-official members appealed to the Government in the name of humanity to hold an enquiry into the matter of the hunger-strike, their contention being that the hunger-strike was certainly not a luxury and prisoners would not have resorted to it unless they had genuine grievances.

Replying, the *Home Member* stated the circumstances of this case were that the prisoners belonging to Division III claimed the privileges attaching to higher class prisoners and threatened to go on strike unless those privileges which are not sanctioned by the Jail Code are conceded.

Proceeding, the *Home Member* said that they could not have two masters inside the jail and the Government would not tolerate the state of things in which the Jail Superintendent was to be dictated by prisoners under his charge. That was why they had taken a definite line that if there was hunger-strike in any jail, no notice would be taken of it until and unless it was called off.

Mr. P. Banerjee moved, a token cut in the demand to draw the attention of the House to the grievances of prisoners, particularly of political prisoners in Central Jails, regarding diet, accommodation, treatment by the authorities, non-supply of mosquito curtains and hand fans and other complaints. Mr. Banerjee pleaded for a thorough overhauling of the system of jail administration. Jail, he said, was a place for correction. The speaker was of opinion that the treatment meted out to prisoners in jails in native States was quite different from that accorded to prisoners in jails in British India. It should be the look-out of the Government to see that prisoners coming out

of jail settled down as peaceful citizens of the State. The policy of the Government so far as jail administration was concerned should have been changed by now. He urged that the jail code should be revised and regretted that no attempt had been made in that direction. His submission was that directions should be given to the jail authorities that they must be very kind and fair in their treatment towards the prisoners so that when they came out of jail, they came out with a quite different outlook on life. Referring to the hunger-strike in the Dacca jail, Mr. Banerjee remarked that the Home Member perhaps did not know the actual state of things there but had to rely on the reports he got from his subordinate men on the spot. The speaker suggested that the Home Member should have paid a visit to Dacca—it was a matter of only two hours—and should have seen for himself what was happening there. Hunger-strike was no joke, specially when they knew that in certain cases the result might be even death.

Opposing the motion, Mr. J. B. Ross told the House that he had been a non-official visitor to the Alipore Central Jail for some years past. During his visits to the jail he had enquired of the prisoners, both Indian and European, if they had any complaint particularly with regard to diet and was told they had none. Foodstuffs supplied to them were of an excellent quality.

Proceeding the speaker said that jail discipline was enforced on terrorist prisoners much more strictly than in other cases. Relaxation of discipline on this class of people might be fraught with very dangerous results as government know only too well from past experience. In his opinion terrorist prisoners could not be called political prisoners. They were no better than out and out criminals whose creed was murder and who did not deserve any better treatment than to be hounded out of society and who should consider themselves fortunate if they had escaped the extreme penalty of law. To the speaker it appeared that hunger-strike was nothing better than to take the law into their own hands by the prisoners. The cut motion was lost without division.

The Council next passed the Hon. Sir B. L. Mitter's demand for Rs. 74,09,000 for "Administration of Justice." Sir Brojendra dealt at some length with the criticisms of the High Court made at Thursday's session of the Council, demonstrating, for the most part, the incompetency of the local Government to deal with such questions as were raised. Sir Brojendra had every sympathy with the intentions of the critics, and undertook to see that a report of the debate was sent to the proper authorities but he had to point out the Bengal Government's powerlessness to deal with matters that were in the hands of the Government of India. The House was, however, competent to discuss and ventilate grievances relating to the administrative machinery of the High Court. It has been suggested, said Sir Brojendra, that the Judges' working hours were too few, that there should be fewer holidays and Saturday sittings. Saturdays and Sundays, he added, were the busiest days of the whole week for Calcutta lawyers. He himself remembered how he had dreaded them. It was absolutely essential that Saturdays should be free for consideration or preparation of judgments. Most Judges simply hurried themselves on Saturdays in reports and other legal literature which would ultimately have a very important and direct relation to the laws for the province. It was an old question, very much alive 30 years ago, and he deprecated the views of those who imagined that the legal profession, especially as represented by the Judges, shied at Saturday High Court sittings because it would involve the denial of such *divertissements* as dancing, racing, golf and the cinema. Regarding certain allegations made in connexion with the congestion of High Court work, Sir Brojendra emphatically rebutted "vague and general" charges which were not only calculated to cast a slur upon the ability of the Judges but also to undermine the integrity of the judiciary. They were also entirely unsupported by evidence. The House at this stage adjourned.

**23rd. MARCH :—**The question of discontinuing the practice of sending Detenues out of Bengal was raised in the Council to-day when the House resumed discussion on the Budget demand for grant under the head "Jail and Convict" Settlement. In moving for the rejection of the entire demand for Rs. 5,53,000 on account of prisoners detained outside Bengal, Mr. N. K. Basu, Leader of the Opposition, said that by transferring these prisoners, thousands of miles away from Bengal, the Government were really doing something which, though within the strict letter of the law, was not in accordance with the spirit of law, for it virtually amounted to a sentence of transportation for these unfortunate prisoners.

Replying on behalf of Government the Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member, said that the point of this policy deliberately undertaken by Government a few years ago

was in order to segregate the most dangerous terrorists right away from Bengal because they had experience during 1930-31 that while in this province they were still active, still able by surreptitious means to send out messages to their friends aiding recruitment and organising outrages.

Mr. Basu's motion was pressed to a division and lost by 51 against 10 votes, the majority of members of the Muslim block remaining neutral. The entire demand of Rs. 52,50,000 under the head "Jails and Convict settlements" was voted without a division.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member, next moved that the sum of Rs. 2,11,63,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Police". In introducing the demand the Home Member said that apart from the restoration of the five per cent. cut and the normal increment of pay it would be seen that the heavy increase of expenditure was entirely on account of temporary forces which they had to engage for combating terrorist movement.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu moved three motions, the first urging that the demand of Rs 19,000 under the head "Presidency Police Superintendence—Temporary officers" be refused, the second urging that the demand of Rs 31,500 under the head "Presidency Office—Superintendence—Pay of Establishment—Temporary Establishment" be refused and the third urging that the demand of Rs. 2,16,000 under the head "Presidency Police—Calcutta Police—Pay of Establishment—Temporary Force" be refused. In moving the motions, Mr. Basu began by expressing his sense of gratification at the fact that the Government of Bengal was doing something to remove unemployment so that the unemployed youths did not fall into the hands of undesirable organisations. But the explanation which the Home Member had attempted to give about the continuance of the temporary force was not at all convincing. They had a very large body of police men and Intelligence Branch men and the speaker doubted not, a very large number of informers and spies. It seemed to the speaker that their duty was not to prevent crime in the country but that after a crime had been committed, to harass the innocent and the guilty indiscriminately. Concluding, the speaker said that the remedy for stopping terrorism did not lie in the employment of more and more police men but the remedy lay in the adoption of schemes like those for relieving unemployment among young men. That was a policy which he welcomed. If they were really desirous of doing good to the country, they should adopt more and more methods like that and spent less and less on Police.

Replying on behalf of the Government, Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member, said that it was never the intention to humiliate or inflict pinpricks on a section of the populace or on the populace at large. In the working of these rules efforts were always made to ensure that they caused the minimum of inconvenience and discomfort. He opposed the motions.

Mr. Basu's first motion was pressed to a division and lost by 58 against 10 votes. The other two motions moved by Mr. Basu were lost without a division. The Council then adjourned.

**29th. MARCH :—**The question of release of detenus on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebration was raised during question-time as well as in course of discussion on budget demands in the Council to-day. Speaking on the demand, Mr. Shanti Shekhareswar Roy said that it was appropriate that they should raise in connection with this demand the question of detenus or persons detained without trial by the Government of Bengal. In the absence of details, it was very difficult to ascertain how much the Government of Bengal proposed to spend on the detention camps and how much on the maintenance of the Army in Bengal. The Hon'ble Sir John Woodhead had become wiser this year. He had refrained from giving them any information on the point as to whether any sum was included under this head for the maintenance of the army in Bengal. Last year they found that he had allotted a few thousand rupees on that account. The speaker then raised an objection. The speaker did not know if the Finance Member had been convinced about the justice of his contention that no part of the Government of Bengal's money should be devoted towards that end. Any way, as this was the head under which money was allotted, usually though unconstitutionally, for the maintenance of the Army in Bengal, the speaker thought that he should raise a note of protest if the Finance Member had allotted any sum, however small, in that connection under this head this year. Proceeding, the speaker said that the two main points that he wanted to raise in connection with this demand were the question of allotment of provincial funds towards the maintenance of the army in Bengal. They had not heard much about the detenus

this year in this Council because Government of Bengal had not brought forward any legislative measure on this account. So far as the press was concerned, in view of the Act that they passed last year, there was naturally less information about them in the press. But though the publicity of the grievances had ceased, the speaker thought that they remained as before. Hundreds of their countrymen were continuing in detention without trial. Many of them had been in these detention camps at least for five years, giving no opportunity to vindicate their innocence before any court of law and without any hope of release in the near future. Proceeding, the speaker said that people had hoped that in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebrations, there would be a release—a general amnesty, if the Government choose to call it so—of these detenus and other political prisoners. The Home Member's reply to-day had dashed that hope to the ground. The Home Member had definitely stated that so far as the High Detention Camp was concerned, it was the intention of Government not to release any of the persons detained there at present. The speaker would ask the Government to take note of the public meeting on the point. For the last few days when it was announced in a press message that these persons would be released in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebrations, there was a general appreciation of the possible action on the part of the Government. If Government had any respect for public feeling, the speaker thought that they should reconsider their decision and see if most of them, if not all, could be released on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations. Concluding, Mr. Roy asked the Government to take note of the demand that was made on the All-India Detenu Day for their release or for placing them before a properly constituted court of law for the trial.

Speaking next, Mr. *Narendra Kumar Basu* wanted to bring to the notice of the House the figures in the budget from an accountant's point of view. They would find that in this grant "Miscellaneous", the most important head was "Miscellaneous and unforeseen charges" which amounted in 1933-34 to Rs. 12 lakhs and 36 thousand. In the last year's budget, it exceeded 16 lakhs 38 thousand and the revised actual expenditure was 14 lakhs 38 thousand. In the budget for the next year's budgot, it was 16 lakhs 85 thousand, that is to say, the increase was by two lakhs 32 thousand. It means that the Government of Bengal under this head was making an increased provision of about two lakhs for increased provision for detenus.

The speaker would invite the attention of the House to repeated statements on behalf of the Government that the situation had improved. If the situation had improved, what was the necessity, he failed to understand, for this increased provision of about two lakhs for Detenus. If Government said that the situation had improved and if they did not anticipate any recrudescence to a large extent of the measures which the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act was designed to deal with, then he would ask the Treasury Bench to explain the reason for an increased provision for Detenus.

Replying, the Hon'ble Mr. *R. N. Reid*, Home Member, said that he was afraid he would have to repeat the arguments that he advanced in connection with the police budget. The position, as he had said before, was no doubt better but it was not because that there was abandonment of terrorist aims and activities but because terrorist organisation had been disorganised as a result of Government action. But the fact remained that terrorists were still ready to take advantage of any opportunity to attack Government. They had proof of that not many months ago, when four under-trial prisoners escaped from the Alipore Central Jail. The point that the Home Member wanted to make with reference to the escape of these prisoners from prison was with regard to the effect of their escape on the terrorist situation; it was immediately followed by renewed activity in certain terrorist articles. And that was the reason why Government took the view that the terrorist organisation, though weakened, still existed and therefore they had to provide for the future against the possibility of more action under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. They had to take precautions and that was the justification for the demand.

The entire demand of Rs. 19,70,000 under the head "Miscellaneous" was passed without a division. The House also passed the entire demands of Rs. 1,00,000 for "Famine Relief", Rs. 62,41,000 for "Commuted value of pensions not charged to revenue" and "Superannuation allowances and pensions", Rs. 19,54,000 for "Stationery and Printing Depreciation Fund—Government Presses", Rs. 6,68,000 for "Expenditure in England", Rs. 9,51,000 for "Loans and Advances", Rs. 24,000 for additional help to the Calcutta Hospital Nurses' Institution and Rs. 56,000 for "Superannuation allowances and pensions".

The Council which finished discussion on budget grants at this stage adjourned till 1st April.

#### BENGAL ELECTRICITY DUTY BILL

**1st, APRIL :—**The Bengal Electricity Duty Bill, 1935, was passed by the Council to-day by 57 against 31 votes. The only change made by the Council in the bill as reported by the Select Committee was that consumers using less than 15 units of electric energy per month (and not 12 units as suggested in the original bill as also in the report of the Select Committee) would be exempted from the operations of the Bill. The rate of duty would be six pies for each unit of energy consumed for the purpose of lights or fans or both. The list of exemptions has been so recast by the Select Committee and accepted by the House that it has provided for the exemption also of mines, places of public worship, burial-grounds, vessels and certain charitable institutions. A new clause has been added in the bill exempting newly formed electrical undertakings during the first three years following the date on which they commence supply.

When the Bill came up for consideration before the House, Mr. *P. Banerjee* moved for recommitment of the Bill to a Select Committee. The recommitment motion was lost by 70 against 14 votes.

The House was discussing the Court Fees (Bengal Second Amendment) Bill, 1935, when it was adjourned.

#### COURT FEES AND TOBACCO BILLS

**2nd. APRIL :—**Two more taxation bills, namely, the Court Fees (Bengal Second Amendment) Bill and the Bengal Tobacco (Sales Licensing) Bill, came up for discussion in the Council to-day. The first Bill was passed within a quarter of an hour without much discussion by 55 against 23 votes. The discussion on the second mainly centred round three non-official amendments seeking to exclude rural areas from the operation of the Bill, of which two were lost and the third withdrawn. The Bill was under consideration when the House adjourned.

#### BENGAL TOBACCO BILL

**3rd. APRIL :—**The Council further considered the Bengal Tobacco Bill and had not finished consideration of the bill when it adjourned. Yesterday's discussion mainly centred round the penalty clause of the bill and the non-official amendment sought to exclude from the operations of the bill tobacco used for the purpose of chewing or for use as snuff.

**4th. APRIL :—**Discussions to-day centred round the penalty clauses of the bill. In course of the discussion of two clauses of the bill which took up almost the entire time of the Council, division was demanded by the Opposition six times.

Government accepted two non-official amendments, one making the imposition of a fine not exceeding Rs. 50 (and not Rs. 100 as suggested in the bill) as the penalty for selling tobacco without a license and the other making the imposition of a fine not exceeding Rs. 25 (and not Rs. 100 as suggested in the bill) as the penalty for any breach of the condition of the license.

The debate was continued till the 8th April when the Council passed the Bill by 57 votes to 37. The burden of the Opposition speeches was that the Bill would affect the small traders and raise the price of tobacco which was the only luxury of the poor people.

Before the final passage of the Bill was reached the House disposed of several amendments and in the course of the discussion of those amendments the Hon'ble Sir *John Woodhead*, Finance Member, announced that persons who manufactured Biris in their own homes, would be exempted from the operation of the Act provided they sold their products to licensed dealers. Government also accepted an amending motion of *Babu Amulyadhan Roy* who wanted to omit the item 'Gul' from the schedule which contained articles dutiable under this Bill.

Some amount of heat was imported into the house when the Hon'ble Sir *John Woodhead*, moved that the bill as settled in Council be passed.

In opposing the final passage of the Bill *Moulvi Abul Kasem* said that if the Members of the Treasury could take courage and curtail the heavy expenses of the Government there perhaps would have been no necessity of a taxation measure like this. He added the bill was obnoxious enough as it was bad, for it raised the

position of a man who evaded the license fee to that of a criminal offender. The rural people would suffer greatly at the hands of the excise officers.

Dr. *Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta* said that there were some harrassing provisions in the Bill which were absolutely unnecessary for a small measure like the Tobacco Licensing Bill. These provisions might have been avoided if the Government accepted his suggestions. But Government did not do so. On the other hand Government met the criticisms of the opposition with pettyfogging spirit.

Mr. *N K Basu* said that from the very inception of the bill they had been told by the Hon'ble Finance Member that the reasons for introduction of these five unpopular measures at a time which was inopportune, was for the purpose of satisfying the members of the Legislative Assembly to whom the Finance Member of the Government had given some sort of pledge to the effect that Bengal could get half the share of the jute export duty if she tried in every possible way to put her house in order. Apart from the question of putting the house in order only by taxation and by no other means, he would ask the Finance Member to consider what had happened with the Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly now. The Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly, observed Mr. Basu, had almost run its course. It would shortly be sent to the Council of State. But did they ever hear the Finance Member of the Government of India to say anything like this that Government of India would not grant half of the jute export duty unless the Bengal Legislative Council accepted these taxation measures?

Replying to the debate Hon'ble Sir *John Woodhead* said that tobacco was a luxury article and such articles had been taxed in almost every civilised country of the world. It had been argued that the bill would affect everybody in this province; but he would deny that. Only a very small portion of the people would be affected by the operation of the bill and that a small license fee of Rs. 3 or 4 per annum would not result in a rise of the price of tobacco. It was very easy, said the Finance Member to come to this House and say that this measure would affect everybody. How many vendors were there in the province? If there were one lac vendors that means only 2 per cent of the population was going to be taxed. He maintained the vast masses of the population was going to be taxed. He maintained the vast masses of the population in Bengal would not know when this was imposed. (Question, Question).

Concluding the Hon'ble Finance Member assured the House that they would make every effort to avoid undue harrassment of the people in working the Act. The House at this stage adjourned.

#### INDIAN STAMP (BENGAL AMEND.) BILL

**9th. APRIL :—**The Council placed two more taxation measures on the Statute Book to-day when it gave its assent to the Indian Stamp (Bengal Amendment) Bill and the Bengal Amusements Tax (Amendment) Bill. With the smooth passage through the Council of the latter Bill, the last of the glorious band of five taxation measures forged by the Government to keep up appearances of having done its best to put its house in order, ended the budget session of the Council which stood prorogued.

#### BENGAL AMUSEMENTS TAX (AMEND.) BILL

By 51 against 17 votes, the Council passed the Bengal Amusements Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1935. The Bill places an amusement tax on certain low-priced tickets of admission which are at present exempt from the amusement tax, namely:

- (a) by extending the tax of one anna (which at present applies to tickets of admission whose cost exceeds eight annas but does not exceed 12 annas) so that it is payable also on tickets whose cost exceeds four annas, and
- (b) by imposing an amusement tax of half-anna on tickets of admission whose cost exceeds three annas but which does not exceed four annas.

Several amendments were moved seeking to exclude four-anna tickets from the scope of the amusement tax which were all lost without a division.

By 46 against 20 votes, the Council passed the Indian Stamp (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1935.

The Council was then *prorogued*.

# The Madras Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN.  
 AHAMED MEERAN, MOULVI HAFEEZ  
 ANUMANTHAKUDI MUSTAPHA.  
 ALAGANNAN CHETTIYAR, RAO SAHIB  
 A. S.  
 ALAMELUMANGA THAYARAMMA, MRS.  
 K.  
 ANNAMALAI CHETTIYAR. S. A. A.  
 APPADURAI PILLAI, DIWAN BAHADUR  
 A.  
 ARASU, V. T.  
 ABI GOWDER, H. B.  
 BASHEER AHMED SAYEED.  
 BASU DEV, C.  
 BEYABANI, S. M. K.  
 BHANOJI RAO, SRI A. V.  
 BOAG, G. T.  
 BRACKEN, RETTON MR. G. T, H.  
 DAVIS, J. A.  
 DEVADASAN, M.  
 DHARMALINGAM PILLAI, RAO SAHIB  
 V.  
 DURAISWAMI REDDIYAR, K. M.  
 ELLAPPA CHETTIYAR, DIWAN  
 BAHADUR S.  
 B. FOULKES.  
 GOPALASWAMI MUDALIYAR, DIWAN  
 BAHADUR M.  
 HARISCHANDRUDU NAYUDU, A.  
 INDRAIAH, C.  
 ISWARAN PILLAI, I. C.  
 JAGANNATHA RAJU, RAO BAHADUR  
 G.  
 JAGANNATHAM, H. M.  
 JAYARAM NAYUDU, RAO SAHIB C.  
 JONES, C. E.  
 KESAVARAMAMURTI NAYUDU. K.  
 KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB BAHADUR,  
 KHAN BAHADUR P.  
 KOLANDA REDDI, RAI SAHIB C.  
 KOTI REDDI, K.  
 KRISHNIAH CHOUDHRY, P. V.  
 KRISHNAMURTI, RAO BAHADUR D,  
 KRISHNAN AVARGAL, C  
 KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR, DIWAN  
 BAHADUR SIR ALLADI.  
 KUMARA RAJA OF VENKATAGIRI  
 (RAJA VELUGOTI SARVAGNYA  
 KUMARAKRISHNA YACHENDRULA  
 VARU)  
 KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR, DIWAN  
 BAHADUR S.  
 KUPPUSWAMI CHOUDARI, J.  
 LANGLEY, W. K. M.

MADANAGOPAL NAYUDU, R.  
 MAHARAJA OF VENKATAGIRI (SRI  
 RAJA VELUGOTI SIR GOVINDA  
 KRISHNA YACHENDRULA VARU,  
 LIEUTENANT-COLONEL).  
 MAHBOOB ALI BAIG.  
 MANIKKAVELU NAYAKER, M. A.  
 MOIDOO, KHAN BAHADUR T. M.  
 MOSES, P. C.  
 MUHAMMAD MEERA RAVUTTAR, K. P.  
 V. S.  
 MUNISWAMI PILLAI, RAO SAHIB V. I.  
 MURUGAPPA CHETTIYAR, DIWAN  
 BAHADUR A. M M.  
 MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR, M A.  
 MUTHU CHETTIYAR, RAO BAHADUR  
 P. C.  
 NACHIYAPPA GOUNDER, K. A.  
 NADIMUTHU PILLAI, A. PL. N. V.  
 NANJAPPA, SUBADAR-MAJOR S. A.  
 NARASA REDDI, T.  
 NARASIMHASWAMI, RAO SAHIB D. V.  
 NARAYANAN NAMBIYAR, V. P.  
 NARAYANASWAMI PILLAI, RAO BAH-  
 DUR T. M.  
 NATESA MUDALIYAR, DIWAN BAH-  
 DUR C.  
 OBI REDDI, C.  
 PALAT, R. M  
 PANNIRSELVAM. THE HON. RAO BAHADUR  
 A. T.  
 PARTHASARATHI AYYANGAR, C. R.  
 PATNAIK MAHASAYO, SRIMAN M. G.  
 PATRO, RAO BAHADUR SIR A. P.  
 PATTABAI RAMAYYA, K.  
 PATTAGAR OF PALAKYAOTTAI  
 PEDDI RAJU, P.  
 POCKER, B.  
 PREMAYYA, G. R.  
 RAJAGOPALA PILLAI, P. V.  
 THE HON. RAJA OF BOBBILL, (SRI SAVU  
 SWETACHALLAPATHI RAMAKRISHNA RANGA  
 RAO).  
 RAJA OF KALLIKOTE (RAJA SRI RAMA-  
 CHANDRA MADA RAJA DEO).  
 RAJA OF PARLAKINGEDI (SRI SRI SRI  
 KRISHNA CHANDRA GAJAPATHI NARA-  
 YANA DEO).  
 RAJAN, THE HON. MR. P. T.  
 RAMCHANDRA PADAYACHI, P. K.  
 RAMACHANDRA REDDI, THE HON. MR. B.  
 RAMAKRISHNA REDDI, A.  
 RAMALINGAM CHETTIYAR, DIWAN BAH-  
 DUR T. A.



RAMALINGA REDDI, C.  
 RAMAMURTI, RAO SAMIB PANDIT GANALA  
 RAMAN MENON, K. P.  
 RAMASWAMI AYYAR, T. S.  
 RAMASWAMI, MUDALIYAR V. M.  
 RAMESWARA RAO, G.  
 RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR, G.  
 RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR, M. D. T.  
 RANGASWAMI REDDI, M. B.  
 RATNASARHAPATI MUDALIYAR, DIWAN  
 BAHADUR C. S.  
 RATNAVELU THEVAR, P.  
 REID, DOUGLAS MUIR  
 RUKMANI LAKSHMPATHI, MRS. A.  
 RUSSELL, T. B.  
 SAHAJANANDAM, SWAMI A. S.  
 SANDANA GOUNDER, I.  
 SCHAMNAD, KHAN BAHADUR MAHMUD.  
 SCOTT-BROWN, W.  
 SESA REDDI, RAO BAHADUR B. P.  
 SHETTY, A. B.  
 SIMHACHALAM PANTULU, G.  
 SIVA RAJ, RAO SAHIB N.  
 SIVASUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, K. S.  
 SMITH, J. M.  
 SOUNDARA PANDIAN, W. P. A.  
 SOUTER, THE HON. C. A.  
 SRESHTA, M. S.  
 SRINIVASA AYYANGAR, T. C.  
 SRINIVASAN, RAO BAHADUR R.  
 SRIRAMULU, G.  
 STANES, F. J.  
 SUBARATAN, DR. P.

SUBRAHMANYA CHETTI, RAO SAHIB P.  
 SUBRAHMANYA BHATT, U. C.  
 SUNDARA RAO NAYUDU, T.  
 SYED TAJUDDIN, KHAN SAHIB  
 THANGAL, P. M.  
 THOMAS, DANIEL  
 UZIELLI, H. R.  
 VASUDEVA PILLAI, V. G.  
 VEDACHALA MUDALIYAR, M.  
 VENKATACHALA REDDIYAR, K. C. M.  
 VENKATARAMA AYYAR, K. R.  
 VENKATAREDDI NAYUDU, K.  
 VENUGOPAL NAYUDU, RAO BAHADUR R. K.  
 WRIGHT, SIR WILLIAM  
 YAHYA ALI, KHAN BAHADUR  
 YAKUB HANAN  
 ZAMINDAR OF BODINAYAKKANUR (T. V. K.  
 KAMA RAJA PANDIA NAYAKAR).  
 ZAMINDAR OF CHENUDU (SRI VYRICHERLA  
 NARAYANA GAJAPATI RAJ).  
 ZAMINDAR OF KIRLAMPUDI (SRI  
 RAJA RAVU RAMKRISHNA RANGA  
 RAO  
 ZAMINDAR OF MIRZAPURAM (MIRZA-  
 PURAM RAJA ALIAS VENKATARA-  
 MAYVA APPA RAO).  
 KRISHNASWAMI AYYAR, RAO BAHADUR  
 K. V.  
 ERLAM SMITH, W.  
 JAVAD HUSSAIN, KHAN BAHADUR  
 SUBRIAH NAYUDU, RAO BAHADUR R.

## Proceedings of the Council

January Session—Madras—21st. to 30th. January 1935

His Excellency Lord Erskine, the Governor of Madras delivered an important speech opening the January Session of the Madras Legislative Council at Madras on the 21st. January 1935. Commenting upon the 'great changes' that are impending in the future government of the presidency and alluding to some criticism made in various quarters concerning the proposed reforms, he observed that his remarks were, of course, subject to the passage of a legislation on the lines of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee by the Imperial Parliament. The Governor said: 'In the first place I would point out that in presidencies and provinces full self-government is to be granted. In future all departments will be presided over by Ministers answerable to the legislature and responsibility for the maintenance of law and order and raising taxation and distribution of revenue will be placed upon their shoulders. Indeed, in the provincial field full self-government, to which Indians have so long aspired, will now be attained by them. It has been argued that special powers and safeguards, placed in the hands of Governors, have negated the grant of responsible government. I have no hesitation in saying that this idea comes from a complete mis-reading of the proposals. As I said in my speech at the St. Andrews day dinner, in every constitution there must always be some ultimate power that can come to the rescue, if the affairs of state

become impossible. Safeguards will only come into play if matters are going radically wrong and that is a contingency which in Madras at any rate is not to be expected. In this connection I would urge hon. members to consider the constitutional history of England. If the legal powers of the crown were to be set out on paper in the form of a Bill they would appear to be of most formidable dimensions and from a perusal of them it might well appear to any one, unacquainted with acts, that there was no real responsible government in Great Britain. Indeed, the powers of the Crown have never been repealed. They have merely fallen into abeyance through long disease, but that does not at all mean to say that if need for them were ever to arise, they could not be used again. It is more unlikely that such occasion will ever arise in England, but the powers are there in reserve to tide over some supreme crisis in the nation's affairs. I would also point out that the change from autocratic to democratic government did not come quickly, but took a considerable period to accomplish and in the present conditions of India, there are very few who would not admit that some safeguards are necessary. Continuing, the Governor said that indirect election to the centre was the only possible method for a sub-continent of the size and diversity of India and that a bicameral legislature was necessary to make the constitution function successfully. Finally, the Governor observed it was being said by persons that the various pledges given in the past concerning the eventual grant of full responsible government for India had been allowed to lapse. He knew no justification whatever for this view. 'The British people do not likely break their pledges. In this connection he quoted a passage from Mr. Baldwin's speech in the House of Commons on December 12. The Government stood by all the pledges that had been given. They made no distinction between pledges, but stood by all of them.' His Excellency said: 'I do not think that sufficient attention has so far been given to this passage in India, and I hope this quotation will finally destroy the idea which appears to have gained some currency that there is any intention on the part of his Majesty's Government to go behind any pledge.'

#### MADRAS MOTOR VEHICLES TAXATION (AMEND.) BILL

**23rd. JANUARY** :—By 67 votes against 21 the Council turned down to-day Mr. *Basheer Ahmed's* motion that the Bill further to amend the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act, 1931, be referred to a select committee. A motion by Mr. *Abdul Hamid Khan* for consideration of the same measure was also lost by 60 votes against 18. The *Minister for Local Self-Government*, opposing the motion for consideration, said that the Government could not now accept a measure which would cut down the resources of local boards. The net annual loss to local boards if the measure were accepted would be over Rs. 2 lakhs. The object of the Bill was to minimize the difficulty experienced by bus-owners in the matter of payment of the quarterly tax for seats reserved for the drivers and conductors of vehicles, and the Bill sought that the terminal tax on these two seats should be done away with.

#### MADRAS PUBLIC LIBRARIES (AMEND.) BILL

The discussion on the Madras Public Libraries Bill, as amended by the Select committee, was adjourned *sine die*, Mr. *Ahmed*, the author of the Bill, himself moving adjournment, as he felt that no useful purpose could be served by continuing the discussion.

#### OTHER NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

The four other non-official Bills—the *Madras Debt Conciliation Bill*, the *Moslem Wakf Bill*, a *Bill to amend the Village Courts Act* and the *Hindu Maths Bill*—were referred to the select committee. Two similar Bills—the *Madras Estates Land Act Amendment Bill* and the *Madras City Beggars Bill* were introduced.

#### REMISSION OF LAND REVENUE\*

**24th JANUARY** :—There was a prolonged discussion in the Council to-day on a resolution urging 25 per cent. remission in the land revenue *kist* in all districts in respect of wet and dry lands, inclusive of water rates, for the current *faski*.

An amendment that there should be 33 and one-third per cent. remission was accepted. The resolution, as amended, was carried by 57 votes against 25.\*

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\*In the course of a Communique issued by the Madras Government not to abide by the resolution, it observed that the acceptance of the resolution would involve a loss of revenue in the current *faski* amounting to Rs. 3,71,36,609 and no Government could accept unless it was prepared to paralyse the whole machinery of the Govern-

Earlier in the day the Justice party met informally and decided to support the resolution but gave freedom to members of the depressed classes who were members of the party to vote as they liked.

#### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. *Natesa Mudaliar's* resolution recommending the Government to set apart at least one lakh of rupees for unemployment relief in the city and the mofussil from provincial revenues was under discussion when the Council rose

**25th JANUARY** —Mr. *Natesa Mudaliar's* resolution was carried without a division with the amendment that steps be taken to relieve unemployment in the presidency. The Home Member made a most sympathetic reply remarking that none would be happier than the Government to do what they could to relieve unemployment. He recounted the schemes the Government had launched which would to a great extent relieve unemployment, specially among the uneducated. The speaker drew the Government's attention to the acute state of distress among the unemployed and suggested to the Government that the Government should embark on schemes of public utility. One member suggested a conference between the Government, millowners and the trade union to enable them to find employment for more workers.

#### HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS (AMEND) BILL

The Council passed a non-official Bill to amend the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act of 1926, empowering the Government in suitable cases to notify certain temples and place them under special management to ensure their smooth and efficient administration.

#### Joint Committee Report Debate

**28th. JANUARY** —In the Council to-day, Mr. *C. A. Souter*, Revenue Member, moved that the report of the J. P. C. on Indian reforms be taken for consideration. In doing so, he explained the attitude the Government had decided to adopt towards the debate. In the first place the Secretary of State had requested that the entire proceedings after the debate should be transmitted to London as early as possible by Air Mail. The Government did not propose to take part in any division which might occur in the course of the debate but any official member might, if he thought necessary as occasion arose, participate in the debate. He proposed, being in charge of the resolution, to sum up briefly.

The *President* then announced that the amendment of *Dr. Subbaroyan*, leader of the Opposition, be taken up first.

*Dr. Subbaroyan* moved that the following be added to the official motion:—"This Council is constrained after a full and earnest consideration of the whole question to record its opinion that the scheme of the Joint Select Committee does not satisfy the aspirations of the people of this country and is unacceptable and it is better to remain and struggle under the existing constitution, defective though it be, than to be saddled with the constitution proposed under the report."

In the course of a lengthy speech *Dr. Subbaroyan* said: "I am sure the honourable members who represent British interests in this House will realise that if they do not join us to-day in asking from Great Britain a more satisfactory constitution than the one propounded in the report of the Joint Select Committee a time will come when they might have to forget the existence of this country altogether. I am sure again that they will agree with me when I say that neither I nor they desire the time when the feelings between India and England would be such that it would be impossible for Indians and Europeans to live in this country as peaceful citizens." He felt sure if Great Britain treated India in a generous way in the matter of the present constitution, no time would come when talks of separation would arise, but if really Indians were not treated in a generous manner the movement for separation would grow only stronger. *Dr. Subbaroyan* maintained that the Committee's proposals did not implement the pledge given in the Irwin-Gandhi Pact of 1931. Proceeding, he said that he for one did not dispute the communal 'award' but he would ask his Majesty's Government to give India a constitution which would be acceptable and which would confer practical autonomy on the country. He was willing to grant that in the matter of Defence

ment. By the acceptance of the resolution, the deficit in the present financial year's working for the year 1934 and 1935 would become two and a half crores and the closing balance would be converted which at the end of the current year was expected to have a balance of Rs. 215 lakhs to an overdraft of Rs. 33 lakhs.

and Foreign Affairs India was perhaps not in a position to undertake responsibility, but apart from these why should not the future legislature be allowed to carry on the government of the country untrammelled by numerous safeguards? If the new constitution was not acceptable it was because the masses of India as represented by the intelligentsia to-day felt that a constitution acceptable to them could be evolved only if the people had a say in its framing.

Mr. *Pahya Ali* (Justice) moving the amendment standing in his name and eight other Justices accepting the proposed constitution with certain modifications, remarked that the J. P. C. scheme marked a great advance over the existing one and it should be worked with goodwill and earnestness. He, however, urged his Majesty's Government, in order to remove all apprehensions, to include in the preamble of the India Act a definite statement that the ultimate aim of the constitutional progress in India was Dominion Status. The amendment, while accepting the committee's conclusions that there should be provincial autonomy and an all-India Federation, regrets that far from improving the White Paper proposals the Report further restricts the scope of responsibility which will be transferred to the Indian people both in the provinces and at the centre. The amendment further urges that it should be made clear in the preamble that the ultimate aim of the constitutional progress in the country will be the attainment of the Dominion Status in the British Commonwealth. Joint responsibility of Ministers should be recognised as that is the only method of preventing disruptive tendencies and creating a sound party system of Government. As regards the centre, the amendment urged that at least the suggestions relating to defence and commercial safeguards put forward in the memorandum of the British Indian delegates should be adopted. Finally it does not find sufficient justification for indirect election and opposes the proposal empowering the Burma Legislature to enact discriminatory legislation against Indian subjects.

Mr. *Choudary* (Justice Democratic party) moved an amendment to the effect that the constitution of a second chamber for Madras was unnecessary, that without a clear statement that the goal of India was responsible government with Dominion Status to be achieved within a reasonable time the report would be unacceptable, that the Federal Legislature should be constituted on a popular basis; as regards the States' representation the States' subjects should be given power to send representatives thereto and the proposal of indirect election should be given up; Defence and Foreign relations should be transferred; the constitution should come into force immediately; and as regards the British provinces the safeguards in regard to commercial discrimination are totally unacceptable.

Mr. *K. P. Raman Menon*, leader (Justice Democratic party) deplored the scrupulous avoidance of the phrase Dominion Status in the India Bill but still hoped that by some means Parliament would insert it as the ultimate goal of India.

Mr. *N. Sivaraj* (Justice) moved an amendment that the scheme of representation for the depressed classes in the legislatures embodied in the report was injurious and not beneficial to the interests and welfare of the community and therefore requests his Majesty's Government through the Government of India to exempt Madras from the operation of the communal 'award' as amended by the Poona Pact and restore the system of representation for the depressed classes as proposed in the original Premier's 'award'. The House adjourned at this stage.

**29th. JANUARY :—**Mr. *Sivaraj*, continuing his speech on his amendment, said that Mahatma Gandhi had advised the Congress members in the Assembly not to take a serious notice of the Temple Entry Bill in the Assembly, and Mr. Sivaraj regretted Mahatma Gandhi's attitude. He said in his action there was a breach of promise and a breach of faith.

Mr. *Veshtia* (Indian Christian) moved an amendment standing in his name and two others asking his Majesty's Government through the Government of India to give effect to the resolution passed by the local legislature that the number of seats assigned to Indian Christians in Madras legislature be increased by five, the total number of seats being increased by the same number.

Mr. *F. Biley*, leader of the European group, said the non-official Britons domiciled in this country had always been on the side of orderly progress as opposed to ill-defined or undefined policy which lead nowhere except perhaps to chaos. In this spirit they welcomed the Simon Commission, the Franchise Committee, the Round Table Conference and the White Paper. They saw in this report evidence of the British Government's desire for progress on proper lines. Now in fullness of time when the J. P. C. Report

embodying the final results of all these years of patient research and enquiry appeared, recognized bodies of non-official Britons in India lost no time in giving it generally their approval and blessings. Continuing, Mr Birley said that in any case whether it was palatable or nauseous it had to be acknowledged that the British Parliament had the sole right to decide the nature of the future constitution of India. Referring to commercial safeguards he said these safeguards had been framed in the common interest of India and Britain. We have asked for the continuance of our rights to live and work in peaceful amity with our neighbours in the proposals of the committee which purports to give us anything more than these.

*Maulana Yakub Hasan*, leader of the Moslem group, said that retrograde and disappointing though the White Paper was it was more liberal than the J P C Report. The scheme required substantial modifications to secure the goodwill for working it in a peaceful atmosphere.

India owed a debt of gratitude to the fortitude, courage and sincere devotion to the cause of India's progress of the far-seeing statesman, Sir Samuel Hoare, said *Sir A. P. Patro* speaking on the J P C Report. The National Government was able to keep the ship steady on its keel despite very stormy weather and rough onslaughts of the die-hards in England and the extremists in India. Continuing, the speaker said he would not be surprised that the Congress party itself would undertake to work the new constitution. He referred to the failures of the Nehru Report and the All-parties' Conferences and asked if it was possible to produce an agreed constitution which alone in his opinion would be acceptable to the country. Sir A. P. Patro considered the omission of the phrase 'Dominion Status' in the report as an error when it included the Royal Proclamation and the Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy. Paying a high tribute to Lord Willingdon whom the speaker described as India's tried friend, Sir A. P. Patro said that his advice based on long and distinguished experience, sound statesmanship and love of country was most valuable to the people. Concluding, he said practical service and the successful working of the scheme was the surest way for the attainment of India's political goal—the attainment of Swaraj.

*Mr. Kalifullah*, Muslim member, said that second chambers were absolutely necessary and he wanted a statutory provision for communal representation both in the legislature and the services. All talk of nationalism till communal differences were settled would be talk in the mid air and he blamed the Congress for not tackling the communal question.

*The Rajah of Kalikote*, a Round Tabler, said that second chambers in Madras were absolutely necessary. The debate was then adjourned.

**30th. JANUARY.**—The Council to-day adopted the Government resolution agreeing to consider the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report and rejected the amendment submitted by *Dr. P. Subbarayan*, leader of the Opposition, that the report was unacceptable and the people of India considered it preferable to "struggle under the existing Constitution, defective though it be."

The Council also adopted an amendment moved by the depressed classes' representative urging the Government not to operate in this presidency the Communal Award as amended by the Poona Pact, and an amendment by an Indian Christian member that more seats should be allotted to his community in the Legislative Council.

*Sir Kurma Reddi*, Law Member, though emphasizing that he was speaking on his own responsibility and not on behalf of the Government, said the occasion was too momentous for him to sit silent. If Dominion Status could not be granted now it ought to be possible to make it India's goal. He did not object to the plea for direct election, for he felt that direct election had an advantage in that it would furnish the best education to illiterate and ignorant voters in this country. In struggling for India's freedom the younger generation should not forget what had happened in the past.

To those who complained that India has not been treated as fairly as South Africa, Canada or Australia, Sir Kurma would reply that there was no analogy between India and those Dominions. They had no Hindu-Moslem problem nor a system by which communities were treated as untouchables. India must not claim equality with those Dominions. Further, Indians had not yet produced an agreed Constitution. Would Moslems give up the Communal Award or the Hindu Mahasabha agree to a large number of seats in the legislatures being given to Moslems or the depressed classes? What was the good of talking about agreed constitutions when they had wasted three years in attempts? An all-parties conference had been held only to be dissolved in utter shame. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 20th February.

## Budget Session—20th. February to 23rd. March 1935

### Financial Statement for 1935-36

**20th. FEBRUARY.**—Presenting the budget for the next year which, as anticipated, is a surplus one, the Finance Member, *Sir Hopetoun Stokes* observed, "Politically the year just closing has been in this province free from disturbing agitations, which in past years have so often affected, to their financial and economic detriment, the various parts of India. It is indeed a matter for congratulation that those, who so long upheld and practised the methods of non-co-operation and civil disobedience, have at long last come to see their mistake, and, one may hope, to realise the disservice to India and her advancement which recourse to such methods involved."

Turning to the budget estimates for the coming year the Finance Member pointed out that it had been prepared on the assumption that the concessions on account of general economic depression given in the previous year would be repeated. Upon this they anticipated, taking part I of the budget only, revenue of 1648.80 lakhs and expenditure of 1611.04 lakhs, representing, compared with the revised estimate of 1931-35, betterment in revenue of Rs. 46.23 lakhs and saving in expenditure of 10.57 lakhs. It would be observed that the principal heads of revenue, excluding land revenue, namely, excise, stamps, forest and registration remain practically stationary and it is even likely that there would be a fall under excise as the loss due to 25 per cent. reduction in duty on "arrack" may not be made up by increased consumption or higher rentals for "arrack".

Turning to the revenue surplus in 1935-36, he said that if the anticipations were fulfilled there would be a final small surplus of 4.85 lakhs. It was desirable to retain this small sum in the hands of the Government against unforeseen expenditure. In this connection he observed that if the postponed land revenue in some districts failed to be realised, the small surplus anticipated, even if no other unforeseen expenditure had to be met, would be converted into a deficit.

### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**22nd. FEBRUARY** :—During general discussion of the budget to-day, *Sir A. P. Patro* regretted the absence of provision for material advancement of the ryots and development of cottage industries. The speaker suggested the schemes adopted by Japan in the matter of cottage industries to be adopted here also.

*Mr. Langley*, on behalf of European group, congratulated the Finance Member on a balanced and surplus budget and paid tribute to the manner in which he had carried out the financial policy of the Government during the last five years. The speaker drew attention to the fact that no less than 11 and a half crores of expected revenue depended on agriculture and pleaded for the protection of agriculturists. Finally he said that an enquiry into the whole incidence of the land revenue policy was called for so that land revenue collection could be placed on a sounder basis.

By the casting vote of the President the adjournment motion of the Member from Salem to discuss the re-settlement operations in certain parts of Salem and Trichinopoly districts was lost, 40 Members voting on either side. The President giving his casting vote said: "I maintain the 'status quo', by voting against the motion."

**26th. FEBRUARY** :—Speaking on the budget to-day, *Dr. Subbarayan*, Leader of the Opposition, twitted Government for not accepting a resolution passed by the Council demanding 30 and one third per cent. land revenue remissions.

The ryots, he said, were in terrible plight and the Madras Government would have done well to follow the Punjab Government's lead in this respect.

*Mr. Ranganatha udaiyar* made a strong plea for the establishment of rescue homes. He deplored the absence of any provision for this in the budget.

Winding up the discussion the *Finance Member* said that budget expenditure was regulated to the revenue of the province. Adequate provision, he added, had been made for the nation-building departments. Unemployment would be relieved to a large extent by the provision which had been made for capital expenditure on several undertakings. Indianization of the Services, as suggested by some speakers, was going on but it could not be achieved in a day. Finally, there were signs of improvement in the economic condition of the province.

Replying to tributes paid to him by members during the debate *Sir Hopetoun Stokes* said that the sentiments expressed, particularly by the Leader of the Opposition, would always be a source of pride to him.

The *Revenue Member*, referring to budget criticism, defended the revenue system of the province which, he said, was reasonable and suitable to the country. Referring to the resolution passed by the Council demanding land revenue remissions, he said that special remissions had been granted during the last three years and no responsible Government would grant such a large percentage of remission as had been demanded in the resolutions.

The *Home Member* was glad that police administration had not been criticized. Referring to the establishment of Rescue Homes, in connexion with the enforcement of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, he said that even the available rescue homes in the city were not made use of, only two girls having been brought there.

The *Education Minister*, defending Government's educational policy, said the new provisions of the Elementary Education Amendment Act would not scare away students as was feared by some members and added that criticism on that account was unjustifiable. He hoped that cottage-industry products would find an easier market now than they had formerly enjoyed. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 9th. March.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**9th. MARCH** —The Council resumed its sitting to-day when voting on demands for grants were taken up. The *Revenue Member* moved a grant of Rs. 17,27,300 under the head 'Land Revenue' (reserved).

*Mr. Ramalingam Chetty*, deputy leader of the Opposition, moved that Rs. 37,500 for pay and establishments be omitted with a view to asserting the right of the Council to withhold grants until grievances were redressed. The speaker strongly protested against the refusal of the Government to give adequate remission in land revenue and describing the conditions of agriculturists as deplorable, particularly in the Ceded districts and Malabar, and appealed to the Government to reduce the scale of officers' salary and grant immediate substantial relief to the ryots.

*Mr. Ramalingam's* cut motion in the land revenue demand was defeated by 54 votes to 31.

The *Revenue Member*, replying, said that the Government was doing its utmost to alleviate distress in the famine affected areas in the Ceded districts.

The Council voted the Land Revenue and Excise demands in full, a cut motion to criticize the Government's excise policy being rejected.

The *Excise Minister*, replying, observed that the problem of total prohibition could not be solved until the question of finding other sources of revenue was explored.

**11th. MARCH** :—The *Law Member* moved for a grant of Rs. 32,47,000 under the head 'Forest'. One member moved a token cut and complained that the Government were not exploiting the forest to the fullest extent, making them more remunerative. He further complained that the administration of the forest was top-heavy and urged reduction in the establishment. The *Law Member* refuted the charges. The cut was withdrawn and the grant was made fully.

**12th. MARCH** :—After question time today, *Dr. Subbarayan*, leader of the Opposition, moved that 'the Ministers have lost the confidence of this House.' The President held that the motion was in order and asked the members who were in favour of the motion to stand up in their seats. The required number having stood up, the President fixed March 14 for the discussion of the motion.

Allegations of corruption in the Registration Department were made by some members to-day by means of a token cut motion when the *Minister for Development* moved for a grant of Rs. 29,31,000 under the head "Registration" (Transferred). The Minister, replying, said he was aware of corruption in the Registration Department as there was corruption in every walk of life. He said that the public were to be blamed for encouraging corruption by offering bribes to the poorly-paid servants of the department. He had drawn the attention of the head of the department to the matter who was doing his best to stop the evil practice. The Minister added that he would once again draw that official's attention to it.

The entire grant was voted.

The House also voted without a cut the demand of Rs. 93,09,200 made by the *Revenue Member* under the head "Irrigation" (excluding the Cauvery Mettur project).

#### No-Confidence in Ministry

**13th. MARCH** :—The no-confidence motion in the Ministry, which came up for discussion on the next day, made the discussion for the demand for a grant of

Rs. 7,38,500 under the head 'Legislative bodies (reserved)' very lively in the Council to-day during a debate on a cut motion.

Mr. *Abdul Hameed Khan* said that the Government had appointed an official whip and he very much objected to this practice as the procedure was unheard of in the Madras Legislative Council. He added that the official whip was inducing the nominated members to vote in a particular way in respect of a particular motion (meaning the 'no-confidence' motion) and said that he had himself seen a nominated member weeping because of the way he was treated by the official whip. He further said that the leader of the Opposition and the leader of the Justice Democratic party had drawn the attention of the Governor through his private secretary to the matter.

Mr. *Raman Menon*, leader of the Justice Democratic party, said that Mr. Madhu Sudhan Thangal, a nominated member belonging to his party, told him that Mr. Scott Brown, official whip, induced him to vote in favour of the Government to-morrow on the no-confidence motion. Mr. Menon read a letter he wrote to the Governor's private secretary in which he stated what Mr. Madhu Sudhan Thangal had told him and asked his Excellency if the methods adopted by the Government were proper. He also read the private secretary's reply which referred Mr. Menon to Sir Hopetoun Stokes, leader of the House. Mr. W. K. M. Langley of the European group had shouted 'money, money' when Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan was speaking. He said that that was an insinuation against members sitting in the Opposition that they were influenced by money with regard to to-morrow's no-confidence motion.

*The President* :—May I know if Mr. Langley meant it as an insinuation against any member of this House?

Mr. *Langley*.—Could Mr. Raman Menon show that no member on any side has been influenced by money? Cries of 'That makes matters worse. Withdraw, withdraw' from the Opposition benches.

*The President* (to Mr. Langley).—The hon. member is not entitled to make a remark of that kind. He will do well to withdraw it.

Mr. *Langley* withdrew the remark.

Sir *Hopetoun Stokes*, leader of the House, defending the appointment of the official whip, asked why the Government should not have a whip when all other parties in the House had whips, to canvass votes for the Government, if they thought it necessary. Defining the Government attitude in respect of the 'no-confidence' motion, he said that the Government was going to be behind the Ministry and was going to employ its powers to support their cause. That was in accordance with the position taken on previous occasions. The Government were going to take full part in the debate and vote in whatever way they wished.

**14th. MARCH** :—Fervish activity prevailed in the Council lobby in an attempt to measure the relative strength of the Opposition and Ministerialists in respect of the no-confidence motion that came up for discussion after question time to-day. Public interest in the motion was evident by a stream of visitors from an early hour to the Council and were seen engaged in brisk canvassing. There were, besides actual participants of the motion, several men of position wielding influence with many members busy canvassing support. The newly appointed Government whip was not behind the whips of other parties in this respect.

Though there was a comparatively thin attendance in the Opposition benches when the Opposition leader moved the no-confidence motion, the attendance improved with the late arrival of members. Lobby indications were that all the 23 members of the United Nationalist party, which constituted the main opposition in the house, would be in their seats at the time of voting.

The galleries were crowded when Dr. *Subbarayan*, leader of the Opposition, moved a no-confidence motion in the Ministry. The Government and Ministerialist benches were full while the attendance of the Opposition and other benches was comparatively thin. Dr. Subbarayan's speech was often interrupted by 'question, question'. Similar expressions were heard from Ministerialists when the speaker criticised the policy of the Ministry. Dr. Subbarayan said that two considerations weighed with him in bringing the no-confidence motion; firstly, the Opposition would not be worth the name if it took no advantage of the chance by which the Government could be turned out and the second by the consideration which impelled him to move the motion was the verdict of the recent Assembly elections which was a sweeping success for the Congress. Referring to the record of the work of the Ministry Dr. Subbarayan said that there was no settled policy behind the Ministry in the matter of administration of Local self-Government. Referring to the Elementary Education Act (Amending) Bill



he said that it would not bring in the millenium, but on the other hand would put back the clock of progress not by 10 but by 100 years

Mr. *Ramon Menon*, leader of the Justice Democratic party, seconding the motion, criticised the policy of the Ministry with particular reference to the administration of the local boards and municipalities

Mr. *Yakra Ali* (Justice) opposing the motion said that the no-confidence motion was a weapon to be used in extraordinary cases and only when the Opposition was in a position to carry on the administration. The speaker defended the policy of the Ministry, refuting the allegations

Mr. *C. Basudev* (nominated member representing labour interests who resigned from the Justice party) said that he seceded as he had not enough scope for work for the interests he represented. He spoke neither in favour nor against the motion and his criticism and praise of the Ministry were rather evenly balanced.

Mr. *Yakub Hasan* said that the results of the recent elections to the Assembly and bye-elections to the local legislature showed that the country had lost confidence in the justice party

Mr. *Abdul Hamid Khan* characterised the Ministers as tools in the hands of the reserved half and that was why the Government used repressive measures during the civil disobedience days. He criticised their voting against the resolution in the House asking for land revenue remission

Sir *A. P. Patra*, opposing the motion, said that the Justice party believed in the gradual realisation of Swaraj by peaceful means and stood for full provincial autonomy and Federation at the centre.

*Kumararaja Aluthia Chettier*, supporting the motion, referred to the allegations of undue influence being brought to bear on members in canvassing votes for the proposition and said that the result of voting would show who used influence.

Mr. *Ranganatha Mudaliar*, ex-Minister, opposed the motion observing that his own Ministry (of which Dr. Subbarayan was the chief) was guilty of the same offences in matters municipal as the present ministry was charged with.

The *Rajah of Bobbili*, Chief Minister, said that Dr. Subbarayan's party was incompetent to criticize the Justice party which was the only constitutional party functioning in this province. Referring to the allegations of the demoralisation of the Justice party, the Chief Minister said that when he assumed office, there was a certain sign of demoralisation and during the last two years, it was his business to carry on purification in the party

Dr. *Subbarayan*, replying, said that in all constitutional Governments there was room only for two parties, and if there were more to-day, it was because want of policy and principles, between parties. He hoped that during the next elections it would be possible to have only two parties, a party in power and another in opposition.

The motion was defeated by 42 votes to 80.

**15th. MARCH** —In the Council to-day Mr. *T. M. Ramaswami Iyer* moved an adjournment motion to discuss the necessity for the issue of immediate orders postponing to an appropriate date the collection of the revenue instalments in March and April in view of the fact that the Tariff Amending Bill was now pending in the Legislative Assembly. The *Revenue Member* said that he would issue orders to all District Collectors to postpone the collection of the instalment to the last possible date in March. Mr. *Iyer* then withdrew his motion

The House voted the entire grant of Rs 7,38,500 under the head Legislative Bodies—Reserved. Taken out motions urging upon the Government the need for providing housing accommodation to members of the House and raising the travelling allowance and also the desirability of addressing the Accountant-General to sanction payment of the allowance to members without pre-audit were withdrawn after the Finance Member's reply.

When a demand for Rs. 2,30,71,100 was made by the *Revenue Member* under the heads Secretariat and Head quarters Establishment, District Administrations and Miscellaneous—Reserved, representatives of the minority communities complained of the inadequate representation of their communities in the Secretariat establishment, especially in the higher offices. Discussion on the demand was not over when the House rose.

**18th. MARCH** :—In the Council to-day *Diwan Bahadur A. Appadurai Pillay*, chief whip of the Justice party, moved an adjournment of the House to discuss the

protection proposed to be given by the Tariff Amendment Bill of the Government of India against the importation of foreign rice into the Presidency.

Asked by the *President* to explain the urgency of the matter, the mover said that the proposed measure being on the anvil of the Assembly the present was an opportunity to impress on the Government of India the inadequacy of the protection.

The *Leader of the House* said that the matter was entirely within the cognizance of the Government of India and the Assembly, and in his opinion it was beyond the purview of the Council. If a certain piece of legislation was about to be introduced in the Assembly and if the purpose of the motion was to attack the Government of India the proper course was to move the Madras representatives in the Assembly to do so.

The *President* said that since it was not meant as a censure there was no harm in having a discussion. He fixed 4 p. m. for the purpose when after a debate the motion was carried without a division.

**20th. MARCH :—**A grant of Rs. 1,54,15,200 was made by the Council to-day for the budget head police (Reserved)

Speeches were made complimenting the police administration in the province, the only criticism coming from a member from south Kanara who complained of corruption in the department. The *Home Member*, replying, said that every endeavour would be made to put down corruption ruthlessly whenever it was found.

The current police expenditure, he added, was Rs. 25 lakhs less than what it was five years ago. Provision had been made in the present budget for the creation of a separate Intelligence Department in each of the thirteen districts. This would facilitate the detection and prevention of crime. The demand was voted without a cut.

The educational policy of the Government was subjected to a good deal of criticism when the Minister for Education made a demand for a grant of Rs. 1,80,97,200 under the head Education (Transferred). Members complained of inadequacy of arrangements for supervision of elementary education, and said that physical education was sorely neglected.

The policy of frequent changes of text books was also criticized. This policy, it was stated, only benefited authors and publishers and involved a good deal of expenditure by the parents and guardians of students.

The necessity of reconsidering the scale of school teachers' salaries was also urged.

The demand was still under consideration when the House rose for the day.

Earlier in the day the House voted without a cut the Law Member's demand of Rs. 48,70,800 under the budget head Electricity (Reserved)

Replying to a general demand for more electricity schemes throughout the Presidency, the Law Member said that it was the policy of the Government to extend electricity schemes only when it was found to be a sound business proposition.

Before the House was adjourned yesterday, the *President* read a message from his Excellency the Governor returning portions of the Madras Estates Land Act Second Amendment Bill for reconsideration. Representations had been made to His Excellency by *inamdars* and *inam* tenants, the former asking him not to give his assent to the Bill and the latter requesting him to do so.

During the debate on a demand for a grant of Rs. 19,47,300 under the head Jails (Reserved) Moslem member urged repeal of the Moplah Outrages Act, while several other members referred to the inadequacy of the facilities given to visitors in jails. One member suggested that all members of the Council should be made ex-officio members of the Jail Visitors' Committee.

The Law Member, replying, said that the Government would be glad to appoint as visitors to jails such members of the House as were willing to serve in that capacity.

The demand was voted without a cut. A demand for a grant of Rs. 84,90,200 under the head 'Administration of Justice (Reserved)' was also voted in its entirety.

Replying to the complaint of Moslem members during the debate on this demand that Moslems did not find a place on the Court Bench, the Law Member said that the matter was entirely in the hands of the Governor who made appointments of High Court judges.

**21st. MARCH :—**The Council to-day voted in full the demand for Rs. 6,81,500 for European Education (reserved). Although notices of eight cut motions had been tabled none of them was moved.

The *Chief Minister's* demand for Rs. 85,17,400 for Medical Relief and Sanitation was also voted without cut.

Replying to the criticism of the Government's educational policy, the *Minister for Education* announced that the Government had withdrawn the order, cancelling the half-fee concession to students belonging to the Moslem and backward communities, as a result of representations made.

Referring to the protest against frequent changes in text books, the Minister said that the Government had quite recently issued an order, directing that text books be changed only once in five years. A revision of the scale of pay of teachers, he added, would receive the Government's careful consideration. Though an adequate amount was not provided for elementary education in the current budget, he assured the House that no effort would be lacking on the part of the Government to find more money for this purpose.

**22nd. MARCH.**—The Council to-day voted the demand for grant of a further sum not exceeding Rs. 10,20,000 under the head Electricity (reserved), towards the Mettur hydro-electric scheme.

The scheme provides for the construction of a power house with four generating units and a transmission line. The system, which will serve the districts of Salem, North Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore, may eventually be extended to Madras and its vicinity. It is proposed to start construction in April next.

The House also voted Rs. 1,437,000 under the head 'Irrigation' (excluding the Cauvery Mettur project). This sum provides for special accelerated and widespread programme of improvements to minor irrigation works in the Presidency undertaken in view of the present economic depression and consequent unemployment among the rural population.

The *Law Member*, replying to a question, said that Sirdar Abdul Rahman, of Afghanistan, was a State prisoner, kept in Conoor, and that he was sanctioned a monthly allowance of Rs. 150. Representations received from him for increasing his allowance, etc., had been forwarded to the Government of India, as the Local Government of India were merely agents of the Central Government.

#### ADIDRAVIDA "GRIEVANCE"

After question time Mr. *Basudev*, Labour representative, sought leave to move an adjournment of the business of the House to consider the "increasing feeling in the country about the insecurity of person and property of Adidravidas, as evidenced by the entirely unprovoked and brutal attack by a caste Hindu village headman of the Surai in Arkenam Taluk on an innocent Adidravida worker and his wife on February 15, because he walked through the streets of the village holding an umbrella, and other frequent instances of the kind".

The *President* declined to grant leave on the ground that the matter did not assume a large and serious proportion and no specific instances were mentioned regarding other cases referred to.

#### RURAL WATER SUPPLY

**23rd. MARCH.**—The need for adequate water supply in rural areas was urged by Mr. *C. Basudev*, labour representative, in the Council to-day by a cut motion on the Chief Minister's demand for grant of Rs. 2,463,400 for public health (transferred).

Several members spoke of the unsatisfactory nature of public health in rural parts and suggested ways and means for improving the same by replanning and rebuilding villages, instituting maternity and child welfare centres, and providing adequate water supply. The *Raja of Bobbili* said that they were not wanting in schemes for public health and rural development. The difficulty was one of finance. The Chief Minister hoped that the present depression would soon disappear enabling them to find more funds for rural health and sanitation. The cut motion was withdrawn.

The budget session of the Council then concluded and the *President* read a message from the Governor *proroguing the Council*. Cuts being withdrawn the grants were made in full. Time having expired guillotine was applied at this stage and the remaining demands were all carried.

# The Bombay Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

ABDUL LATIF HAJI HAJRAT KHAN,  
 KHAN BAHADUR  
 ACHREKAR, MR. ATMARAM BHIMAJI,  
 ALLAHBAKSH *walad* KHAN SAHEB  
 HAJI MAHOMED UMAR, KHAN  
 BAHADUR  
 AMBEDKAR, DR. B. R.  
 ANGADI, RAO BAHADUR S. N.  
 ASAVAL, RAO BAHADUR RAMCHAN-  
 DRA SANTURAM  
 AZIMKHAN INAYATALIKHAN, KHAN  
 BAHADUR  
 BAKHALE, MR. R. R.  
 BANGI, MR. ABDUL KADIR JAMAL-  
 UDDIN  
 BHADRAPUR, RAO BAHADUR K. R. B.  
 BHUTTO, THE HONOURABLE SIR  
 SHAH NAWAZ KHAN GHULAM  
 MURTAZA KHAN (*Minister for  
 Local Self-Govt.*)  
 BIJARANI, KHAN BAHADUR SHER  
 MUHAMMAD KHAN KARAM KHAN,  
 BIRADAR, SARDAR MAHABOOBALI  
 KHAN MOHAMED AKBAR KHAN  
 BOLE, RAO BAHADUR SITARAM  
 KESHAV  
 BULLOCKE, MR. ALFRED GUY  
 GREVILLE  
 CHIKODI, MR. P. R.  
 CHITALE, RAO BAHADUR GANESH  
 KRISHNA,  
 CLAYTON, MR. H. B.  
 COLLACO, DR. J. A.  
 DAULATRAO JAYARAMRAO ZUNZAR-  
 RAO, MR.  
 DEHLAVI, THE HON'BLE SIR ALI  
 MAHAMED KHAN, (*President*)  
 DESAI, RAO SAHEB BHAGWADAS  
 GIRDHARDAS  
 DESAI, MR. HANMANTRAO RAMRAO  
 DESAI, MR. SHANKARAPPA BASA-  
 LINGAPPA  
 DHALUMAL LILARAM, MR.  
 DIXIT, DR. M. K.  
 D'SOUZA, DR. JOSEPH ALBAN  
 FREKE, MR. C. G.  
 GANGOLI, MR. GANAPATI SUBRAO  
 GARRETT, MR. J. H.  
 GAZDER, MR. MAHOMED HASHIM

GHULAM HYDER SHAH SAHIBDINO  
 SHAH, MR.  
 GHULAM NABI SHAH MOUJALI SHAH  
 KHAN BAHADUR  
 GILDER, DR. MANCHERSHA DHANJI-  
 BHAI,  
 GOKHALE, MR. LAXMAN RAGHUNATH  
 GOVER RORA, MR.  
 HESTERLOW, MAJOR A. M. V.  
 HUMPHREY, MR. JOHN  
 ISRAN, KHAN BAHADUR GHULAM  
 MAHOMED ABDULLA KHAN.  
 JAM JAN MAHOMED KHAN *walad*  
 JAM MAHOMED SHARIF SARDAR  
 BAHADUR  
 JAN MAHOMED KHAN *walad* KHAN  
 BAHADUR SHAH PASSAND KHAN,  
 KHAN BAHADUR.  
 JITEKAR, MR. HAJI IBRAHIM  
 JOG, MR. VISHWANATHRAO NARAYAN  
 KALBHORE RAO BAHADUR GANGAJI-  
 RAO MUKUNDRAO  
 KALE, RAO BAHADUR RAOJI RAM-  
 CHANDRA  
 KAMAT, MR. B. S.  
 KAMBLI, THE HON'BLE DEWAN  
 BAHADUR SIDDAPPA TOTAPPA  
 (*Minister for Agriculture*)  
 KENNEDY, MR. T. S.  
 KARBHARI, MR. MANCHERSHAW  
 MANEKJI  
 KHUHHO, KHAN BAHADUR MUHAM-  
 MAD AYUB SHAH MUHAMMAD.  
 KIRPALANI, MR. H. K.  
 KNIGHT, MR. H. F.  
 KULKARNI, RAO SAHEB PANDURANJ  
 DAYANESHWAR  
 MR. J. R. DHURANDHER  
 LELY, MR. W. G.  
 MACKIE, MR. A. W. W.  
 MR. C. C. INGLIS  
 MADAN, MR. J. A.  
 MADHAVSANG JORBHAI, MR.  
 MATCHESWALLA, MR. GULAMHUSSEN  
 EBRAHIM  
 MEHERBAKSH, KHAN BAHADUR S.  
 MEHTA, MR. MANILAL HARILAL  
 MITHA, MR. MAHOMED SULEMAN  
 CASSUM

MODAK, REV. R. S.  
 MODI, SARDAR DAVAR TEMURAS  
 KAVASJI  
 MORE, MR. JAYAWANT GHANASHAM  
 NAIK, SARDAR RAO BAHADUR BHIM  
 BHAI RANCHHODJI  
 NAMDEORAO BUDHAJIRAO, MR.  
 NAVLE, RAO BAHADUR NAMDEV  
 EKNATH  
 OWEN, MR. ALBERT CLIFFORD  
 PANJABI, MR. K. L.  
 PARULEKAR, RAO BAHADUR LAXMAN  
 VISHNU  
 PATEL, KHAN BAHADUR ALIBHAI  
 ESABHAI  
 PATEL, MR. BHAILAL SARABHAI  
 PATEL, MR. CHATURBHAI NARSHIBHAI  
 PATEL, KHAN BAHADUR WALI BAKSH  
 ADAMBHAI  
 PATIL, DEWAN BAHADUR DONGAR-  
 SING RAMJI  
 PATIL, MR. NARAYAN NAGOO  
 PATIL, RAO BAHADUR VAMAN  
 SAMPAT  
 PATIL, MR. VITHAL NATHU  
 PRADHAN, RAO BAHADUR GOPALRAO  
 VAMAN  
 PRATER, MR. S. H.  
 RAFIUDDIN AHMAD, MOULVI SIR  
 RAHIMTOOLA, MR. HOOSENALLY  
 MAHOMED  
 RAJADHYAKSMA, MR. G. S.  
 RESALDAR, MR. ABDUL RAHAMAN  
 KHAN KARAM KHAN  
 SAHEBSINHEJI JAVANSINHEJI, MR.

SAKARLAL BALABHAI, MR.  
 SAKLATVALA, MR. S. D.  
 SERVAI, MR. A. E.  
 SHAH ROOKH YAR JUNG BAHADUR,  
 NAWAB  
 SHAIKH ABDUL AZIZ ABDUL LATIF,  
 MR.  
 SHAIKH ABDUL MAJID LILARAM, MR.  
 SHINDE, MR. RANCHANDBABAO  
 BAPURAO  
 SOLANKI, DR. PURUSHOTTAMRAI G.  
 SOMAN, MR. R. G.  
 SURVE, MR. A. N.  
 SURVE, MR. VYANKAT ANANDRAO  
 SYED MIRAN MAHOMED SHAH  
 ZANULABDIN SHAH  
 SYED MUHAMMAD KAMIL SHAH  
 KABUL MUHAMMAD SHAH, KHAN  
 BAHADUR.  
 SYED MANAWAR, MR.  
 TAIRSEE, MR. L. R.  
 TALPUR, SARDAR BAHADUR HAJI  
 MIR ALLAHADAD KHAN MIR IMAM  
 BAKSH KHAN  
 TALPUR, MIR BANDEHALI KHAN MIR  
 MUHAMMAD HASSAN KHAN.  
 THAKOR OF KERWADA, SARDAR  
 BHASABHAI alias DULABAWA  
 RAISINGHJI.  
 TOLANI, MR. SATRANDAS SAKHAWA-  
 TRAI  
 VAJSHAMPAYAN, DR. VISHNU GANESH  
 VAKIL, PESTANSHAH N., MR.  
 VANDEKAR RAO BAHADUR RAM-  
 CHANDRA VITHALRAO.  
 WADKE, MR. BHOLANATH PURUSHO-  
 TTAM

## Proceedings of the Council

### Budget Session—Bombay—14th. February to 29th. March 1935

#### GOVERNOR'S OPENING SPEECH

The year on which you are entering will be a memorable one, said *Lord Brabourne*, Governor of Bombay, addressing the Bombay Legislative Council, which commenced its budget session at Bombay on the 14th February 1935. The scheme of constitutional reforms, continued the Governor, which was before Parliament in the form of a Bill, would come up before them for discussion. Sufficient time had elapsed since the publication of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and enough had been said or written about it that they should have had time to form an independent opinion, and the present was not the occasion to make more than the broadest remarks on the scheme. Whatever doubts might have been felt that those who were responsible for framing the proposals were not actuated by the same ideals or the same desire for the realisation of the self-government in India as an integral part of the empire as had been embodied in the preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, should have been set at rest by the recent statement of the Secretary of State. 'If this is so, you should, I think,

hold that the proposals, which have been formulated by the most authoritative and influential committee, which was possible, were based on the utmost good-will; and that what has been conveniently termed safeguards in the constitution are partly inherent in all constitutions, and partly, the outcome of the frankest attempt to meet very real and practical difficulties which, as has been shown by the experience for the past seven years, will attend the making of perhaps the greatest legislative experiment which the world has ever seen.

"I ask you to consider particularly what we have to gain in this presidency. The provinces will now have individuality of their own, a clearly demarcated and exclusive field of jurisdiction and an elected legislature to which alone Ministers will be answerable. There will be the widest measure of responsibility qualified only by safeguards to which I have referred, and the agricultural and working classes and women will have opportunities of taking part in the affairs of their country. In this presidency, we should be profited by the fact that its history for the last 13 years has not shown a single instance to exercise the Governor's overriding powers and by the cordial relations which have existed between the Governor and his Ministers during that period. Is it, therefore, too much to assume", asked the Governor, "that safeguards need have little meaning in practice, if the constitution is worked in the same spirit of goodwill and co-operation which has characterized this presidency in the past?" In conclusion, his Excellency referred to what he termed as the most memorable feature of the Bill, namely, Separation of Sind and expressed the hope that separation would help Sind to develop on its own lines to the fullest individuality and with the fullest measure of prosperity.

#### Financial Statement for 1935-36

The budget estimates for the year 1935-36 were next presented by *Khan Bahadur D B Cooper*, the Finance Member. It revealed a deficit of Rs. 2 lakhs. According to the Finance Secretary's note, the revenue budget estimates for next year, excluding the extraordinary revenue from the sale of certain securities formerly held in various High Court Funds and now transferred to the Government, are as follows:—

Revenue receipts—	Rs. 14,33.3 lakhs.
Expenditure debited to revenue—	" 14,62.6 "
Revenue deficit—	" 29.3 "

The true deficit is Rs. 29 lakhs but it is estimated that the sale of the securities mentioned above will yield about Rs. 27.3 lakhs, thus reducing the deficit to Rs. 2 lakhs. These figures include Rs. 16 lakhs for debt repayment to the Central Government.

In comparison with the budget estimates of the current year, the revenue expenditure estimates for 1935-36 have been increased by the following unavoidable items:—

Debt repayment, Rs. 16 lakhs; restoration of pay cut, Rs. 14 lakhs; increase of pension charges, Rs. 6 lakhs; Kurachi Town planning scheme (No. 2), Rs. 1 lakh; and by the provision made for the following items:—

Weights and Measures Act, Rs. 1 lakh; Grant-in-aid to District and Local Boards for local public works, Rs. 1 lakh; addition to Bombay City Police Force, Rs. 1 lakh; Silver Jubilee celebrations, Rs. 2 lakhs, together with the following items balanced by equal revenue increases:—

Barrage interest met from net additional revenue on barrage canals, Rs. 10 lakhs; barrage interest met from land sales, Rs. 5 lakhs; petrol tax works, Rs. 2 lakhs.

The above items account for increased expenditure to the extent of Rs. 59 lakhs.

The estimates of land revenue and irrigation receipts, adds the Finance Secretary, do not take into account the effect on land revenue collections of the cold weather experienced in January last, as sufficient information was not available when these estimates were framed.

The Finance Secretary also mentions that these estimates take account of the renewal of the Finance Act, 1932 (Rs. 30 lakhs) and the Bombay (District) Tobacco Act, 1933 (Rs. 5 lakhs).

The following note by the Finance Secretary appears about the accounts of 1933-34:

The closing balance of 1933-34, anticipated in the final budget estimates of the current year to be Rs. 97 lakhs, improved to Rs. 114 lakhs as the result of an improvement of Rs. 13 lakhs in the revenue account and a net improvement of Rs. 4 lakhs under capital and debt heads. There was a net reduction of Rs. 6 lakhs in revenue receipts and a net reduction of Rs. 19 lakhs in expenditure debitable to revenue, after

excluding the assessments of alienated lands less quit rents, barriage land sales, net additional revenue of barriage canals, barriage interest met from revenue, and tobacco tax in Bombay City, as these items balance on both sides of the account. The Chief decrease in revenue was Rs. 13 lakhs in the combined land and irrigation revenue of Sind, mainly owing to increased irrigation working expenses, counter-balanced by increased realization under Excise (Rs. 3 lakhs), Forests (Rs. 2 lakhs), Bombay Development Scheme (Rs. 2 lakhs), and miscellaneous (Rs. 2 lakhs).

The reductions in expenditure were spread over many heads, the more important being interest (Rs. 6 lakhs), due to conversion operations and largely counter-balanced by correspondingly less recoveries (Rs. 4 lakhs), from Presidency Corporations, civil works (Rs. 3 lakhs), and pensions (Rs. 3 lakhs).

The following note appears about the accounts of 1931-35.—

The current year's opening balance was Rs. 114 lakhs, of which Rs. 75 lakhs is the statutory balance in the Famine Relief Fund. The final budget estimates provided for a revenue deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs and no provision was made for debt repayment. The revenue position had been worsened by nearly Rs. 7 lakhs, mainly as a result of the provision for payment to the Government of India of the debt instalments due to be paid in the current year (Rs. 13 lakhs).

Excluding the five items mentioned in the last paragraph, which appear on both sides of the account, there is a net decrease of Rs. 2 lakhs in revenue receipts. The chief item under which less receipts are expected is Excise (Rs. 16 lakhs) owing to the extension of the instalment system in Bombay City, counter-balanced by increased realization under Forests (Rs. 5 lakhs), Irrigation (Rs. 9 lakhs) and extraordinary receipts (Rs. 3 lakhs).

The expenditure side of the estimates has increased by Rs. 5 lakhs, due to the provision of Rs. 13 lakhs for debt repayment, partially counter-balanced by the net betterment of Rs. 8 lakhs spread over various other heads.

"If I cannot say that the budget I am presenting is a prosperity budget or even a balanced budget, I may at least claim that it is not one that plans excessive expenditure," said Khan Bahadur D. B. Cooper presenting the budget.

"We cannot show any surplus, but we can at least do the next best thing—not spend more than is absolutely necessary.

"Depression in trade and industry is gradually disappearing, but it has not disappeared yet. Political peace is restored, but its continuance has yet to be definitely assured.

"Co-operation and harmonious working are making themselves visible on the distant horizon but they have not yet materialized in such substance and volume as to dispel all fear of reversion to the old type."

The Finance Member detailed the effects of trade depression, remissions and suspensions of land revenue during the past four years, saying that suspensions had totalled Rs. 1,98,00,000 and remissions Rs. 1,89,00,000.

The Government were now examining the question to find out whether concessions could be given in a more regular manner. They had decided that, when considering proposals for remissions, they would, as an experiment, take into account the comparative fall in prices as well as the nature of the season and the economic condition of the people.

The budget for 1934-35, added the Finance Member, had provided for a surplus of Rs. 1,00,000, but owing to the abolition of the town duty on cotton, this surplus had been converted into a deficit of Rs. 10,00,000. The latest revised estimates showed that the deficits came to Rs. 17,00,000.

### Joint Committee Report Debate

**15th. FEBRUARY:**—The Council rejected to-day the motion brought forward by Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member and Leader of the House that "the House do proceed to discuss the J. P. C. Report", by 38 votes to 21, the Government members remaining neutral. All Hindus voted against the motion, while Muslims and Europeans voted for it.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. R. R. Kale, complained that copies of the Report were not circulated to members. It was a trespass on the privilege of the House and they could not consider the Report. Mr. Kale brought to the notice of the President that the Government had not supplied copies of the Report to members. It was a voluminous document, which could not be discussed without properly studying it.

The Government explained that the India Government had not sent them a sufficient number of copies in time for circulating them to the House, and they could not say

when they would get copies from Delhi. Their spokesman, Mr. *R. D. Bell*, added that he understood that copies of the Report were available in various bookstalls in the city.

One member raised a point of order whether the House could discuss the Report which was not placed on the table of the House and not circulated to members, adding whether the Chair appreciated the difficulties of members in dealing with the Report without being supplied copies.

The *President*, while being aware of the inconvenience caused to members by the Government's failure to supply them copies, ruled that the House should not take umbrage on technical points, and there were precedents in the House of reports being taken into consideration without Government circulating copies of them to the members.

Mr. *Winterbotham* asked whether there was any member among the Opposition who had not yet studied the J. P. C. Report.

The *President* then proceeded to take the sense of the House, at the suggestion of a few members, on the Government's motion.

A piquant situation arose when the *President* agreed to put the motion to the House. The Government were not in a position to give any lead to their supporters and Muslims also were not decisive. A few of them were afraid that if the Opposition carried the day, the House would have no opportunity to approve the Communal Award. After a good deal of hesitation, they walked into the 'Aye' lobby. Seeing that the Government had decided to remain neutral, Europeans and representatives of special constituencies, like Indian Merchants' Chamber and Millowners' Association, walked into the 'Aye' lobby. The majority of Hindu Members who wanted to express their hostility to the Report without even having discussion voted against the Government's motion. The Opposition carried the day by 38 votes against 21. The House then adjourned.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**18th. FEBRUARY** :—General discussion of the Budget commenced to-day. Member after member attacked the decision of the Government to restore the salary cuts to the Government servants and urged that immediate relief should be given to the poor agriculturists who were the central pillars of the presidency's finances.

*Devan Bahadur Mr. Patil* voicing non-official opposition to the Budget proposals said that Bombay's finances according to the Budget estimates did not show improvement and therefore there was no justification for the restoration of salary cut to the services. He urged the Government to give relief to agriculturists in the name of H. M. the King during the Silver Jubilee. The speaker, however, congratulated the Government on their decision to launch the village mortgage banks scheme to encourage cottage industries and the assurance to give remissions in revenue.

Mr. *K. R. Tuirsee* congratulated the Finance Member on the decision of the Government to base their remissions on the economic condition of the people and the value of agricultural produce. The speaker vehemently attacked the Government for restoring the salary cuts and warned them that unless they did something substantial to improve the conditions of the agriculturists, the House might not vote for their Finance Bill. He also attacked the Government for providing Rs. 2 lakhs for the Silver Jubilee celebrations and suggested that this amount should be distributed among the agriculturists.

Mr. *Winterbotham* (Bombay Chamber of Commerce) supported the Government generally but expressed the hope that the Government would give relief to the tax-payer as soon as possible, particularly, regarding the electricity tax which, he maintained, was a tax on progress.

Mr. *B. S. Patel* (Ahmedabad) charged the Government with step-motherly attitude towards Gujrat agriculturists regarding revenue remission and said that remissions given so far were inadequate. The speaker suggested that all balances of suspended revenue might be remitted. He took objection to the Government's decision to restore the salary cuts and warned the Government that unless they were prepared to do something to relieve the sufferings of the agriculturists, he would not be surprised if the House threw out the Finance Bill.

*Rao Bahadur Surve* joined others in attacking the Government on their decision to restore the salary cuts.

Mr. *S. B. Saklatwala* (Bombay Millowners) opposed the restoration of salary cuts and suggested that the Bombay Government might ask the Government of India to provide them with Rs. 14 lakhs for the same. He also urged the modification of pension rules which in the Bombay presidency appeared to be higher than in other presidencies.



*Rao Bahadur Chitale*, in opposing the Budget proposals, referred to the recent press report that certain Government officials had objected to singing of Vandemataram in schools and asked the Home Member if such orders were issued by any Government Officials. No reply was given. The House then adjourned.

**19th. FEBRUARY.**—More than a dozen non-official members criticised the Government on their decision to restore the salary cuts, when they had not been able to balance their budget. Mr. *Ecke*, Finance Secretary, replying to critics, justified the restoration of salary cuts on the ground that security of pay and pensions alone would ensure an honest and uncorrupt administration.

Mr. *Gazdar* (Karachi) characterised the Budget as a humdrum one and severely criticised the Government for exhausting their reserve fund.

Mr. *R. R. Bahkle* (nominated non-official), while congratulating the Government on the appointment of a Labour Officer, criticised the Government for restoring the salary cuts.

*Khan Bahadur Patel* (Broach) urged the remission of land revenue in Guzrat.

Mr. *Vandekar* (Surat) appealed for substantial relief to agriculturists.

Mr. *Mehra* (Panch Mahals) demanded that relief centres should be started in villages to give relief to agriculturists.

Mr. *Mahomed Altha* (Bombay City) protested against the restoration of salary cuts and appealed to the Governor to abandon Poona exodus.

Mr. *Kale* (Bombay) asked why the Government of Bombay should follow the Secretary of State's advice in the matter of restoration of the salary cuts and not public opinion.

Mr. *Lane*, Development Secretary, referred to Mr. Tansley's question yesterday whether the Indus river was shifting and said that there was no fear on the ground.

Mr. *Ecke*, Finance Secretary, who justified the restoration of the salary cuts on the ground that it was necessary to ensure honest and clean administration, maintained that security of pay and pensions was the very foundation of sound administration and that was the reason why the Government took the first opportunity to restore the salary cuts.

*Rao Bahadur Bole* (nominated non-official) suggested that the amount on account of the salary cuts should be used for relieving unemployment in the Presidency.

**20th. FEBRUARY:**—The Council to-day concluded general discussion on the Budget. The main feature of to-day's debate was the rules given by the various Government members to the criticisms generally levelled by non-official members in the course of discussion.

Sir *Bhutto*, Minister for Local Self-Government, defended the Government policy in the matter of village panchayats and rural uplift work. He said that the Government had provided Rs. 33,000 for village panchayats and an equal amount for rural uplift work. Regarding the demand for paid officials to carry on this work, the Minister said that it would cost tremendously and, moreover, he was sure that there was enough public spirit among persons who were prepared to undertake the work.

Mr. *Kambli*, Minister for Education and Excise, justifying the Government's educational policy, said that primary education had made notable progress. The number of primary schools in the Presidency had increased from 12,652 (in 1932) to 14,660 (1934). During the same period, the number of teachers increased from 28,875 to 37,669, while the students increased from 79,508 to 168,561. Dealing with the Excise policy of the Government, he said, that the ultimate aim of the Government was prohibition and that they stood by their resolution of 1925, which laid down prohibition as the ideal. When it would be reached would depend upon such factors as stopping of illicit manufacture and sale and importation of liquors, for which the co-operation of the people was necessary.

*Khan Bahadur Cooper*, Finance Member, winding up the debate, replied to the criticism raised by members. While the Government had done their utmost to cut down expenditure, they did not follow blindly the Thomas Committee's recommendations which would have meant closing down the J. J. School of Art and the Poona Agricultural College. Dealing with criticisms, he pointed out that of Rs. 14 lakhs, of the restoration of the salaries cut, Rs. 2.9 lakhs concerned All-India Services, Rs. 4.8 lakhs concerned the provincial subordinate services, which also could not be touched without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The remaining amount was in connection with the salary of those who were getting less than Rs. 200 and it would not be fair if they only were exempted from restoration, particularly, in view of the fact that the Government of India and all Provincial Governments had restored the cuts. Regarding the demand for substantial remission of land revenue, he said that the

Government were reviewing the situation and would soon announce the remissions, but he assured the House that the concessions proposed would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the situation.

#### THE FINANCE BILL

**21st. FEBRUARY** :—After a chorus of protests and threats to torpedo the Finance Bill from the non-official benches, the Council to-day passed the first reading of the Bill by 48 to 32 votes. Irrespective of parties and groups, the non-official members voiced their opposition to the continuance of the emergency taxation, particularly, in view of the fact that the emergency cut in the pay of Government servants which was introduced simultaneously had been withdrawn now. The Mahomedan and Non-Brahmin votes were split on this occasion. The Bill was also read for the second time.

#### BOMBAY TOBACCO BILL

**23rd. FEBRUARY** :—The Bombay Tobacco Bill came up for strong criticism from non-official benches when the Council resumed discussion to-day on the subject. Most of the opposition was based on the ground that the Bill would cause great hardship to the growers of tobacco.

*Rao Bahadur R. B. Chitale* warned the Government against the passage of the Bill, which would cause discontent among the rural population and antagonise the people, who, hitherto, had been on the side of the Government.

*Mr. L. R. Tarsee* said that he was not against the principle of the Bill but wanted the rate of taxation to be reasonable and equitable.

*Mr. A. B. Achrekar* opposed the Bill and disclosed the fact that the Non-Brahmin Party had made it a party question and had decided to vote against the Bill. He added that if the Bill were passed, the Central Provinces would get an advantage over Bombay in tobacco production.

*Mr. R. R. Bakhale* said that he was prepared to support the Government on this issue, but he would urge them to refer back the Bill to a select Committee.

A Mahomedan member from Satara said that on behalf of his constituency, he would support the Bill. The Council then adjourned till 25th.

#### LAW OF ADOPTION AMEND. BILL

**25th. FEBRUARY** :—Galleries were crowded to-day, many Hindu ladies being present as they expected a keen debate on the Bill to amend the law of adoption relating to Hindu widows. The Bill was characterised by a conference of Bombay women as a retrograde and unjust piece of legislation two days ago and copies of proceedings of the meeting were distributed to members to-day.

The Council took most of the time in discussing the motion to refer back to the Select Committee the Bill to regulate the money-lending business. After several speakers had spoken on the subject, the motion was declared lost by 30 votes to 43.

#### BOMBAY DISTRICT POLICE ACT AMEND. BILL

**26th. FEBRUARY** :—The Council discussed a Bill to amend the Bombay District Police Act of 1890 with a view to making owners of cattle provide sufficient fodder and pasture, failure of which will make the offence punishable with a fine. The *Home Member*, replying to the debate, pointed out the impracticability of the enforcement of the Bill as it would leave loopholes for corruption and the difficulty of prosecution. The motion, which was moved by *Rai Bahadur Mr. Adam Patel*, was lost without a division.

#### OTHER BILLS

**27th. FEBRUARY** :—A Bill seeking the abolition of Taluka Local Boards was passed after a very little discussion as a majority in the House were in favour of the necessity of the measure.

Two other Bills, *one amending the Insolvency Act* and the other the *Prisoners' Identification Act* were also passed. The next measure that came before the House was the *Wakf Act*, the first reading of which was passed and the Bill has been referred to a select committee for examination and report.

#### BOMBAY TOBACCO BILL (CONTD.)

**1st. MARCH** :—After question time the *President* gave a ruling regarding the amendment of *Mr. Chikode* to the Tobacco Bill. He said that he had carefully considered the matter and quoted a particular case in support of his decision which was to the effect that all the amendments to the Bill were in order.

Mr *Chikode* then moved his amendment which was lost. Several other amendments to the provisions of the Bill were then moved, but all except one were lost.

The Finance Member then moved that the Bill be read a third time and passed. The Bill was passed by 51 votes to 23

### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**2nd MARCH.**—The Government's revenue policy came in for strong criticism to-day when Mr. *G. S. Gangoli's* token cut of one rupee in the total demand of Rs. 54,54,000 under the head, land revenue, was moved. In moving the cut, Mr. Gangoli brought to the notice of the House the forfeitures of land during the Civil Disobedience movement and submitted that he might well have brought the motion on grounds of non-return of these lands but said that he preferred to base it on grounds of restoration of cut in salaries of Government servants.

*Rao Sahab Kulkarni*, in supporting the motion, submitted that the expenditure of the department was too heavy. To recover four crores of the revenue the Bombay Government had spent more than sixty-five lakhs, while the Madras Government had spent for a revenue of seven crores, only twenty lakhs. Incidence of taxation was also too heavy. Bihar paid only eight annas, while Bombay paid Rs. 2-8-0.

Several other members in supporting the motion submitted that because of the fluctuations in prices, the basis of assessment should be revised and that the plight of the ryot in these times of depression necessitated some measure of relief, as the burden they shouldered was too heavy and more often than not drove them to leave the land and seek employment in docks and mills in the cities.

**4th. MARCH.**—Mr. Gangoli's censure motion was defeated to-day by 42 votes to 17. Europeans, the Government members, Non-Brahmins, and some members of the opposition voted against the censure motion, while the entire Sind Moslem bloc and a few others voted for the censure motion. It may be of interest to note that the censure motion was moved by arrangement with all parties and *Rao Bahadur Kale*, Leader of the Opposition, supported the motion in his speech.

*Khan Bahadur Khurshid*, made out a strong case for rebates owing to the fall in prices and protested against discrimination between Barrage and Non-Barrage area. He emphasised the possible trouble from water-logging which was likely to ruin the best lands in the Barrage. He also referred to the monsoon and frost havoc on rice and other crops.

Messrs. *Miran Mahomed*, *Bhailal Patel* and a few others supported the motion, while *Rao Bahadur Chitambar*, Mr. *Chikodi* and many others who are generally found on the Opposition side indicated that they would remain neutral in the matter of voting. The Non-Brahmins and about a dozen persons who were generally on the opposition side voted with the Government.

**5th. MARCH.**—*Rao Sahab Kulkarni* moved a token-cut of Rs. 100 under the head "Excise Transferred" in the total votable demand of Rs. 42 lakhs and was supported by Messrs. *L. R. Gokhale*, *Bakhle*, *Dr. Gilder* and *Mr. Kharbari*.

The speakers condemned outright the excise policy of the Government, stating that it paid greater attention to the increase of revenue rather than to the benefit of the people. The figures for the several years past were quoted to show that the tendency of the excise policy was towards increasing the consumption of liquor in the country. From the figures available, it was clear that there was an enormous increase in the number of liquor shops and hence the revenue accrued from this source. The Government attempted to explain this by stating that there had been an increase in the illicit distillation. It was asked if the ultimate goal of the Government policy was the encouragement of the distillation of illicit liquor and why steps had not been taken to stop it. It was generally said that illicit distillation had increased because the number of shops had increased and now it was stated that the number of shops increased because illicit distillation had increased. Though it had been stated on the floor of the House that the policy of prohibition had still been the end of the excise policy of the Government, no such conclusion could be arrived at after studying that policy.

**6th. MARCH.**—*Rao Sahab Kulkarni's* cut of Rs. 100 in the total demand of Rs. 42,00,000 was thrown out after a division by 54 votes to 15 and *Diwan Bahadur A. T. Kamli's* grant of Rs. 46,67,000 under Excise (transferred) was carried.

On the resumption of the debate to-day several members rose up in favour of the cut and submitted the Government's excise policy to a trenchant criticism. It was

held among other things that the excise policy ran counter to the policy expressly laid down by the Council in the past. The goal of prohibition had been pressed by the House for the last five years in vain. The Government's policy was characterized as weak incompetent and thoroughly contrary to the benefit of the people of the presidency. Illicit distillation that had been the bugbear of the excise policy, had to be laid at the door of several executive departments that were concerned in carrying out the excise policy.

Mr. *Kambli*, in replying to the debate, said that though he had felt unstinted admiration for the spirit of eagerness for prohibition and temperance that was displayed in the speeches of several members, he had to submit that most of them were mistaken with regard to the policy of the Government which clearly laid down in words "the minimum of consumption and the maximum of revenue" and which was enunciated in the Government of India resolutions of 1925 and 1929. According to them, the policy to be followed had to be slow and steady and from the figures of consumption of alcohol for the last ten years it was evident that such progress had been made. The members had complained that there had been no gradual reduction of rationing. The danger in the increase of crime was such that the only remedy was to afford opportunities for the reduction of illicit liquor. No definite period could be fixed for reaching the goal of prohibition, because of an increase in the preventive staff that would be necessary and a gap in the revenue that would be affected. Still within the last ten years there had been considerable decrease in consumption as the figures showed.

**7th. MARCH :—***Khan Bahadur Cooper*, Finance Member, moved the demand for Rs. 4,30,000 under the head 'Stamps' (reserved) when *Rao Saheb Kulkarni* moved a token cut of Rs. 100 in the total votable demand. He submitted that the cost of stamps should be marked on each stamp and that stamps should be made of Indian paper. Mr. *Cooper* in reply said that the matter was in the hands of the Government of India. The cut motion was lost.

*Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto* then moved the demand of Rs. 27,54,000 under the head 'Forest (transferred)'. Mr. *Gangoli* moved two cut motions, Mr. *Gokhale* one and Mr. *Gazdar* one. All motions were withdrawn.

**8th. MARCH :—**The debate on Mr. *Gazdar's* cut motion to reduce by Rs. 1000 the total votable demand of Rs. 27,41,000 moved by Mr. *Bhutto*, Minister for Local Self-Government, under Forest (Transferred) was resumed to-day.

The Minister, replying, admitted corruption in the Forest Department. Regarding the charge that the Department had not been Indianised, he said that 99 per cent of the Forest staff were Indians. He added that several cases of corruption were detected and departmental action taken. As regards pig menace, he said that the Government sanctioned 6,000 gun licences.

Among others who spoke in favour of the motion were *Sir Rafiuddin Ahmed* and Mr. *Tawse*. They held that the times had changed and that they were no longer in the days of Minto-Morley Reforms and that the percentage quoted by the Minister did not refer to higher grades of officials. Indians were to be found plentifully in the capacity of peons and labourers. That was not Indianisation.

**9th. MARCH :—**Several cut motions were moved in the Council to-day in the demands made by Ministers under the different heads.

During discussion, the question was raised regarding dangs in the forest area in Gujarat, which *Rao Bahadur Pradhan* held, were originally in the possession of the Bombay Government and had subsequently been transferred to the Government of India. A considerable sum of money had been spent on these areas and no compensation had been received for the transfer.

In reply to a question, Mr. *Bell*, Home Member, said that there was considerable doubt as to whether these dangs belonged to the Government of India or Native States, which was the reason why the Government of India had transferred them. It was, however, a fact that as the result of the transfer, the Bombay Government did lose about a lakh of rupees annually.

Demands under the heads, 'Forest transferred', 'Forest capital outlay charged to revenue transferred and Registration transferred' were also moved to-day.

The cut motion of *Rao Saheb Kulkarni* of Rs. 100 in the total demand of Rs. 6,40,000 and Mr. *Gangoli's* motion to reduce by Rs. 100 the total demand of Rs. 35,000 under the head "scheduled taxes", were both lost.

**13th MARCH**—Several points of interest in the working of the Legislative Council and facilities for better administration were raised to-day, when Mr. *Gangoli* moved a cut under the head General Administration (Reserved), to reduce by Rs. 100 in (B) Legislative Councils and (C) Provincial Legislative Councils the total votable demand of Rs. 1,19,800. A strong plea was put in for an increase in the allowances of members on the basis that as the cut had been restored in the salaries of officials, it was unfair that the councillors who worked considerably harder and often sacrificed their professions and legitimate duties for the benefit of the people should be made to suffer in pocket. Among other suggestions made was the one that the Council should have three sessions instead of two to enable the members to get through the work that came up which was often in arrears and sometimes necessitated unusual prolongation of the sessions. Such a procedure would also ensure better working of the Legislature, as in the past it had been found that it took nearly one year for passing of a non-official Bill. Two other points raised during the debate were that the Library of the Council should be improved as it was "the poorest library in the whole country," and that a clerk, librarian and secretary be appointed to facilitate the working of the Council.

Mr. *R. D. Bell*, Home Member, replying, said that, while he admitted that the members had occasion to grumble over the time allotted for questions and answers, it must not be forgotten that in questions, the Government only have information and nothing more. No discussion was allowed on them for instance.

Two other cut motions were moved and withdrawn.

**14th. MARCH**—Allegations of serious electioneering malpractices came up before the House, when Dr. *Gilmer* moved a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand of Rs. 5,500 under legislative bodies during the Budget discussion.

The member held that the number of persons on the electoral rolls included the names of persons long dead and that impersonation in the worst form was very common during most of the elections. In election booths, votes were actually being sold and candidates knew that the votes could be bought and so they took no trouble to cater for them. He also held that the polling booths were thoroughly inadequate to satisfy the wants and requirements particularly during rush hours and only added to the general confusion and irregularity of the system of elections as practised in India, though it was felt that it was extremely difficult to give legal proofs of the existence of these malpractices, it was morally certain and it was necessary, if nothing else, that enquiry into the matter should be held at the earliest convenience.

The Home Member, in reply, said that there was a great deal of truth in the statements made in the House, but that more time and more money than at present was allowed were necessary for accurate and efficient management of the electioneering campaign. Replying to a question, he also stated that there was no possibility of the elections being held in the coming financial year, till franchise qualifications were definitely known.

**15th. MARCH**—That there were nearly 1,500 gambling dens in the Princes Street Police section and that each was required to pay monthly at least Rs. 10 to the Police Officer in charge was the statement made by Mr. *C. S. Gangoli*, while moving a cut motion to the Police Department grant to-day.

Mr. *Mahomed Kasim Mitha*, supporting the motion, said that Satta gambling in the City of Bombay was being carried on openly and was a great scandal. Speakers on the motion held that it was very difficult to prove the charge against the Police who in the mofussil were not only police officers, but magistrates and law-givers as well. The income that the Police acquired from the gambling exceeded the income of the Home Member himself.

Replying to the allegations made, Mr. *Bell*, Home Member, stated that the Government were aware of the existence of menace of gambling in the city and that steps would be taken to reduce it. It was, however, difficult to do so even though the Government had given orders that deterrent sentences should be pressed by the Public Prosecutor. The Government were examining the present Gambling Act with a view to bring before the House a Bill amending it. Discussion on demands for grants concluded.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES TAXATION BILL

**18th. MARCH**—A Bill to provide for the levy of tax on motor vehicles was introduced by *Khan Bahadur D. B. Cooper*, Finance Member to-day. In moving the first reading of the Bill, the Finance Member said that the Bill sought to levy tax on motor vehicles in the Bombay presidency excluding Sind. He assured the House

that it was not going to impose fresh taxation or realise added source of revenue. It was meant to impose a compound tax on motor vehicles in suppression of the current system of collecting the tolls. It would obviate all trouble which the owners of motor cars were now subject to and would be in the interests of the people as a whole. Nor would the revenue of the local bodies suffer as 10 per cent additional revenue of the proceeds of the new tax would be allocated to them.

The Bill was opposed by the Mayor of Bombay, Mr. H. Rahimtoola, who said that the Bill attempted to give the source of revenue to the Government which belonged to the local bodies. Hitherto, it had been the policy of the Government to help the local bodies, but the Bill was directly contrary to this policy. The Bill, besides, was one-sided. If the revenue collected be less than the requirements, the local Government would not benefit. The tolls were a temporary measure introduced because of the financial stringency, but the new measure was permanent.

Several other members opposed the Bill on the ground that it was extremely detrimental to the agricultural and poorer classes in general. It threw the burden of taxation on the small owners and others who ought not to be taxed. The net result of the measure would be to benefit the richer classes and companies who carried on large scale business and strangle the bus and lorry trade among the smaller owners.

**19th. MARCH**—The Council continued discussion of the Motor Taxation Bill to-day. Several speakers subjected the Bill to trenchant criticism on the ground that the proposed tax was at once inequitable and not based on sound commercial lines.

It was further held that in certain cases the tax tended to raise the incidence of taxation to anything from 25 to 300 per cent and that it was obvious that it was a move which suggested the existence of some inner motives that were reacting against the interests of poorer classes, particularly, agriculturists.

The Finance Member, speaking in favour of the Bill, stated that it was meant to develop long distance transport and give to the producer a maximum return and raise his standard of living.

#### DETAILS OF KARACHI FIRING

**22nd. MARCH** :—Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member, made an important statement in the Council to-day during the debate on the adjournment motion regarding the public demand for an immediate enquiry into Karachi firing. He narrated the origin of what he termed as "this unfortunate incident," which began with the murder of Nathuram in the Additional Judicial Commissioner's Court at Karachi in September last. He regretted that he could not accept the statement of Mr. Gazdar that there was no communal tension in Karachi following the rejection of the appeal of Abdul Quayam for mercy. He had read numerous extracts from local papers in Karachi, and one did find in these ample evidence of a communal tension in Karachi after the rejection of Quayam's appeal for mercy.

He next narrated how Abdul Quayam's execution was first postponed owing to anticipated communal trouble, how the Bombay Government could not agree to the execution being carried out in a mofussil place and how he was finally executed on the morning of March 19. Mr. Bell then described how the execution was carried out and what steps were taken by the local authorities and in this connection he read out a telegram from the District Magistrate of Karachi, which was read out in the Council of State yesterday. Proceeding, the Home Member said that by 12-15 p. m. a frenzied crowd of twenty thousand, carrying lathis and stones, made their way towards the city. The local authorities had made arrangements to stop the procession. Their party consisted of a small police force with ten armed men and fifty soldiers, who divided into two groups, and were accompanied by the District and City Magistrates. The crowd, which the local authorities described as a roaring one, had no intention of burying the body in the city and they were no control, as was suggested, so as to remain peaceful. (The Home Member was inaudible here). Their aim appeared to be to enter the city and inflame feelings against the Hindus. The crowd stoned a car carrying two Honorary Magistrates. It rushed at the police party which was in front and overwhelmed them and one of the rioters seized the rifle from a soldier's hand. Here the local authorities described the crowd as savage and violent. If the rioters had broken through the military cordon, it would certainly have caused widespread rioting in the city and looting and attack on the Hindu population.

After describing the number of rounds fired and the relief work carried out by the authorities who, he said, were hampered in their work by stoning by crowds, he stated that the latest casualties were thirty-five dead, sixty-seven major injuries and thirty-five minor injuries. These, said the Home Member, were the full facts which were

presently in his possession. Proceeding, he said that the military were kept under control and the firing was carried out under instructions from the Magistrate. Explaining the Government's attitude towards the demand for an immediate and impartial enquiry, the Home Member said, "Under singular circumstances the Home Member of the Government of India in the Assembly was prevented from speaking on this point. I think the House will not altogether regret, that we, who are most directly and intimately concerned with the situation, should be the first to hear and consider the attitude of the Government." Any enquiry, he said, would necessarily be divided into two parts—first, regarding the conduct of the military, and secondly, regarding the precautions taken by the local civil authorities. There appeared to be an assumption that in questions of the kind, specially when the casualties were heavy, an enquiry was considered something as a matter of course. He had no doubt that all would agree that if the military were called on to carry out such unpleasant duties on the assumption, that if casualties occur an enquiry would be made, their position would become impossible. An enquiry into the conduct of the military could not be asked for, or suggested unless they could make out a case. If the Magistrate had sufficient police force, he could call for military aid, who must comply with the requisition. But once requisitioned the method of quelling the disturbance was entirely within the discretion of the military Officer Commanding and the Magistrate could not suggest or stipulate a particular method. If the members pondered over this question they would see that, firstly, it was altogether out of the question that any Magistrate should be required or expected to order or discipline troops. Secondly, once the civil authority called for military aid, it meant that the situation had passed entirely out of the control of the civil authority. In the present case there was absolutely no ground whatsoever for the Government to suggest an enquiry into the conduct of the soldiers or give their support to such a demand. On the other hand facts clearly showed that the troops had maintained discipline and that after the police were overwhelmed they took control of the situation and used only as much force as was required, and the firing was restricted and restrained. There was no doubt that the casualties were considerable, but they were the result of dense formation of the crowd.

The Home Member reiterated that as far as the conduct of the military was concerned the attitude of the Bombay Government was that soldiers had carried out their duties, and no possible reflection could be cast on their conduct at this time. Regarding the precautions taken by the local authorities, he said this was primarily a matter for the local Government to consider. Information, as already explained, was far from being complete, and the local authorities had given them only such information as they thought necessary, as they were busy with quelling the riots and subsequently making arrangements for the city's safety. Moreover, authorities had to obtain information from individual officers through proper channels, and in the circumstances he was sure the House would not expect him to pass a judgment one way or the other. In conclusion, Mr. Bell said that as the Bombay Government was not in possession of full details they were not in a position to decide about an enquiry but assured that they took a serious view of the things and would certainly investigate all the facts and circumstances and see whether the precautions taken were sufficient, and if not, why not. He hoped the House would consider the circumstances calmly and dispassionately, as in such a matter justice could not be done to anybody or side unless all facts were obtained and considered in a dispassionate manner.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES TAXATION BILL

**23rd. MARCH :—**The second reading of the Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill was thrown out by 47 votes against 35, the Sind Moslems voting solidly for rejection.

The *Finance Member* moved the second reading of the Bill and was opposed by *Rao Bahadur Chitale*. *Rao Bahadur Surve* then moved an amendment to the Bill that it be published for three months to elicit public opinion. At this stage, Mr. *Abdul Latiff* moved a second amendment that the Bill be read for the second time on Tuesday next to give members time to study it. The *Finance Member* said that as it was the intention of the Government to meet the wishes of the members as far as possible, he accepted the latter amendment.

The first amendment was thrown out by show of hands but the second was pressed to a division and lost by 43 votes to 30. At this stage the *Home Member* rose to make a statement to the House but was opposed by Mr. *Patel* who said that as discussion on the second reading had been closed, the Home Member was not entitled to make any statement that might influence voting on the second reading of the Bill. The *Home Member*, however, said that all he wanted to say was that the

Government intended movement at a later stage to the Bill so as to meet the wishes and criticisms of members and local bodies. The Bill was then put to vote and lost.

#### NURSES' REGISTRATION BILL

**25th. MARCH** :—Second reading was passed of the Bill to provide for registration and better training for nurses, midwives and health visitors in the Bombay Presidency.

The main object of the Bill, which was moved by the Home Member, was to protect the public from the activities of persons who might misrepresent themselves to be fully qualified nurses, midwives and health visitors in the same way as the Bombay Medical Council protected the public from the activities of unregistered medical practitioners.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

**26th. MARCH** :—Mr. *S. T. Kambli* moved that "This Council recommends to the Government that they should take steps for the establishment of land mortgage banks in the presidency proper and should guarantee the payment of interest at such rates as may be considered reasonable and also the principle of debentures to the extent of Rs 10 lakhs to be issued by the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank or by the Central Land Mortgage Bank and if, when started, for financing these banks on the said bank giving sufficient security for such debentures. The Council further recommends that the Government should take steps to undertake such legislation as may be necessary to give effect to the above recommendations."

At the outset, the *President* said that Mr. *Kambli* was creating a precedent in placing before the House for its opinion a matter of such great importance before taking it up for legislation. Mr. *Kamat* and Mr. *Nash* supported the motion. It was held that the idea had been looming large before the public eye for some time and no further time should be lost in putting into practice a measure that greatly relieve agricultural distress in the country. It was also suggested that Conciliation Boards should be adopted as a regular feature in all areas where a Bank existed.

#### NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

**27th. MARCH** :—Non-official business was taken up in the Council to-day. Mr. *G. S. Gangoli* moved that an address be presented to the Governor requesting that at least three sessions of the Legislative Council be held every year, and to allot during each session at least four days for discussion of resolutions. The resolution was carried.

Mr. *B. P. Wadke* then moved that this Council requests the Governor to convey through the Secretary of State for India to their Majesties the King and the Queen the Council's deep sense of loyalty, devotion and good feelings on the occasion of the ensuing Silver Jubilee. The resolution was carried with acclamation after a number of members had risen to associate themselves with the sentiments expressed in the text.

**28th. MARCH** :—*Sheikh Abdul Aziz* moved that this Council recommends to the Government that effective weightage should be given to minority communities in all Municipalities and Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency wherever their number in these local Boards is less than one-third. The resolution was strongly opposed by Mr. *Gangoli* and Mr. *Tairsee*, who suggested that the measure sought to be introduced was reactionary and would not tend to improve the condition of the people, as separate electorates and like measures, meant to ensure weightage to minorities, had been found from experience to be more detrimental to their interests than otherwise.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

**29th. MARCH** :—After question-time, an amendment to Mr. *Kambli's* resolution that fifty lakhs be utilised for the purpose of starting the Land Mortgage Banks in the presidency was carried by show of hands.

Most of the speakers of the day gave whole-hearted support to the principles underlying the resolution, but the trend of speeches was in the direction of increasing the amount voted and the decision of the House did not come as a surprise.

All parties in the House urged the necessity of immediate relief to the agriculturists and despite the fact that Mr. *Kambli* in replying to the debate stated that the measure was only temporary and that if it proved a success, the Government would most certainly bring in a resolution at a later period to increase the amount, the House voted for the amendment. The Council was then *prorogued*.



# The U. P. Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

THE HON'BLE MR J. M. CLAY (*Finance Member*)  
 THE HON'BLE KUNWAR SIR MAHARAJ SINGH (*Home Member*)  
 THE HON'BLE NAWAB SIR MUHAMMUD YUSUF, (*Minister for Local Self-Government*)  
 THE HON'BLE SIR JWALA P. SHIVASTAVA (*Minister for Education*)  
 MR. C. W. GWYNNE  
 MR. J. L. SATHU  
 MR. A. B. REID  
 MR. P. M. KHAROGAT  
 MR. A. A. WALGH  
 MR. L. S. WHITE  
 MR. H. K. HARROP  
 RAI BAHADUR PANDIT SURAJ DIN BAJPAI  
 RAI BAHADUR MR. PHUL CHAND MOGHA  
 MR. H. J. FRAMPION  
 KHAN BAHADUR MUNSHI MUSHTAQ ALI KHAN  
 KHAN BAHADUR SAHYID AIN-UD-DIN  
 RAI BAHADUR RAM BABU SAKSENA  
 MR. D. L. DRAKE-BROCKMAN  
 MR. A. C. TURNER  
 MR. F. ANDERSON  
 LADY KAILASH SHIVASTAVA  
 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI FASIH-UD-DIN  
 CAPTAIN K. O. CARLETON  
 MR. E. AHMAD SHAH  
 RAI SAHIB BABU RAMA CHARANA  
 MR. PERMA  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU AWATH BEHARI LAL  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU KAMTA PRASAD KAKKAR  
 CHAUDHRI RAM DAYAL  
 CHAUDHRI JAGANNATH  
 THE HON'BLE SIR SITA RAM (*President*)  
 CHAUDHRI BALDEVA  
 RAI SAHIB SAIHU JWALA SARAN KOTHIWALA  
 MR. TAPPU RAM  
 PANDIT MOTI LAL BHARGAVA  
 RAJA BAHADUR KUSHAL PAL SINGH  
 CHOUHRI RAM CHANDRA  
 CHOUHRI GHASITA  
 RAI BAHADUR CHOUHRI RAGHURAJ SINGH  
 CHOUHRI ARJUNA SINGH  
 RAO BAHADUR THAKUR PRATAP BHAN SINGH  
 RAO SAHIB THAKUR SHIVA DEYAN SINGH

RAI BAHADUR KUNWAR GIRWAR SINGH  
 PANDIT JOTI PRASAD UPADHEYAYA  
 CHOUHRI DHIRYA SINGH  
 RAO KRISHNA PAL SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR KUNWAR DIKARAN LAL  
 THAKUR BALWANT SINGH (PAHLOT)  
 RAI BAHADUR MR. BRIJ LAL BUDHWAR  
 RAO BAHADUR KUNWAR SARDAR SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU MANMOHAN SAHAI  
 LALA SHYAM LAL  
 RAI SAHIB BABU KAMTA NATH SAKSENA  
 KUNWAR JAGANNATH SINGH  
 THAKUR KESHAVA CHANDRA SINGH  
 MR. BRINDAVAN LAL  
 RAO NARNSINGH RAO  
 RAI SAHIB RAM ADHN  
 MR. BHOODU RAM  
 MAHARAO RAJA BAHADUR RAM SINGH  
 CHOUHRI DHAROS  
 PANDIT SHRI SADAYATAN PANDE  
 RAJA SRI KRISHNA DUTT DUBE  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU JAGADEVA ROY  
 MR. DAHARI  
 RAI SAHIB RAI RAJESHWARI PRASAD  
 BABU ADYA PRASAD  
 RAJA SHIVAPATI SINGH  
 THAKUR GIRIRAJ SINGH  
 PANDIT PREM BALLABH BELWAL  
 THAKUR JANG BAHADUR SINGH BISHT  
 SARDAR BAHADUR THAKUR NARAYAN SINGH NEGI  
 PANDIT BRAHMA DUTT BAJPAI  
 RAI BAHADUR THAKUR HANUMAN SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR LAL SHEO PRATAP SINGH  
 KUNWAR DIWAKAR PRAKASH SINGH  
 THAKUR MUNESHWAR BAKHSH SINGH  
 THAKUR JAINDRA BAHADUR SINGH  
 RAJA JAGADAMBIKA PRATAP NARAYAN SINGH  
 RAJA AMBIKESHWAR PRATAP SINGH  
 RAJA BIRENDRA BIKRAM SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR KUNWAR SURENDRA PRATAP SAHAI  
 MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI  
 RAI RAJESHWAR BALI  
 MR. ZAFUR AHMAD  
 SYED ALI ZAHNER  
 KHAN SAHIB SAHIBZADA HAJI  
 SHAIKH MUHAMMAD RASHID-UD-DIN AHMAD  
 SYED YUSUF ALI

KHAN BAHADUR MUHAMMAD  
 MAQSUD ALI KHAN  
 KHAN BAHADUR SHAH NAZAR  
 HUSAIN  
 CAPTAIN NAWAB MUHAMMAD  
 JAMSHED ALI KHAN  
 NAWABZADA MUHAMMAD LIAQUAT  
 ALI KHAN  
 HAFIZ MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM  
 MR. MUHAMMAD RAHAMAT KHAN  
 KHAN BAHADUR HAJI MUHAMMAD  
 OBAIDUR RAHMAN KHAN  
 KHAN BAHADUR MUHAMMAD HADIYAR  
 KHAN  
 KHAN BAHADUR HAFIZ HIDAYAT  
 HUSAIN  
 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI SAIYID  
 HABIBULLAH  
 HAJI M. NISARULLAH  
 KHAN BAHADUR SAIYID ZAHID ALI  
 SABZPOSH  
 KHAN BAHADUR HAFIZ GHULAM  
 HUSAIN  
 KHAN BAHADUR HAFIZ GHAZANFAR-  
 ULLAH  
 KHAN BAHADUR SAIYID JAFER HOSAIN

KHAN SAHIB SHAIKH AFZAL UDDIN  
 HYDER  
 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI MUHAMMAD  
 FAZL-UR RAHMAN KHAN  
 KHAN BAHADUR SIRDAR MUHAMMAD  
 SHAKIRDAD KHAN  
 KHAN SAHIB MUHAMMAD IMTIAZ  
 AHMAD  
 RAJA SAIYID MUHAMMAD SA'ADAT  
 ALI KHAN  
 SHAIKH MUHAMMAD HABIB-ULLAH  
 RAJA SAIYID AHMAD ALI KHAN  
 ALVI  
 RAJA SIR MUHAMMAD EJAZ RASUL  
 KHAN  
 RAJA SAIYID MUHAMMAD MEHDI  
 MR. L. M. MEDLEY  
 RAI BAHADUR LALA ANAND SARUP  
 RAI BAHADUR LALA BIHARI LAL  
 CHAUDHRI MUHAMMAD ALI  
 RAJA BISHESHWAR DAYAL SETH  
 RAJA JAGANNATH BAKHSH SINGH  
 MR. TRACEY FRENCH GAVIN JONES  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU VIKRAMA JIT  
 SINGH  
 MUNSHI GAJADHAR PRASAD

## Proceedings of the Council

BUDGET SESSION—LUCKNOW—20th. FEBRUARY to 6th. APRIL 1935

### NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The United Provinces Legislative Council opened its budget session at Lucknow on the 20th. February 1935 with Mr. Sitaram in the chair. Out of half-a-dozen non-official resolutions on the agenda, the House disposed of three and was half-way through the fourth when it rose for the day.

Mr. Sahu Jwala Singh's resolution, recommending to the Government that the local rates and cesses charged from zemindars on land revenue be charged on the amount of land revenue as reduced and not on one as assessed and that where there was total remission or suspension of rent and land revenue, no local rates and cesses be charged, gave rise to a full-dress debate. There was difference of opinion among the zemindar members themselves as to the expediency of the demand made therein.

On the request of Nawab Sir Mahomed Yusuf, Minister for Local Self-Government, the President allowed the resolution to be split into two parts, the latter of which together with Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain's amendment was accepted, the final form being "where there was total remission or suspension of rent and land revenue, no local rates and cesses be charged and in order to secure thus the relevant Acts be amended."

### ENQUIRY INTO LANDLORDS' INDEBTEDNESS

The Council passed another resolution recommending to the Government to order general inquiry into the indebtedness of landlords paying land revenue of Rs. 5,000 or over and take such steps through the Court of Wards as might be desirable to save the estates of such proprietors about whom there might be reasonable apprehension that their own management could not save their estates from ruin. The resolution was moved by Choudhury Mahomed Ali.

EDUCATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES

**21st. FEBRUARY** :—The Council could not finish even half of the non-official business put down for the day, due to somewhat lengthy speeches, which characterised the debates on the motions discussed. Heat was imported into the discussion by *Rai Sahab Ramchuran's* motion, recommending to the Government that it should take exactly the same measures for the education of backward classes, as it had been taking in the case of the Depressed Classes and eventually there was a passage at arms between *Sir J. P. Srivastava*, Education Minister, and *Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan*, Deputy President following the latter's reference to slow the pace with which Muslim education was progressing. The House accepted the resolution as amended by *Mr. Ahmed Saah* for widening the scope of "backward classes" as to include Hindus, Muslims, Christians and not only Hindus.

The House passed two other resolutions, one recommending to the Government to take immediate steps to revise for the next fiscal year the existing scheme of remissions in rent revenue and expand the co-operative movement in the provinces.

SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS

**23rd FEBRUARY** :—The Council sat just for an hour this morning when it voted the demands for supplementary grants in 1934-35 aggregating to Rs. 1,19,891 and referred to the Select Committee the Tobacco Bill, after rejecting without division, *Mr. Hafiz Mahomed Ibrahim's* amendment that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon.

The House also accepted unanimously the Finance Member's motion recommending to the Government the continuance of the capital programme, irrigation and hydro-electric projects, advances to local bodies and cultivators, pension commutations and civil works.

References were made to the unsatisfactory acoustic properties of the Council Chamber in connection with the Finance Member's token supplementary demand for Rs. 10 for improving the same at an estimated cost of about Rs. 13,610.

OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

**25th. FEBRUARY** :—The Council held perhaps the shortest and liveliest sitting this morning, when a series of technical difficulties led to the development of a piquant situation. When the Finance Member *Sir Edward Blunt* moved for reference to a select committee the Bill amending the Court Fees Act of 1870, *Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan*, Leader of the Democratic Party, objected to the same on the ground that the reference motion was not included in the original list of business set down for the day and there was insufficiency of notice.

The President, *Sir Sitaram*, said that according to the Standing Orders, he could not uphold *Nawabzada's* objection, but pointed out that the only objection that could be made was that the Bill had not been made available to the members seven days before the motion was made and if and when such an objection was raised, he would uphold it. Thereupon, *Nawabzada* made this objection which was upheld by the President.

Exactly similar difficulty was found with the Bill amending the Stamp Act of 1889 and, accordingly, reference of both to select committee was postponed to a later date.

Yet another hitch occurred in connection with the election of a member to the Select Committee on the Mussalman Waqfs Bill. When *Sir J. P. Srivastava*, Education Minister, made a motion to this effect, the President pointed out that the Bill being a non-official one, only the member-in-charge could do this and not the Minister-in-charge. The Legal Remembrancer agreeing with the President's view, the motion was ruled out of order.

The House passed unanimously on the motion of the Home Member, *Kumwar Jagdish Prasad*, the National Parks Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**28th. FEBRUARY** :—A feature of the concluding stages of the general discussion of the Budget to-day was the replies given by the Government members on the general criticism levelled against their respective Departments by the Opposition members. *Mr. Sheikh Mahomed Habibullah*, who was the first speaker to-day, asked the members of the provincial service to continue sacrificing a part of their salaries by voluntarily agreeing to the retention to the cut with a view to inflicting a sense of shame on the members of the All India Services and showing them that they of the provincial service were more interested in the welfare of the people.

*Lady Srivastava*, wife of the Education Minister, did not support the restoration of cut either in the salaries of the members of the Imperial Services whom they could not touch or those of the provincial services regarding whom they could influence the decision of the Government to some extent. She also pleaded for the establishment of a "rescue home" for Naik girls.

*Mr. S. T. Hollins*, Inspector-General of Police, said that he deprecated the suggestion that the Police Department should be starved especially in view of the fact that the Police all over the world was being modernized and improved. Lately, he had seen the amazing change in the attitude of the Police towards the public to whom they were doing a valuable service. He also refuted the assertion that the expenditure on the Police Department was steadily increasing.

*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani*, leader of the Opposition, said that he did not agree with the Finance Member's observation that the acid test of the legislature was its readiness to impose taxation. On the other hand, it was to protect the interests of the people and resist constantly the increasing demands of the Government for more payments. The keynote of the series of budgets presented during the last fifteen years was deficit, debt and taxation. He said that according to the statistical publications of the Government there were more than ten million acres of culturable waste and hoped that the Minister in charge of agriculture would give his attention to the feasibility of converting these millions of acres of culturable waste into cultivable land. As regards the proposed taxation, *Mr. Chintamani* said that the Finance Member was doomed to disappointment.

*Sir J. P. Srivastava*, Education Minister, said that criticisms uttered against the Department under his charge would prove helpful to him. The Transferred Departments had been very fortunate in securing money for further expenditure, despite the fact that the Budget was a deficit one. He admitted that the sum of a lakh of rupees provided in the Budget was insufficient for the large amount of work to be done in connection with the rural uplift work, but thought that they could make a reasonable start with it. It was not possible for him, just now, to indicate how this work would be done but pointed out that his idea was that this work should be done by the villagers themselves under the Government advice and guidance.

*Nawab Sir Mahomed Yusuf*, Minister for Local Self-Government, recognised that due to paucity of funds, more substantial progress in the Department under his charge could not be made and assured the House that due consideration would be given to the criticisms made by the members. As regards *Mr. Chintamani's* observation that he (the Minister) was busy in superseding District Boards and Municipalities, *Mr. Yusuf* maintained that this was not the case. Similarly, the suspicion that the Government was doing nothing for the spread of the co-operative movement in the province was unfounded and baseless. The proceeds of the motor tax which the Government was going to levy would be distributed among the District Boards for effecting improvement in the condition of their roads.

*Sir Edward Blunt*, Finance Member, in winding up the debate, felt that the objection to the imposition of further taxation was mainly based on the idea that had there been no restoration of the cut, there would not have been taxation. This was not true as even if there had been no such restoration, there would still have been deficit of 15 or 16 lakhs in the Budget which could not be made in any other way than by restoring to further taxation. The substitutes suggested for the proposed taxation were mostly impracticable and if the Government proposals in this respect were not accepted by the House, the Budget would have to be very materially altered. As regards the suggestion to maintain the cut in the salaries of the members of the provincial services, *Sir Edward Blunt* said that it showed that the House was prepared to tax none excepting the Provincial Services. The House then adjourned till March 11.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**11th. MARCH :—**The Government policy concerning the expenditure on public works was criticised, when the demands for grants in this connection were taken up in the Council which re-assembled this morning after ten days' recess.

Criticism centred round the point that the Budget being a deficit one, the Government should not embark on new schemes of constructing buildings. Speaker after speaker from the Opposition benches took the opportunity of emphasising that in these times of financial stringency, such expenditure would be uneconomic and unproductive. The Government, however, resisted successfully all the cut motions, most of which were withdrawn after brief discussion.

The House divided on a comparatively unimportant demand for Rs. 50,000 in connection with the extension of the mulla's house in King George's and Queen Mary's Hospitals, Lucknow.

*Khan Bahadur Faridul Rahmaan Khan* moved for the entire omission of the item to which *Khan Bahadur Faridul Rahmaan* moved an amendment for substituting Rs. 25,000 for Rs. 50,000 demanded. Division resulted in a decisive victory for the Government. *Khan Bahadur Faridul Rahmaan's* amendment being rejected by 34 to 8 votes.

**12th. MARCH** Government suffered a defeat in the Council to-day by the casting vote of the Chairman. The token cut of Rs. 1 relating to the Government's tentative road programme involving expenditure of Rs. 80 lakhs to be spread over a period of five years. This was in connection with the presentation by the Minister for Local Self-Government, *Nawab Sir Mahmud Yusuf*, of the demand for the grant of Rs. 15 lakhs to be spent during the next year on the reconstruction of new roads.

Several token cuts were moved to raise the claim that this sum of Rs. 15 lakhs should not be spent without furnishing the House with details of the road programme and without obtaining its approval.

*Nawab Yusuf* gave an undertaking that the details of the scheme would be placed before the House in the June session of the Council.

*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani*, Leader of the Opposition, wanted to know what would happen if the recommendation of the House was not accepted by the Government of India.

*Nawab Yusuf* replied that he could not possibly say anything, as the hands of the Local Government were tied and there was no alternative for them but to submit to the dictates of the Government of India in the matter.

This position appearing unsatisfactory to the sponsors, the cut motion was put to vote. The Government challenged a division which resulted in a tie of 27 votes.

The House earlier in the day rejected *Thakur Muneshwar Singh's* motion for omission of the item of Rs. 15 lakhs.

Strong disapproval of the decision of the Secretary of State to restore the cut in salaries of the members of All-India Services was expressed through a cut motion moved by *Khan Bahadur Obaidul Rahman*, to which *Mr. Chintamani* moved an amendment reducing to Rs. 10 the figure Rs. 5,000 in the original motion.

The House accepted the amendment after the Home Member, *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad* had made the position of the Government in the matter clear. He said that if the cut was carried the Government would regard it as an indication of the wish of the House that the cut in the pay of the provincial and subordinate services in all Departments, Reserved and Transferred, should be maintained.

**13th. MARCH** :—The question of the restoration of salary cut was raised again in the Council this morning through a token cut of Rupee 1, moved by *Mr. Sheikh Habibullah* in respect of the demand under head "Forest".

In view of the fact that the House had already expressed its verdict on the question as far as the Imperial services were concerned and far-reaching consequential effects on the members of the Provincial and Subordinate Services, if the motion was carried, the President, *Sir Sitaram* asked the mover to clarify the issue and put it in as definite and unequivocal a form as possible.

The mover stated that his object was that there should be no restoration of cut in the salaries of provincial and subordinate services. He disclaimed that his intention was to punish the members of these services but his object was only to make them share in the sufferings of their own people. On the other hand, he looked upon the cut as an honourable surrender in the interests of the people.

The Home Member, *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad*, strongly opposing the motion, pointed out that the House yesterday definitely decided as far as the Provincial Subordinate Services were concerned that they did not wish to make any change and thought it rather unfair to raise the same issue again. He maintained that if *Mr. Habibullah's* proposition was accepted it would spell disaster on the members of the Provincial Subordinate Services and stressed the desirability of keeping them contented.

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan*, Deputy President held that reason was certainly with the mover but sentiment was against him. He hoped that the mover would yield to sentiment and appealed to him to withdraw the motion.

*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani*, Leader of the Opposition, said that sufficient difficulties after sufficient differentiation had been already created in the different positions of the

Imperial Services against the Provincial Subordinate Services and that they should not be a party to further differentiation.

The mover, after replying to the debate, offered to withdraw the motion, but the House refused him permission to do so and the motion, when put to vote, was rejected.

Mr *Ali Zaheer* moved for reduction of Re 1 under sub-head Executive Council and Ministers under General Administration to draw the attention of the House to the fact that though according to the Government of India Bill, the pay of Ministers and Executive Councillors should be the same, the former were actually drawing about Rs 2,233 less than the latter.

After a brief discussion, the House accepted the motion.

#### IN PRECAUTIONS—ADJ. MOTION

**14th. MARCH :—**The Council debated for the whole day the order passed by the District Magistrate of Fyzabad Municipal areas in Ajodhya and the neighbouring village of Shahjahanpur on a token out of Re. 1 moved by Mr Syed Ali Zaheer under the head "Executive Council and Ministers" to protest against the above-mentioned orders. A record number of speeches were made, no less than 23 members participating in the debate. The gist of the speeches made by the Moslem members was that their brethren in faith in Ajodhya should not be denied religious right of cow sacrifice on the ground that they were not exercising it lately and that orders passed by the District authorities should be so modified by the Local Government as to redress the legitimate grievances of the Ajodhya Moslems. It was emphasised that the Moslems had no grievances against the Hindus of Ajodhya but against the Government and appeals were made to effect an amicable settlement of the unfortunate, but vitally important question.

While the Moslem members characterised the orders passed by the District authorities as illegal and unjust, Kunwar Jagdish Prasad (Home Member) and Hindu members defended their action vigorously.

Mr. Ali Zaheer said that as far back as 1912 the right of the Moslem residents of Ajodhya to sacrifice cows had been recognised and a slaughter house was constructed for the purpose by the Government. But as the Moslems thought that the Government had imposed certain limitations on the exercise of their right, they performed no sacrifice as a protest against this. But this did not mean that they ceased to possess this right. He feared that the orders of the District authorities might promote the development of a grave situation in which breach of the peace might occur.

*Nawab Zada Liaquat Ali Khan* attempted to show that the problem was an entirely non-communal one though it unfortunately had a communal hue. This being the case, he appealed to the Hindu members to side with their Moslem colleagues, when the motion was put to vote.

*Kunwar Jagdish Prasad* strongly protested against the insinuations of motive made against the District Magistrate of Fyzabad who was neither a Hindu nor a Moslem. No District Magistrate, he declared, would pass orders under Section 144, unless he was driven to it and as the Government were convinced that what he did was imperatively necessary, he had their full confidence and support. He appealed to the members of the House to make every possible effort to pacify the feeling which had been aroused and not to do or say anything likely to flare up the communal passions.

On division being challenged by the mover, the motion was rejected by 48 to 21 votes. The Moslem members voted for the motion and the Hindu members sided with the Government.

As the House remained occupied throughout the day with the discussion of this motion which left no time for taking up outas relating to General Administration, 56 out of 58 demands had to be guillotined and the total demand of Rs. 1,12,30,902 was passed. The House adjourned until March 22.

#### SECONDARY EDUCATION—MINISTER'S STATEMENT

**22nd. MARCH :—**That the United Provinces had given lead in the matter of reorganisation of secondary education was the assertion made by the Education Minister Sir *J. P. Srivastava* when he introduced this morning the Education Department estimates totalling Rs. 20,68,534 which, he said, were the biggest education estimates yet presented to the Council, though he admitted they were unequal to the needs.

The problem of secondary education, he continued, was by no means simple. It appeared twofold—(1) making it more practical and more vocational with a view to making it better designed to increase the material wealth of the country; (2) readjustment of the years of students' life between the various institutions. The Government of India were also taking keen interest therein, while the committee under the chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Board of Economic Enquiry were addressing themselves directly to this aspect of education as it affected the problem of unemployment. But it seemed unlikely that any radical changes could be introduced without incurring a large amount of expenditure and whatever reorganisation and reorientation in education was undertaken, care would be taken to ensure that the existing institutions which had been built up with so much labour and expenditure were not needlessly destroyed.

Proceeding, he said that the year had been marked by vigorous educational activity despite continued financial stringency, the Government having undertaken such developments as were possible within the limits imposed by the Finance Member.

Referring to girls education, Sir Sivastava said that there had been notable expansion in girls' primary education for which a sum of Rs 1,25,000 had been set apart in 1935-36 budget estimates. As regards vernacular education, the Minister admitted that the progress in this branch had been slow, though special attention was being paid to the education of the depressed and backward classes. Provision in this year's budget for the depressed classes' education was over Rs. 1,20,000.

**23rd. MARCH :—**When the debate on Pandit *Jotiprosad Upadhaya's* token out motion of Rs 1 in respect of Government Training Colleges was resumed this morning, speakers from the Opposition Benches, including Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Leader of the Opposition, strongly criticised the method of admission of candidates to the Colleges. It was also urged that the system of giving stipends to those who could secure admission to these institutions should either be entirely done away with or their number of stipendiaries drastically curtailed, so that the money thus saved could be utilized for a better purpose. One of the speakers even suggested that in view of unemployment being rampant among trained teachers, training colleges should cease functioning for some time at least. Mr. Chintamani urged the desirability of affiliating the Government Training College at Allahabad to the University. Mr. H. R. Haroon, Director of Public Instruction, did not agree with the view that there was considerable unemployment among the teachers passing out of training colleges, while Sir J. P. Srivatsava, Education Minister, explained, at length, the reasons which had led him to introduce an innovation in the method of selecting candidates for training colleges. It was in response to the persistent demand that some change should be made in the machinery for selection of students, that he constituted selection boards as final authorities in the matter, one of the reasons which influenced him to do it being the desire to obviate charges of favouritism and even nepotism brought against the selecting authority. As regards the suggestion to affiliate the Allahabad Training College to the local University, the Hon'ble Minister said that the question was a difficult one and the Government had decided not to effect this change for the time being. The motion was withdrawn.

The House carried Mr. Chintamani's out motion of Rs. 10 under the head "University Education," urging increased representation of Provincial Universities in the local Council.

#### IRRIGATION WORKS—GOVT. STATEMENT

**25th. MARCH :—**A critical survey of the Government scheme with regard to the sinking of tube-wells in certain districts of the province was made to-day when various out-motions were moved under the heads Irrigation and Hydro-electric Works.

The Chief Engineer, Sir William Stampe, made an important announcement that the Government had decided that as soon as it was known by the actual results that the tube-wells were not going to be a failure either geologically or commercially, the water courses would be constructed at the expense of the State and no additional charges would be made for irrigation from them. Sir William Stampe also informed the House that the question of the extension of tube-wells in grid area which was hitherto confined to non-grid area was now receiving careful attention of the Irrigation Department. Outlining the main features of the Government policy in tube-well construction, Sir William Stampe pointed out that the success of the scheme depended upon two factors, namely; (1) there should be water underground in suitable form to lift out. (2) and there should be suitable form of power

to lift it out. They were exploring in the eastern districts of the province with a view to finding out if they fulfilled both these conditions. If their efforts met with success in the eastern districts, they would make a similar start in other parts. The Government proposed to spend 1256 lakhs under capital on tube-well scheme.

All motions for grants aggregating to Rs. 42,599,100 under the head "Irrigation Works" charged to revenue excepting one for four lakhs in connection with the Sarda Canal which was reduced by half were passed by the House.

#### MOSLEMS IN P. W. D.

The question of inadequate representation of Moslems in the Public Works Department was raised by *Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman* who moved a reduction of Re. 1 under sub-head "Pay and Establishment." He urged that this old standing grievance of Moslems should be redressed by appointing more Moslems in the Department.

*Rai Kajeshwar Bah* urged that suitable men were available in the United Provinces and they should receive preferential treatment in the matter of appointment.

The Home Member, *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad* pointed out that one of the chief reasons why the number of Moslems in the Engineering Service was not very larger was that very few Moslems possessed necessary qualification. He however, assured the mover that in consonance with the general policy of the Government the legitimate claims of all communities in making appointments would be registered.

The motion was withdrawn.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT—MINISTER'S STATEMENT

**26th. MARCH :—**The future policy of the Government in regard to industrial development of the Province was outlined by the Minister of Industries, *Sir J. P. Srivastava* to-day when he introduced in the Industries Department estimates, totalling Rs. 11,58,144. Briefly surveying the position of main industries in the Province during the current year, *Sir Srivastava* said there was no doubt the long-looked-for recovery had begun owing to the going up of commodity prices which reacted favourably on trade and industry. The sugar industry which was the most important industry in the province was reported to have done well, though the cotton industry had slightly suffered owing to circumstances beyond their control, such as rise in the price of cotton in the American market.

Proceeding, the Minister said that in accordance with the recommendations of the Industries Reorganisation Committee, the Government would concentrate the greater part of its activities on (1) intensive development of a few selected industries, (2) assistance to industries in general in marketing products and (3) assisting middle-class educated young men to set up in industry or business or failing that, finding employment for them. The three major industries on which the Industries Department was going to concentrate were sugar, oil and glass. There was, he added, great scope to development of cottage industries and it was the intention of the Government to carry on practical demonstration and propaganda to encourage the use of electro-power by cottage workers and frame simple schemes for minor industries and make them available to those who needed them. Another factor which vitally affected the development of industries was the provision of finance and in order to consider various ways wherein financial assistance could be given, the Government had appointed a committee of commercial and banking experts under the presidency of *Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala* and was awaiting its recommendations. Turning to technical and industrial education, the Minister said that there had been some difference of opinion in respect of the recommendations of the Committee appointed for the purpose, relating to the closing down of certain schools. He assured the House that there was no intention on the part of the Government to do away with such schools as were doing useful work.

The entire demand minus Re. 1 was voted.

**27th. MARCH :—**The advisability of amalgamating the High Court at Allahabad and the Chief Court at Lucknow was urged upon the Government through a motion moved by *Mr. Syed Ali Zaheer* under the sub-head "High Court and Chief Court" when the judicial budget came up for discussion this morning.

Referring to the administrative difficulties pointed out in this connection by the Government spokesman when the same question was raised on previous occasions, the mover said that the only difference between the two Courts was in the matter of separate territorial jurisdiction which each had. This difficulty could be met by having the Divisional Bench of the Allahabad High Court at Lucknow. *Mr. Ali Zaheer*



also claimed that if his proposal was accepted, it would considerably reduce the huge volume of arrears of work lying before the Allahabad High Court.

Elucidating the legal aspect of the question, the Home Member *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad*, pointed out that as soon as the Government of India Bill was enacted, the Lucknow Chief Court would become a High Court and according to the provisions of the Bill, before the Chief Court could be amalgamated with the High Court of Allahabad, both these Courts would have to present an address to the Governor containing this request for submission to His Majesty and it would only then be that such amalgamation would take place. This being the legal position, it was not possible for this House to pass any motion on which the Government could act.

The motion was withdrawn.

# MEDICAL DEPT. - MINISTER'S STATEMENT

**28th MARCH** - The woeful tale of the lack of funds impeding at every step the expansion of the activities of the Medical Department, was told by *Nawab Sir Mahomed Yusuf*, Minister for Local Self-Government, in the course of the speech he made in connection with the introduction of medical estimates totalling Rs. 31,21,200.

The Minister, however, hoped that the Department would not continue to suffer from paucity of funds. While emphasising that the Department was serving the vital needs of the province in the shape of medical relief and medical education, the Minister recognised that much leeway had to be made in these directions, but added that it would be admitted that on the whole the Department, despite the financial limitations, was putting forth its maximum efforts and was obtaining the best results for the benefit of the public. One of the most difficult problems confronting them was that of providing medical aid in the rural areas. He admitted that they had not been able to think out any definite schemes which would be within their means as even the most modest scheme would require an appreciable amount of money to begin with. It was just possible that they might have to think of combining the Allopathic and Unani systems for solving this problem, but their difficulties were enhanced by the fact that sufficient number of trained Hakims and Vaidis were not forthcoming. Coming to the special curative measures, Nawab Yusuf said that every effort was being made to combat cerebro-spinal meningitis as a result of which the percentage of deaths from that disease was steadily going down. They were also controlling tuberculosis and recently opened three anti-tuberculosis hospitals.

*Haji Obaidar Rahman Khan's* motion for the entire omission of the demand under medical establishment through which he drew the attention of the Government to the progressive increase of infant mortality in the province and complained that nothing was being done to combat, was negatived by 38 votes to 31.

The House, however, accepted the same member's out-motion urging the need for finding more funds for affording adequate medical relief in the villages. He suggested that the local bodies should be given greater financial assistance from the funds allotted by the Central and Local Governments for rural uplift.

**29th. MARCH** :—The question of granting further remissions in land revenue proportionate to those in the rent in accordance with the law was raised on a cut-motion by *Khan Bahadur Jagar Hossain* to-day, when Land Revenue estimates were presented.

The mover drew attention "to the unsatisfactory" nature of the remissions in the land revenue, complaining that no steps had been taken by the Government to give adequate relief to the Zamindars in this shape. He argued that as it had been decided to restore the salary cut in case of the Government servants, it was high time that relief should also be given to the Zamindars who had been hard hit by the continued economic depression.

*Kunwar Jagdish Prasad*, Home Member, replying, said that no elaborate arguments were needed to convince the Government of the difficult situation in which the Zamindars found themselves as a result of slump conditions. The problem had been causing a great deal of anxiety to the Government. Kunwar Jagdish Prasad assured the House that they were bestowing their greatest attention on the matter. He, however, was not prepared to commit the Government to the proposition of granting remissions in the revenue proportionate to those in the rent.

The motion was carried, the Government not opposing.

**30th. MARCH** :—Guillotine was applied at 5 p. m. to-day and the Budget for 1935-36 was put to vote and passed.

## AGRICULTURE DEPT. MINISTER'S STATEMENT

The House discussed the whole day the estimates of the Agriculture Department, as a result of which other demands for grants, including the entire police budget, were not discussed.

Introducing the estimates for the Agriculture Department, Sir J. P. Srivastava referred to the Government village uplift programme, for which there was budget provision to the extent of one lakh of rupees. The movement for betterment of villagers could not, he said, be imposed from without but must spring from within. The primary object was to induce them to secure their own health, wealth and happiness. They, therefore, must aim at all-round development. The sanitary, economic and cultural aspects must all be taken up together and tackled simultaneously. It was proposed to have organisations, animated by co-operative spirit, in villages. There would be six organisers in each district, each organiser having territorial jurisdiction over 12 villages. The cost of such a scheme was estimated to be three to four lakhs per year. The Minister referred in this connection to the allotment by the Central Government of a sum of a crore of rupees for village uplift, though he could not say what the United Provinces' share of it would be and how the Government of India would like them to spend it. It was possible that the Government of India might call a Conference of Provincial Ministers to discuss schemes for rural reconstruction. Emphasising the immense possibilities of the work, Sir J. P. Srivastava invited co-operation of all landlords in this matter.

**1st. APRIL :—**There was a heated debate lasting for about four hours on the supplementary demand for Rs. 750 forming the province's contribution at the instance of the Government of India towards meeting the salary and other expenses of *Miss Shepherd*, who, at the request of the Calcutta Vigilance Association, had been promoting since 1928 an educational campaign against tolerated social vice. Two motions for the entire omission based on different reasons were moved.

While Mr. *Thakur Hanuman Singh* suspected the motives of Miss Shepherd and feared that like Miss Mayo she might malign India after the study of this question, another member objected to the House authorising the Government to pay money towards the expenses of a visitor especially when there was no definite scheme of her work before them.

When *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*, the new Home Member, was about to speak, Mr. C. Y. *Chintamani* raised a point of order which led to a controversy as to whether the demand related to the Reserved or the Transferred Departments. As there was a difference of opinion among the Government members themselves on the point, the President deferred voting on the item until the next day in order to give the Government time to determine finally to which side of the administration this particular item belonged.

The House, after voting another supplementary demand for Rs. 55,468, proceeded with the consideration of Court Fees Amendment Bill.

## TAXATION MEASURE

*Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*, in his maiden speech, emphasised that a deficit budget was responsible for the Government to come forward with proposals of fresh taxation assuring the House, however, that none of the Government members liked the idea of further taxation. According to revised estimates, fresh taxation measures were expected to yield only about twelve lakhs instead of sixteen lakhs as originally estimated. Between 1931 and 1934 Government curtailed their expenditure to about 161 lakhs besides effecting considerable recurrent economies and assured the House that further retrenchment would be made.

Mr. C. Y. *Chintamani* strongly opposing the motion said deficit and debt had become cardinal principles of the budgets in the province during the last fourteen years. He accused the Government of trying to make justice even costlier than what it was as also of not carrying out even the most important recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. He asked if Government had exhausted all sources of income before they inaugurated the constitution, how they would be able to meet the increased expenditure incidental thereto.

*Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* said it might appear ominous for these provinces that the first act of the new Home Member should be to sponsor measures for the imposition of further taxation on the people. He humourously remarked that it being the first day of April, the Home Member was perpetrating a practical joke on the people of this province. Most of the burden of this taxation would fall on the agri-

culturists who were already in a pitiable condition. Had the 10 percent cut been retained during the last two years, the province would have saved Rs 36 lakhs and this year there would have been a slight surplus instead of 32 lakhs deficit.

### COURT FEES AMENDMENT BILL

**2nd. APRIL** :—The Council, after a whole day's discussion, rejected by 58 votes to 25 the Court Fees Amendment Bill, the first of a series of fresh taxation measures brought forward by the Government to reduce the deficit in the current year's budget. Speaker after speaker from the Opposition benches denounced the measure. Mr. *E. Ahmed Shah* (nominated), being the only non-official member who spoke in support of the Bill. The Opposition concentrated its attack on the Government decision to restore the salary cut and their non-compliance with the important recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee in 1931, despite the assurances said to have been given by the official spokesman that every effort would be made to translate them into practice, which, it was argued, led to a deficit, necessitating further taxation. It was emphasised that the lowest taxable limit of people had been already reached and they were unable to bear the heavier burden of taxation.

Mr. *C. Y. Chintamani* strongly opposing the motion said deficit and debt had become cardinal principles of the budgets in the province during the last fourteen years. He accused the Government of trying to make justice even costlier than what it was as also of not carrying out even the most important recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. He asked if Government had exhausted all sources of income before they inaugurated the constitution, how they would be able to meet the increased expenditure incidental thereto.

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan* said it might appear ominous for these provinces that the first act of the new Home Member should be to sponsor measures for the imposition of further taxation on the people. He humourously remarked that it being the first day of April, the Home Member was perpetrating a practical joke on the people of this province. Most of the burden of this taxation would fall on the agriculturists who were already in a pitiable condition. Had the 10 per cent cut been retained during the last two years, the province would have saved Rs. 36 lakhs, and this year there would have been a slight surplus instead of 32 lakhs deficit.

The Home Member, *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*, replying to the debate, recommended the measures adopted by the Government to aid the agriculturists. He said that it had been wrongly assumed that the Government alone had been responsible for the present state of affairs. He assured the House that they would carry out appreciable reductions in expenditure in the near future. He wanted the House that if the measure was rejected, the Government would be left with no other option but either to reduce or entirely omit the expenditure on a considerable number of new items, not necessarily relating to the Reserved Departments.

### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS

**3rd. APRIL** :—The Government scored a decisive victory this morning when the Council passed by 49 votes to 19 the supplementary demand for Rs. 750 to meet part of Miss Shephard's expenses. *Sir J. P. Srivastava* explained at length the nature of the activities of Miss Shephard in order to convince the House of the utility of her work. He described the debate on this "paltry" demand as a tempest in a tea cup.

The Government's initial triumph, however, proved short-lived as later in the day they suffered two successive defeats on other taxation measures.

### STAMP ACT AMENDMENT BILL

The House rejected the Stamp Act Amendment Bill without division and the Tobacco Bill by 51 votes to 24. All opposition parties in the House again combined, as they did in throwing out the Court Fees Act Amendment Bill yesterday, to inflict heavy defeats on the Government.

Moving for consideration of the Stamp Act Amendment Bill, the Home Member, *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh* said that the present Bill was altogether similar to the one rejected yesterday and the expected revenue from it was only about Rs. 2 and a half lakhs. The reason which had forced the Government to come forward with the measure was that there was very large deficit in the Budget which it would be impossible to remove by means of economies to be effected by Government before very long.

Mr. *Syed Ali Zaheer*, opposing, said that the present time was an inopportune moment for imposing any further taxation on the people. There might have been some justification for imposing these measures had the Government acquitted itself well as far as retrenchment measures were concerned.

#### THE U. P. TOBACCO BILL

*Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh* then moved for consideration of the Tobacco Bill, explaining the changes incorporated in it by the Select Committee as a result of which the estimated yield had been reduced from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 2 or 2 and a half lakhs. He claimed that the Bill was an innocuous one and the police have been kept out of it. Though he could not commit the Government to any definite figure of retrenchment and economy, he maintained that if the House would give the Government Rs. 15 lakhs which the taxation measures were originally estimated to bring to its coffers, it would be in a position to wipe out the deficit with the additional help of the economies which were proposed to be effected.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES ACT AMEND. BILL

**4th. APRIL.**—Two bills connected with the motor transport, one amending the Indian Motor Vehicles Act of 1914 with a view to co-ordinating motor transport with other forms of transport and regulating the public motor services according to the changed needs of the travelling public and providing for the control of fares and the other seeking to substitute for the present taxation on these vehicles at varying rates by the various local authorities of a simple provincial tax with the object of stimulating omnibus traffic in the rural areas not served by the railways or main roads, were referred to the Select Committee by the Council to-day.

Moving for the reference of the Motor Vehicles Act Amendment Bill to the Select Committee, *Navab Sir Mahomed Yusuf*, Minister for Local Self-Government, said that with the development of motor traffic in recent years, it was felt that the Act of 1914 was inadequate for the purpose of regulating motor traffic to meet with the modern needs of the travelling public. He claimed that the measure, if passed, would make motor transport more efficient and more suited to the needs of the public, emphasising that it was not meant to subserve the interests of the Railways. He also denied that it had anything to do with the other taxation measures of the Government (all of which were already rejected by the House) and declared that it was quite an independent measure.

The Bill was referred to Select Committee after a short discussion.

The House, however, divided on Mr. *Joti Prasad's* amendment that the membership of the Select Committee be increased from 12 to 16. The amendment was carried by 50 to 15 votes, the Government siding with the mover.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES TAX BILL

Moving for the reference of the U. P. Motor Vehicles Tax Bill to the Select Committee, *Navab Yusuf* explained that the proceeds of the tax would be credited to the special Road Fund to be applied partly to the grants to Municipalities to compensate them for their loss in income from the taxation of motor vehicles, partly to the contribution to be made to the District Boards for additional expenditure on roads and partly to the construction and improvement of provincial roads. The tax was not a new one. It was merely a substitution of the provincial tax in place of the varying taxes imposed by the various municipalities. A single provincial tax would be largely in the interests of the motorists themselves and would fall on those who were willing to pay it.

Mr. *C. Y. Chintamani*, opposing the motion, said that the present was not the time for imposing taxation of any kind. Describing the measure as highly undesirable, he attempted to show that it was a new tax and not a substitute for the old tax.

*Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan* said that the Bill was based on a wrong presumption that the motor car was a luxury and not a necessity. In rural areas and small Municipalities, there was no motor tax. The speaker challenged the Minister's statement that motor-owners were willing to be taxed.

The House agreed to refer the Bill to a Select Committee by 46 votes to 27.

Earlier in the day, the Council discussed the Government programme for new works of road reconstruction, involving a total expenditure of Rs. 80 lakhs and spread over a period of five years.

## LISTED POSTS IN UNITED PROVINCES

**5th APRIL** —The abolition of the vexatious distinction between the I. C. S. officers and other holders of listed posts and the increased representation of members of the Provincial Civil Service in the listed posts were demanded in a resolution moved by Mr *Thakur Hanuman Singh* in the Council this morning. The resolution also recommended to the Government to take immediate steps for (a) the promotion of officers of the Provincial Service to the superior I. C. S. posts to the full extent, due according to the recommendations of the Lee Commission and (b) the appointment of senior provincial service officers as District Officers to fill up hot weather and casual vacancies in preference to I. C. S. Officers of less than eight years standing in service.

The mover said that in 1924, the Commission recommended that 20 per cent of the superior posts should go to provincial service officers and that promotion should commence from that year (1924), but it actually commenced two years later. On account of the halting manner in which the Government had been recognising their claims, there was discontent and dissatisfaction among the members of the provincial service which ought to be removed as soon as possible. He complained that the assurance given by Sir Malcolm Hailey in 1931 that two superior posts would be given to the provincial civil service was not given effect to. There was a rumour that the Secretary of State has decided that unless and until every I. C. S. Officer of eight years' standing had been seconded for the superior post, the claims of no Provincial Service Officer would be considered. If that was so the aspirations of provincial officers would remain unfulfilled for a long time to come.

Mr *J. M. Clay*, Chief Secretary, said that the mover had taken a somewhat gloomy view of the situation and the feelings of the present members of the Provincial Civil Service. While it could not be said that the Provincial Service had no grievances the speaker could from his personal experience say that they had always been only too ready and loyal to carry out orders. The Commission recommended that from 1924 the number of listed posts be increased from 16 to 21 and this had been accepted by the Government who were bound to carry it out. Eight posts were listed so far and the Secretary of State ordered that remaining posts be created by 1930 but these orders were subject to certain qualifications with regard to the just claims of the I. C. S.

As regards Sir Malcolm Hailey's assurance, Mr. Clay said that his recommendations were turned down by the Secretary of State on the ground that the U. P. Government were not in a position to assure the Secretary of State that listing of those two posts would not prejudicially affect the prospects of promotion of I. C. S.

The Home Member, *Kunwar Sir Mahuraj Singh*, said that though they were a subordinate Government whose recommendations were not always accepted, they proposed at an early date to review the situation and make recommendations with a view to increasing the number of listed posts. He hoped this announcement would in some measure allay the apprehensions of the Provincial Civil Service Members. The Government, he pleaded, would be left to decide as to when a Provincial Service Officer should be appointed to hot weather or casual vacancy and when the officer of the provincial service should be selected therefor. He assured that as far as possible the reasonable wishes of the Provincial Civil Service would be met.

The resolution was adopted, after the amendment substituting ten years standing for eight years in the case of I. C. S. officers was thrown out by the House.

## NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

**6th. APRIL** :—The Council was *prorogued* this afternoon after it had disposed of four non-official Bills. *Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh's* Bill amending the Agra University Act with a view to changing the constitution of the Senate and Executive Council in order to increase representation of members of the local legislature on these two bodies was referred to a Select Committee.

The House also agreed to circulate *Syed Ali Zakaer's* Bill to provide for the administration of Hussainabad and allied endowments for eliciting public opinion thereon. None of the six resolutions figuring on the agenda was moved.

# The B. & O. Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| THE HON'BLE BABU RAJANDHARI SINHA ( <i>President</i> )             | 36 MAHANTH MANMOHAN DAS                       |
| 1 THE HON'BLE BABU NIRSU NARAYAN SINHA ( <i>Executive Member</i> ) | 37 MR. SAIYID MUHAMMAD MEHDI                  |
| 2 THE HON'BLE MR. J. A. HUBBACK ( <i>Executive Member</i> )        | 38 MAULAVI SAIYID MUHAMMAD HAFEEZ             |
| 3 THE HON'BLE DR. SIR GANESH DATTA SINGH ( <i>Minister</i> )       | 39 RAI BAHADUR DALIP NARAYAN SINGH            |
| 4 THE HON'BLE MR. SAIYID ABDUL AZIZ ( <i>Minister</i> )            | 40 BABU CHANDRASHVAR PRASHAD NARAYAN SINHA    |
| 5 MR. R. E. RUSSELL  | 41 BABU, MAHESHVARI PRASHAD NARAYAN DEO       |
| 6 MR. W. G. LACEY  | 42 BABU JAGDEVA PRASHAD SINGH                 |
| 7 KHAN BAHADUR ABDUL QADIR KHAN                                    | 43 BABU SARDANANDA KUMAR                      |
| 8 KHAN BAHADUR MUHAMMAD HAMID                                      | 44 BABU RAMASRAY PRASHAD CHAUDHURI            |
| 9 MR. S. LALL  | 45 BABU JAMUNA KARJEE                         |
| 10 MR. A. C. DAVIES  | 46 RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAYAN MAHTHA             |
| 11 MR. F. A. BETTERTON   | 47 BABU RAMESHVAR PRASHAD SINGH               |
| 12 MR. J. G. POWELL  | 48 KHAN BAHADUR SHAH MUHAMMAD YAHYA           |
| 13 MR. E. R. J. R. COUSINS   | 49 MR. MUHAMMAD YUNUS                         |
| 14 MR. J. R. DAIN  | 50 MAULAVI MAHAMMAD FAZLUR RAHMAN             |
| 15 MR. E. C. ANSORGE   | 51 KHAN BAHADUR ABDUL WAHAB KHAN              |
| 16 MR. E. S. HOERNLE   | 52 KHAN BAHADUR HAJI MUHAMMAD BUX CHAUDHURI   |
| 17 DR. SIR SAIYID SULTAN AHMAD                                     | 53 MAULAVI ABDUL AZIZ KHAN                    |
| 18 MR. L. R. SABHARWAL   | 54 BABU KALYAN SINGH                          |
| 19 MR. B. W. HAIGH   | 55 RAI BAHADUR HALDHAR PRASHAD SINGH          |
| 20 MR. W. H. MEYRICK   | 56 BHAIYA RUDRA PRATAP DEO                    |
| 21 MR. E. A. PATERSON  | 57 BABU SHYAM NARAYAN SINGH SHARMA            |
| 22 BABU MADANDHARI SINHA   | 58 RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA RAY              |
| 23 MR. A. E. D'SILVA   | 59 RAI BAHADUR LAKSHMIDHAR MAHANTI            |
| 24 REV. BRAJANANDA DAS   | 60 BABU HARIHAR DAS                           |
| 25 KUMAR AJIT PRASHAD SINGH DEO                                    | 61 RAI BAHADUR LOKNATH MISRA                  |
| 26 MR. R. CHANDRA  | 62 BABU BRAJAMOHAN PANDA                      |
| 27 CHAUDHURI SHARAFAT HUSSAIN                                      | 63 BABU BIRABAR NARAYAN CHANDRA DHIR NARENDRA |
| 28 BABU BIMALA CHARAN SINGH  | 64 BABU SHIB CHANDRA SINGHA                   |
| 29 BABU SHEONANDAN PRASHAD   | 65 BABU DEVENDRA NATH SAMANTA                 |
| 30 BABU RAM NARAYAN  | 66 BABU RAMESHWAR PRATAP SAHI                 |
| 31 RAI BAHADUR RAM RANVIJAYA SINGH                                 |   |
| 32 RAI BAHADUR HARENDRA NATH BANERJI                               |   |
| 33 RAI BAHADUR BIRENDRA NATH CHAKRAVARTTI                          |   |
| 34 MR. SAGRAM HEMBROME   |   |
| 35 MR. GARBETT CAPTAIN MANKI                                       |   |

67 BABU BADRI NARAYAN SINGH  
68 BABU RUDRA PRATAP SINGH  
69 BABU BISHUNDEO NARAYAN SINGH  
70 MAULAVI KHALILUR RAHMAN  
71 MAULAVI MUHAMMAD ABDUL GHANI  
72 MAULAVI SHAIKH MUHAMMAD SHAFI  
73 KHAN BAHADUR HABIBUR RAHMAN  
74 MAULAVI ABDUL WADOOD  
75 MAULAVI MUHAMMAD HASAN JAN  
76 KHAN BAHADUR SAGHIR UL HAQ  
77 MR. S. M. CASSIM  
78  
79 BABU RAMANUGRAH NARAYAN SINGH  
80 BABU BHAGWATI SARAN SINGH  
81 MAULAVI SHAIKH ABDUL JALIL  
82 BABU GODAVARIS MISRA  
83 RAI BAHADUR SATIS CHANDRA SINHA  
84 MR. KAMALDHARI LALL  
85 RAI BAHADUR LACHEMI PRASHAD SINHA

86 BABU JAGANNATH DAS  
87 BABU RADHARANJAN DAS  
88 BABU NIKUNJA KISHORE DAS  
89 MR. SURUJ KUMAR PRASHAD SINHA  
90 BABU HARMADHO PRASHAD SINHA  
91 CHAUDHURI MUHAMMAD NAZIRUL HASAN  
92 BABU RADHA MOHAN SINHA  
93 BABU RAMJIWAN HIMAT SINGKA  
94 MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA  
95 RAJA PRITHWI CHAND LALL CHOWDREY  
96 RAI BAHADUR DWARKA NATH  
97 RAI BAHADUR SHYAMNANDAN SAHAY  
98 KUMAR KALIKA PRASHAD SINGH  
99 BABU JOGENDRA MOHAN SINHA  
100 BABU RADHA PRASHAD SINHA  
101 MR. NANDA KUMAR GHOSH  
102 RAI BAHADUR KRISHNADEVA NARAYAN MAHTHA  
103 BABU LALITA PRASHAD CHAUDHURI  
104 BABU KUNJA BIHARI CHANDRA  
105 BABU MANINDRA NATH MUKHARJI

## Proceedings of the Council

SPECIAL SESSION—PATNA—15th. to 17th. JANUARY 1935

### J. P. C. REPORT DEBATE

The special session of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council opened at Patna on the 15th. January 1935 to consider the J.P.C. Report. The attendance was rather poor, about 50 out of the total strength of 102 were present. The visitors' gallery was filled to suffocation. Several new members, both official and non-official, were sworn in, after which the President congratulated the recipients of honours among the Councillors, of whom Mr. Chandreswari Prasad Narayan Sinha was absent.

The Hon'ble *Nirsu Narayan Singh*, Finance Member, next moved for consideration of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. The Hon'ble Member observed that it was impossible to define precisely the measure or the pace of self-Government of a people. The recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, however, contained such elements as Federation which constituted the foundation-stone for a united India hitherto unachieved.

Regarding the safeguards the Hon'ble Member thought that their very existence connoted a real transference of responsibility. Besides, there was also a safeguard against the Governor misusing the safeguards in the shape of a united body of Ministers backed by the majority in the House who could get all the nation-building measures passed under the constitution. Despite difference of opinion he believed that the constitution would be a real advance.

Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, the leader of the Opposition, moved the following amendment: "Having considered the scheme recommended to Parliament by the Committee, the Council is of the opinion that it is highly unsatisfactory and grossly inadequate to meet popular aspirations, is hedged by unnecessary and undesirable safeguards, betraying a deep distrust of Indians' capacity and character and, above all,

proposes to introduce drastic changes in the composition and constitution of the higher Judiciary, which are calculated to shake the confidence of the public in the judicial administration. The scheme is, therefore, not likely to evoke good-will by its working on the part of His Majesty's Indian subjects".

Mr. Sinha declared that the omission of the majority report of the Committee of reference to Dominion Status as India's destined goal in the march towards responsible government had made the scheme now propounded goalless and soulless.

As a young man he had learnt from Tennyson that in the British Empire freedom broadened down from precedent to precedent. But, as an old man, he had lived to learn that in India at any rate freedom had narrowed down from safeguard to safeguard. Judging by past experience and in the light of the stern realities of life obtaining in India, the present scheme had to be worked by almost all constitutional parties. In all likelihood he would not be surprised if the Congress Party itself would undertake to work the new constitution. The majority report had embodied the unimpeachable truth that self-government was not to be had and could not be had as a concession or gift by Indians from the British Parliament, but it had to be achieved by their own efforts.

Mr. *Nikunja Kishore Das* (Orissa) moved an amendment that the constitution proposed, though unsatisfactory, should be worked in a friendly spirit. He urged that the proposed reforms would mark an undoubted advance and they should accept and work them as a gesture of goodwill. To the Oriyas they gave a separate existence as a distinct political and cultural unit.

Mr. *Srikrishna Prasad* moved another amendment stating that any Act of Parliament based on such an anti-national scheme would be unacceptable to the people of India.

Mr. *M. Yunus* moved an amendment that the omission of the expression "Dominion Status" in the report as the basis of the new constitution was unfortunate and proper representation should be made to His Majesty's Government to include the same in the preamble of the new India Bill and that the new constitution though inadequate should be worked in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. He said that the past tactics of rejection would be suicidal and they should work the constitution which constituted a great advance on the present position and strive for more.

Mr. *Ian A. Clark* (Indian Mining Association) maintained that the safeguards were in the interest of good government and to meet special conditions obtaining in India. On behalf of Englishmen he assured his Indian friends that they were keenly interested to watch India progress to the goal of responsible self-government.

*Raja P. C. Lall Chowdhury* characterised the report as retrograde and that it did not fulfil their political aspirations.

*Rai Bahadur Lachmi Prasad Singha* urged that as long as the report was not modified according to the joint memorandum of the British Indian delegations it would not command the confidence of the Indian people.

**16th. JANUARY:—**Mr. *Manindranath Mukherjee* (Indian Mining Federation) asserted that the genesis of all administrative and commercial safeguards was to be found in the British policy of exploitation. He enquired whether the mockery of self-government proposed in the report was worth the high price they were being asked to pay to maintain the new constitutional machinery.

Mr. *Nandkumar Ghose* protested against the proposal treating Chota Nagpur as a partially excluded area.

The hon. Mr. *J. A. Hubback*, Home Member, pleading for the acceptance of the report said: "The scheme certainly does not satisfy all the aspirations of the Indian people. It is a mark of the divine in humanity to have aspirations that are not easily satisfied, but the scheme is devised for existing conditions in India and will enable the unfulfilled aspirations to be realized by evolution and not by revolution. The door that was in 1921 unlatched will now be at least half open. Surely it is better to enter by it than first bang it and then try to batter it down."

Mr. *S. K. P. Sinha* in a maiden speech said that the report was an indictment against the whole of the Indian people and the proposed constitution refused to recognize Indian political aspirations and would fail to lead them to the goal of Dominion Status.

**17th. JANUARY:—**The Council was seized to-day with the discussion of the following joint amendment evolved as a result of agreement among various parties and was moved by Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*: "And having considered the scheme recommended by



the Joint Parliamentary Committee this Council is of opinion that taking the said scheme as a whole it is highly unsatisfactory and inadequate to meet popular aspirations and is hedged round by many unnecessary and undesirable safeguards, betraying a deep distrust of the Indian capacity and character and above all purposes to introduce drastic changes in the composition and constitution of the higher judiciary which is calculated to shake the confidence of the public in the judicial administration and the scheme is, therefore, not likely to evoke goodwill in its working on the part of his Majesty's Indian subjects and it requires substantial modifications and further the Council considers the omission of the expression "Dominion Status" from the J P C report as the basis of the new constitution is unfortunate and thus Council recommends to the local Government that proper representation be made to his Majesty's Government through proper channels to include the same in the preamble of the proposed India Bill.' The Council adopted the amendment and then adjourned till 13th Feb

## BUDGET SESSION—PATNA—13th. FEB. to 27th. MARCH 1935

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1935-36

The Budget Session of the Council commenced on the 13th. February. The hon. Babu *Nirsu Narayan Sinha*, Finance Member, introducing the budget estimates of the Government of Bihar and Orissa for the year 1935-36 first dealt with the earthquake expenditure. Summarising earthquake expenditure the Finance Member said that the Government of India were likely to have to meet a total expenditure of Rs. 177 lakhs, namely Rs. 93.4 lakhs in 1933-34, Rs. 66 lakhs in 1934-35 and Rs. 101 and a half lakhs in subsequent years and the local Government, apart from advancing loans, met Rs. 3 lakhs in 1934-35 and subsequent years, while they suffered a loss in revenue of Rs. 6 lakhs.

Turning to ordinary figures, the Finance Member said that it was estimated that the current year would open with an ordinary balance of Rs. 8 lakhs which was Rs. 3.4 lakh less than the figure estimated this time last year. Loss of revenue and increase of expenditure caused by the earthquake worsened the position by Rs. 8 lakhs. On the other hand, excise revenue improved by Rs. 13.4 lakhs and expenditure on police, irrigation and public works decreased by Rs. 53.4 lakhs.

It was estimated at the beginning of the year that there would be a deficit of Rs. 4 and a half lakhs in ordinary closing balance, but in the revised estimate an ordinary closing balance of Rs. 8 lakhs and 89 thousand was expected which meant an improvement of Rs. 13 lakhs. This improvement was mainly due to the Government of India shouldering a large share of the cost of reconstruction which enabled the local Government to meet their share of the cost by borrowing. Other factors contributing to the improvement were local Government's share of jute export duty (Rs. 11 and one-fourth lakhs), increase in excise (Rs. 7 lakhs) and forest revenue (13.4 lakhs) and savings in expenditure caused by the continuance of cut in pay (Rs. 8 and one-fourth lakhs) and postponement of elections to the provincial legislature (Rs. 4 lakhs). On the other side, there was a drop of other revenue (Rs. 4 lakhs) and increase in expenditure on account of earthquake (Rs. 3 and a half lakhs), on famine relief (Rs. 5 lakhs) and supplementary demands (Rs. 4 and a half lakhs).

For the next year, revenue was taken at Rs. 5 crores and 31 lakhs as compared with this year's budget of Rs. 5 crores 10 lakhs and revised estimate of Rs. 5 crores 33 lakhs. The improvement of Rs. 21 lakhs compared with the current budget was due to share of jute export duty (Rs. 11 and three-fourth lakhs) increase in excise revenue (Rs. 6 lakhs) and in receipts of interest on loans issued (Rs. 3 lakhs).

Expenditure charged to revenue was estimated at Rs. 5 crores 45 lakhs against Rs. 5 crores 30 lakhs in 1934-35. The budget provided for the full restoration of 5 per cent cut in pay, as the local Government decided to follow the lead of the Government of India and restore the cut in respect of pay earned during April and subsequent months. Charges for reduction and avoidance of debts increased by Rs. 5 lakhs, interest charges by Rs. 3 lakhs, pensionary charges by Rs. 2 lakhs and ordinary items of expenditure by Rs. 5 lakhs. Provision of Rs. 9 and a half lakhs was made for new schemes including full restoration of primary education grant (Rs. 3 lakhs 47 thousands), partial restoration of commissioners' augmentation grant (Rs. 1 and a half lakhs) and certain other semi-recurring schemes. Only Rs. 2 and a half lakhs represent new schemes proper. In the police department certain temporary forces were being replaced by a permanent force costing Rs. three-fourth lakh less. The ordinary closing balance is estimated at Rs. 75 thousand.

The hon. Member then drew attention to the capital heads of receipts and expenditure and said that since 1925-26 the local Government had borrowed no money. In the current estimate provision was made for Rs. 5 lakhs, 68 thousands to be borrowed on behalf of local bodies. But in the revised estimate the figure went up to Rs. 96 lakhs and in next year's budget to Rs. 25 lakhs. Of this amount Rs. 22 and a half lakhs in revised and Rs. 20 lakhs in budget were for local (Government's reconstruction work and the balance was intended for lending to local bodies, provincial co-operative bank and to cultivators and individuals for sand clearance and rebuilding of houses. The balance in the Famine Relief Fund, another capital head, had been reduced by Rs. 13 and a half lakhs owing to final withdrawal of Rs. 4 lakhs and 62 thousands for grants to poorer classes for sand clearance (Rs. 425 thousands) and to co-operative federation (Rs. 37 thousands) and temporary withdrawal of a considerable amount for agricultural loans (Rs. 10 lakhs 86 thousands) and loan to provincial co-operative bank (Rs. 4 lakhs).

Reviewing the general financial position the Finance Member observed that the present budget as its immediate predecessors was a retrenchment budget providing for only the most essential services and even so the budget could only be balanced by withdrawing Rs. 8 lakhs from ordinary balance. Provision for new schemes had practically been impossible for the last few years. The present expenditure fell short of standard expenditure accepted by the Federal Finance Committee by Rs. 42 lakhs and even this reduced provision exceeded by Rs. 10 lakhs the revenue of the province including the share of the jute export duty which had been given by the Government of India. Proposals for fresh taxation on the lines, which the Government of Bengal were proposing, were examined before but were dropped as their yield would be small in an essentially agricultural province. The possibility of such taxation was being examined again but the only financial hope lay in a more equitable financial settlement which would take into consideration the dense population of the province.

#### NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

**14th. FEBRUARY :—**The Council transacted to-day non-official legislative business. On the motion of Mr. B. G. Gokhale, Education Secretary, the *Bihar and Orissa Mussalman Wakf Bill*, a non-official measure for the better management and control of Moslem religious and charitable endowments in the province as reported by the select committee was recommitted to the same select committee without limitation. Mr. Gokhale explained that the general attitude of the Government towards the bill remained unchanged and he hoped that the select committee would be able to produce a draft which would command the general assent of the House.

Mr. Kalyan Singh introduced a bill to amend the Municipal Act to disqualify carters from voting at Municipal elections. It was referred to a select committee.

Mr. S. M. Haferz introduced bills to amend the Municipal and Local Self-Government acts for extending the term of Municipalities and District Boards from three to five years.

On the Government motion the consideration of the last two bills was postponed.

Mr. Abdul Gham introduced two Bills, one to amend the Local Self-Government Act and the other the Municipal Act, in order to provide adequate and effective Moslem representation in the District Boards and Municipalities of the Province by means of separate electorates.

#### BIHAR FOR BIHARIS

**18th. FEBRUARY :—**The Council discussed to-day non-official resolutions.

Mr. S. K. P. Sinha moved a resolution urging that in the matter of giving contracts in the Public Works department and the Public Health Engineering branch preference be given to firms having head offices in Bihar and to Bihar engineers and engineers trained in the Bihar College of Engineering. The mover and the supporters pointed out that the resolution aimed at a partial solution of the problem of educated class unemployment in the province.

Pandit Goswami Misra moved an amendment that the scope of the resolution be extended so as to include Oriya engineers and works relating to the construction and the furnishing of buildings in connection with the creation of the separate province of Orissa.

Mr. Dunbar, deputy engineer, accepted the resolution on behalf of the Government and stated that other things being equal and essential conditions being fulfilled, the Government were prepared to give preference to Bihar contractors. Prior, the

Finance secretary pointed out that it would be impossible to follow a general policy of giving preference to one class of contractors irrespective of financial considerations. Sir *Ganesh Dutt*, Minister of Public Works, though accepting the resolution, stressed that on the execution works efficiency was the first thing and Biharis should try to gain more experience. The resolution as amended was carried.

#### EXCLUDED AREAS UNDER REFORM

The discussion centred round a resolution moved by the aboriginal member, Mr. *Debdranath Samanta*, urging that necessary steps be taken so that no part of Chota Nagpur division be declared an excluded area in the forthcoming constitutional reforms. Several non-official members, including Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, supported the resolution.

The mover and the supporters pointed out that Chota Nagpur had made a remarkable advance in recent years and contended that there was no justification in classing it as a partially excluded area and continuing the stigma of inferiority on them.

*Pundit Golvaris Misra* moved an amendment to include Sambalpur district in the scope of the resolution.

The hon. Mr. *Hubbuck*, opposing the resolution on behalf of the Government, showed that there was a constitutional problem arising out of the presence of a large aboriginal population in the province. If the Government of India Bill were passed in law, as it stood, the districts of Chota Nagpur and Sambalpur at the inception of the new constitution would be partially excluded areas. The aboriginals would be well advised to accept the substance of special attention which the Governor would be required to give to their problems, even at the cost of a temporary slight to their feelings. The advance made in education during the last decade gave every hope that before long the aboriginals would be able to share to the full the political advance that the Government of India Bill opened up. Even as partially excluded areas they would share much more fully than they did now under the present constitution. The resolution as amended was carried, the Government opposing it.

#### TEACHING OF BIOLOGY IN COLLEGES

**19th. FEBRUARY.**—In the Council to-day several non-official members supported Mr. *Hasan Jan's* resolution for providing the teaching of biology up to the B. Sc. standard in any college of the province.

Mr. *Syed Abdul Aziz*, Minister of Education, expressing sympathy with the resolution pointed out that financial stringency stood in the way of giving effect to the demand and assured the Council that as soon as funds were available Government would take steps to provide such a teaching. The resolution was withdrawn.

Mr. *Jigannath Das's* resolution demanding action to prevent agricultural holdings remaining fallow was withdrawn after discussion, the Government asking the mover and the supporters to indicate a definite scheme in that direction.

Rai Bahadur *Lakshmulnar Mahanta's* resolution for the installation of a system of water-works at Cuttack town was rejected without a division, the Government stating that until the financial position of the Cuttack municipality was firmly established, no such scheme of water supply would be considered in view of the heavy expenditure involved.

#### RECRUITMENT TO PROVINCIAL SERVICES

Mr. *Abdul Ghani* urged the Government to consider the resolution passed by the Council regarding the introduction of a competitive examination by compartments for recruitment to the provincial services with a view to giving effect to it.

The Government replied that it would be advisable to let the matter wait till the new constitution was brought into force as the examination system was proposed in the new Government of India Bill as an instrument for recruitment to the services of the province through a public commission.

The resolution was under discussion when the Council adjourned.

#### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

**20th. FEBRUARY.**—Mr. *Abdul Ghani's* resolution urging the introduction of competitive examination by compartments for recruitment to provincial services was rejected after further discussion by 31 to 29 votes.

A long discussion then ensued on the resolution of Mr. *Mahomed Shafi* demanding the appointment of a committee to devise ways and means to relieve unemployment in the province. Several non-official members including Messrs. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, *Dwarakanath* and *M. Yunus* supported the resolution, the last speaker indicating the lines of approaching the problem.

Mr. J. Thomas (European constituency) said that the problem was facing the Government in different European countries and America and baffling their efforts. The problem was all the more difficult in the agricultural province of Bihar. He thought that a committee could do no good unless they had definite and concrete proposals to consider.

Mr. Nirsunaram Sinha, Commerce Member, expressing sympathy with the object of the resolution and on behalf of the Government invited members to offer practical suggestions to relieve unemployment and thus help the Government in deciding whether the committee suggested would serve a useful purpose showing the direction wherein a solution lay. After further discussion the Government accepted the resolution.

Khan Bahadur Saghirul Haq moved a resolution urging initiation of a bold policy by the Government calculated to put all central co-operative banks in the province on a sound financial footing by providing long-term capital to the banks and improving the repaying capacity of the members of societies. Mr. Gokhale, Education secretary, replied that the Government was doing all that was possible to help the co-operative movement and therefore could not accept the resolution but they would carefully consider the suggestions made. The resolution was withdrawn.

#### BIHAR TENANCY AMEND. BILL.

**25th. FEBRUARY** :—Official business was transacted in the Council to-day. The Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill, piloted by Mr. J. A. Hubback, was referred to a Select Committee. Moving reference of the Bill to a Select Committee Mr. Hubback said that the underlying principle was to protect the aboriginal tenants against their own ignorance and improvidence. The Bill was based on and generally followed closely the existing Chapter VII (A) of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which was inserted by the Bengal Legislature as long ago as 1918 and applied to Santals of Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapur. The proposals now before the House were limited in the first instance to the Santals of Monghyr and Bhagalpore districts, where the members of that tribe concentrated near the borders of Santal Paraganas, and it was proposed further to ask the Council to give the Local Government power to extend the provisions to other aboriginal tribes and other parts of Bihar proper. The Bill was designed to prevent and check alienation of land by Santals and its passing into the hands of money-lenders.

#### OTHER OFFICIAL BILLS

The Council passed three official bills, namely the *Bihar and Orissa Municipal Amendment Bill*, providing compulsory notification of infectious diseases, the *Bihar and Orissa Nurses Registration Bill*, and allowed the *Indian Forest (Bihar and Orissa Amendment Bill)* to be circulated for public opinion.

#### B. & O. CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES BILL

**27th. FEBRUARY** :—The Council passed to-day with certain modifications the official measure, the Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Societies Bill, designed to ensure the sound and healthy progress of the co-operative movement in the province. Non-official members directed the main attack against the Government amendment for deleting clause 24 of the Bill relating to the prior claim of the cooperative society on the immovable property of its members, but the Government ultimately carried the amendment by 33 votes to 30.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, leader of the Opposition, assured the Government of non-official assistance in advancing the progress of a beneficent movement like Co-operation. The Council then adjourned till March 6.

#### ·VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**6th. MARCH** :—Various questions connected with elections under the new reforms namely, the allotment of seats in the proposed new province of Orissa, the distribution of seats, the delimitation of constituencies, franchise qualifications and facilities for female voters, were urged by non-official members of the Council while discussing the provision for election charges under the head 'General Administration'.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha under a token cut emphasised the organization of an efficient election staff in the new elections. Mr. Radha Ranjan Das complained that the seats allotted to the proposed new Orissa provincial legislature were not corresponding to Sind and other smaller provinces. Mr. Abdul Ghani raised the question of distribution of seats and franchise qualifications. Mr. Radha Prasad Sinha protested against the proposal of the Joint Parliamentary Committee to raise the rural franchise qualification for the provincial legislature of Bihar.

Mr. Russell, Chief Secretary, replied that the question of allotment of seats rested with the higher authorities and not with the local Government and the area and popu-

lation were not the only considerations for giving more seats to Orissa but there was the financial aspect of the question also.

The Hon. Mr. *Hubback*, on behalf of the Government, announced that the Government would appoint two committees, one for Bihar and the other for Orissa early in April next, to deal with the question of delimitation of constituencies and other connected matters and the suggestions made on the floor of the House and outside would be carefully considered by the committees.

Mr. *Abdul Ghani*, under a token cut motion, asked the Government to encourage the local vernacular papers by subscribing and giving them advertisements.

Mr. *Russell*, Chief Secretary, replied that the Government had afforded facilities in the matter of supplying Government publications and communiques to well-established and circulated newspapers, but they could not agree to purchasing copies of all vernacular papers.

Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, opined that the demand that the Government should purchase newspapers and give them advertisements, would amount practically to subsidising newspapers and that would mean demoralizing the press. The cut motion was ultimately withdrawn.

**7th. MARCH**—A comedy was enacted in the Council to-day when Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, had to walk in the same lobby with the Government and vote against his own motion. This happened when Mr. *Sinha* moved a token cut on Board of Revenue charges under the head General Administration to call the attention of the Government to the exclusion of Indians from the higher offices of the court of wards and the medical treatment of the Maharani Sahiba of Bettiah. After the hon. Mr. *Hubback*, on behalf of the Government, replied that the Government had appointed the best men available, whether Indians or Europeans, and the question of medical treatment of the Maharani was receiving the consideration of the Government, the token cut motion was passed to a division and while opinion was collected by voices, Mr. *Sinha* shouted: 'Noes have it'. Thereupon the President ruled that according to the constitution Mr. *Sinha* had to vote with noes. However, the Government suffered their first defeat and Mr. *Sinha's* cut motion was carried by 39 votes to 28.

Bihar for Biharis was the demand urged by Mr. *Abdul Ghani* and Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, who complained under a token cut that in the Civil Secretariat the claims of Biharis for appointments were ignored. The Government policy was defended by the hon. Mr. *Nirsu Narayan Sinha* who stated that preference was being given in all appointments to Biharis, to whatever castes and communities they belonged and there was no departure in the policy. The cut motion was withdrawn.

**8th. MARCH**—Under a token cut for the provision of the High Court, Mr. *Nanda Kumar Ghosh* raised the question of the appointment of an Oriya to the post of High Court judge. He was supported by Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition and the Oriya members, who urged when Orissa was being created a separate province and its judicial destinies would be controlled by the Patna High Court, it was desirable that an Oriya should be appointed a Judge of the High Court.

The Government replied that the question of appointment of High Court Judges was not within the sphere of the local Government and the policy of the Government was to appoint persons of merit irrespective of communal consideration. The cut motion was withdrawn.

Mr. *Bahadur Shyamnandan Sahay*, under a token cut, called attention to the position of the Bihar Hindus in the matter of appointment of Government pleaders and complained that the claims of Bihar Hindus were not adequately met. He was supported by other non-official members.

The hon. Mr. *Nirsu Narayan Sinha* on behalf of the Government assured the Council that the subject was under consideration and the efficiency and claims of Bihar Hindus were being fully considered. The cut motion was withdrawn.

**9th. MARCH**—Mr. *Radha Prasad Sinha*, moving a omission in the provision of the railway police, urged that the railway expenditure should be a charge on central revenues instead of on provincial revenues.

Mr. *Russell*, Chief Secretary on behalf of the Government, referred to the clause in the Government of India Bill, regarding the obligation of the federal railway authority in the matter of defraying the expenses for the police and the maintenance of order on railway premises and added that the local Government would satisfy itself what the intention of the clause was. The motion was withdrawn.

Under a token cut Mr. *Khalilur Rahman* complained that due to want of proper vigilance on the part of police officers there had been an increase in dacoity and burglary. Col *McDonnell*, inspector-general of police, maintained that officers were quite alive to superintendence and with limited forces at their disposal they made a successful warfare against the crime. With increased forces in the armed police they hoped to deal effectively with the dacoity problem.

The hon. Mr. *Hubbuck* also assured the House that the force did their best to deal with crime. The Council had voted for the entertainment of a permanent armed force and as member in charge he would always endeavour to see that the force maintained a high standard of efficiency. The cut motion was withdrawn.

**11th. MARCH :—**The Council voted to-day the entire police and scientific departments and education (reserved) grants. Mr. *Abdul Ghani* under a token cut in the University grants raised the question of a rise in the percentage of failures at the Matriculation Examination. While he and his supporters strongly urged that the existing standard of the examination was far too strict, other members controverted the view and defended the standard set by the Patna University.

**13th. MARCH :—***Rai Bahadur Lachmi Prasad Sinha's* token cut in direct grants to non-Government secondary schools under 'Education (transferred)', was carried by 32 votes to 30. The mover protested against the withdrawal of recognition from the training academy schools of Monghyr.

Under another token cut in grants to local bodies for secondary education, Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha* called attention to the new draft grant-in-aid rules in respect of secondary schools.

Mr. *Fawcus*, Director of Public Instruction, pointed out that the new draft rules were under the consideration of the Government and before enforcing them the Government would fully ascertain the views of the different interests. The cut motion was withdrawn. The Council then voted the demand of 'Education (transferred)' less Re. 1 as stated above.

Mr. *S. K. P. Sinha*, moving a reduction of Rs. 1,26,276 under 'Civil Works' (transferred) urged a plea of economy in the scale of public works expenditure.

Mr. *Powell*, chief engineer, and *Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh*, Minister, replied that there was very little expenditure now in original works and under repairs and communications there was no room for economy. It was the particular concern of the Government to see that the department was run as economically as possible. The cut motion was withdrawn.

**14th. MARCH :—**The Government carried through all their budget demands to-day. Guillotine fell at 5 p. m. when most of the demands were without discussion. A long debate was raised by Mr. *S. K. P. Sinha* under a token cut in the Industries Department. The mover and other members contended that the Government policy in the matter of the development of industries was one of inaction and stagnation.

The *Hon. Mr. Aziz*, Minister of Education, defending the policy said that the Government had given all possible to help the industrial development of the province with limited financial resources and particularly the province had done much for the development of cottage industries. The cut motion was withdrawn, and the Council then adjourned till March 25.

#### CREATION OF PUBLICITY DEPT. CRITICISED.

**25th. MARCH :—**When the Council reassembled to-day touching references were made to the death of *Babu Srikrishna Prasad*, a prominent member of the House and glowing tributes paid to his work. As a mark of respect the President adjourned the House for 15 minutes.

The Council then discussed and voted a number of supplementary demands brought forward by the Government. Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, raised a debate under a token cut regarding the recent establishment of a publicity department by the local Government. Mr. *Sinha* asserted that the Government ought to have taken the Council into confidence earlier when they decided to initiate a new policy of establishing a publicity department. He questioned the utility of the department carrying propaganda in respect of controversial political questions. Several non-official members spoke. While one section supported the Government in the matter of creation of a Publicity Department, another section doubted its utility.

Mr. J. Thomas, a member from the European constituency, thought that every modern Government should have a Publicity department through whose agency they could defend their policy and make their activities known to the people.

Mr. Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Sinha, while favouring the establishment of the department, thought that the Government should have taken the opportunity at the time of the introduction of the budget to explain the policy underlying the new department and defending the establishment of the department.

On behalf of the Government Mr. Russell, chief secretary, said that the decision regarding the creation of the department was not taken until after the conclusion of the Ranchi session of the Council on the impending publication of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report and therefore it was not possible to bring the matter before the Council earlier. The reasons underlying the creation of the department were, firstly, the country was on the eve of far-reaching constitutional reforms which were the subject of discussion throughout the land. In order that the public might be in a position to understand what the reforms meant and from its opinion on them it was necessary that the public should be able to hear both sides of the question and the Publicity department would seek to explain the meaning of the reforms to remove misapprehensions and to answer criticisms; secondly, the Government had long felt the need of a publicity officer to support the nation-building and economic activities of the Government by disseminating information about the work the Government had done and are doing in that sphere.

The hon. Babu Nrsu Narayan Sinha, leader of the House, said that the Government decision for establishing the department showed that they paid a great tribute to public opinion in the province and particularly in this country when the Government were not a party Government and had not a press of their own, they must have a department to answer the criticism levelled against them and explain their policy and activities to the people. The cut motion was withdrawn.

#### BIHAR TENANCY AMEND. BILL

**26th. MARCH :—**The Council voted to-day the remaining Government supplementary demands for grants including Rs. 2,050 for a provincial marketing scheme and Rs. 16,00,000 as direct loan to the provincial Co-operative Bank, to provide a long term capital to the cooperative movement. The marketing scheme is designed to carry out a detailed survey of the marketing of agricultural produce in the province and involves the appointment of four marketing officers. Out of the contribution received from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research the scheme will be spread over a period of five years and the contribution from the Imperial Council will approximately total Rs. 1,00,000 during the period. The supplementary demand is intended to cover the current year's expenditure which will be balanced from the Imperial Agricultural Council's contribution.

On the motion of Mr. Hubbock the House took into consideration the Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Bill as reported by the select committee. The Bill aims at introducing special provisions for the protection of aboriginals. In the first instance, in the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts, by imposing restrictions on the alienation of land by aboriginals and to prevent its passing into the hands of money-lenders, and follows the lines of the Bengal Act which has already given protection to Santals in the Burdham, Bankura and Midnapur districts of Bengal and seeks to remove the spirit of unrest which has been prevalent for sometime among areas in the province.

Amendments moved by Babu Kalyan Singh and Rai Bahadur Shyamnandan Sahay were either withdrawn or rejected after discussion.

**27th. APRIL :—**The Council was prorogued to-day after having passed the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill, and the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Amendment and Municipal Amendment Bills, two non-official measures sponsored by Mr. S. M. Hafeez in order to extend the term of life of the district boards and municipalities in the province from three to five years so as to conduct efficient administration of these bodies and bring them into line in the matter of their term with the new provincial and central legislatures.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha and other Opposition members did not favour the Local Self-Government and Municipal Amendment Bills, while a majority of other non-official members and the Government lent their support to the measures.

# The C. P. Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

THE HON'BLE MR. S. W. A. RIZVI  
*President*

### *Ex-officio Members*

THE HON'BLE MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

THE HON'BLE MR. E. GORDON

### *Nominated Members—*

#### *Officials*

MR. N. J. ROUGHTON

MR. C. D. DESHMUKH

MR. C. R. HEMSON

MR. R. N. BANERJEE

MR. M. OWEN

MR. G. S. BHALIJA

MR. P. V. CHANCE

RAO SAHIB N. R. CHANDORKAR

#### *Nor-Officials*

MR. LALMAN SINGH

THE REVD. G. C. ROGERS

MR. G. A. GAVAI

MR. T. C. SAKHARE

MR. S. G. NAIK

GURU GOSAIN AGAMDASS

RAO SAHIB R. W. FULAY

MRS. RAMABAI TAMBE

MR. BALRAJ JAISWARA

MR. DADURAM

RAI SAHIB BADRI PRASAD PUJARI

MR. CHUNNU

MR. C. B. PARAKH

RAI SAHIB LALA JAINARAIN

MR. T. J. KEDAR

MR. SHEOPRASAD PANDE

MR. KASHI PRASAD PANDE

MR. JHUNNILAL VERMA

MR. DULICHAND

RAI BAHADUR DADU DWARKANATH  
SINGH

CHOUDEHARI MALTHULAL

MR. WAMAN YADO DESHMUKH

MR. ANJORE RAO KIRDUTT

RAI SAHIB RAMSANEHI GAURHA

KHAN BAHADUR F. F. TARAPORE

RAI BAHADUR GAJADHAR PRASAD JAIS-  
WAL

MR. GOPALRAO RAMBHAU JOSHI

MR. ARJUNLAL

SETH SHEOLAL

MR. CHANDAN LAL

MR. GANPAT RAO SHANKAR RAO DESH-  
MUKH

MR. SHIVRAMPRASAD SULTANPRASAD

TIWARI

THE HON'BLE RAI BAHADUR K. S. NAYUDU

MR. R. S. DUBE

MR. VINAYAK DANDAPAR KOLTE

KHAN BAHADUR M. M. MULLNA

MR. IPTIKHAR ALI

THE HON'BLE MR. SYED WAKIL AH-  
MAD RIZVI (*President*)

KHAN BAHADUR SYED HIFAZAT ALI

MR. MAHOMED YUSUF SHARBEF

BEOHAR GULAB SINGH

THAKUR MANMOHAN SINGH

MR. D. T. MANGALMOORTI

MR. L. H. BARTLETT

SETH THAKURDAS GOVERDHANDAS

MR. VITHAL BANDHUJI CHAMBAL

MR. R. A. KANTIKAR

DR. PANJABRAO SHAMRAO DESHMUKH

MR. MOTIRAO BAJIRAO TIDAKE

RAO SAHIB UTTAMIRAO SITARAMJI PATIL

MR. SHRIDHAR GOVIND SAKPAL

MR. UMEDSINGH NARAINSINGH THAKUR

RAO SAHIB D. Y. RAJURKAR

MR. YADAV MADHAV KALE

MR. TUKARAM SHANKAR PATIL

MR. MAHADEO PAIKAJI KOLHE

MR. GANPAT SITARAM MALVI

MR. SYED MOBINUR RAHMAN

KHAN SAHIB MUZAFFAR HUSAIN

KHAN BAHADUR MIRZA RAHAMAN BEG

THE HON'BLE MR. BALKRISHNA GANESH  
KHIPARDE (*Minister*)

RAO BAHADUR GAJANAN RANCHANDRA

KOTHARE (*Minister*)

## Proceedings of the Council

WINTER SESSION—NAGPUR—25th. JANUARY to 2nd. FEBRUARY 1935

### GOVERNOR ON NEW REFORMS

The Winter session of the C. P. Legislative Council commenced at Nagpur on the 25th. January 1935. Addressing the members of the Council Sir Hyde Gowan, the Governor, referred to the economic position in the province and the impending constitutional reforms.



Dealing with the problem of giving relief to agriculturists from the burden of debt, the Governor said that results of the working of the Debt Conciliation Boards and the Usurious Loans Act were most satisfactory, considering the fact that such legislation was entirely a new experiment. The Government, after considering the various proposals, decided to create land mortgage banks in order to enable the agriculturist to pay his debts. Coming to the problem of prevention of debts, the Governor thought there was no hope of a permanent cure, until there was a revolution in the countryside and a radical alteration in social customs. He hoped that they would devote ever-increasing attention to the welfare of those who till the land which was the real source of the wealth of the province.

Speaking on the constitutional reforms proposals, Sir Hyde Gowan characterized all arguments against the system of indirect election as somewhat theoretical and academic, and opined that it was difficult to find anyone of them which out-weigh the plain blunt fact emphasized in the report.

Referring to the franchise, his Excellency referred to the promised enfranchisement of some 21 million men and five and half million women who had no political rights up till then. 'I would ask you all not to allow your perfectly legitimate desire for the extension of your own political liberty to make you forget these million of your fellow-citizens, to whom the passing of the Act will mean the dawn of political freedom and responsibility'.

Proceeding, his Excellency said that the central Government authority over the provinces would cease in all ordinary matters of administration and the whole executive power and authority of the province would be vested constitutionally in the Governor himself as a representative of the King and in practice with certain safeguards in the Council of Ministers. 'Now I suggest to you that even if the form of provincial government were to remain as it is now, this one change alone would make a large advance towards that solid and tangible goal, the power to manage your own provincial affairs in your own way. And when I add that the present Executive Council is to be removed and all departments are to be placed in charge of responsible Ministers upon whose advice the Governor will act in all ordinary circumstances, I make a further suggestion that for all practical purposes, your goal will have been attained.'

Referring to the Governor's special powers, his Excellency said: 'Every one of these safeguards is devised to protect some vital interest of the State, and if that interest is imperilled no sensible man would deny that there must be some means of saving it from being wrecked. But if our affairs are so conducted that no such peril arise, safeguards will never be used and to fear them is to be affrighted by a bogey. To those who say they would prefer to remain under the present Act, I would make one further observation. I can assure them that even if these safeguards were employed regularly and to the full, they would provide the so-called irresponsible element in the Government—an element which has never exercised its influence except on the side of sanity and moderation—with not one tithe of the power over the whole field of administration that it possesses at present either directly or indirectly, by its control of finance or in its capacity as agent of the central Government. So long as no grave menace arise to peace and tranquillity of the province, so long as justice is done to the weaker communities who cannot protect themselves, so long as the mistake is not made of shaking the confidence and impairing the efficiency of the public services by unfair treatment, so long as discrimination is not exercised against those who have laid the foundations of India's commercial prosperity and non-Indian traders are treated with the same impartiality as Indian traders are claiming for themselves in Burma, so long as due obedience is rendered to the orders of the Government in general in matters in which general interests are at stake, so long will the special powers of the Governor remain inoperative and the sword, of which so much fear has been expressed, will be allowed to rust peacefully in its scabbard'.

Proceeding his Excellency said: A Government of five, in which all the essential departments of Finance, Revenue and Law and Order are in the portfolios of persons who are not responsible to you for the manner in which they discharge their duties, will give place to a Government in which the Minister in charge of every department must render his account to you. The Governor will have certain real and definite power of intervention but in a strictly limited field, while in the rest of the field he will be guided in all ordinary circumstances by the advice of his Ministers. And here I wish to press one point home with all the emphasis of which I am capable. If we are to judge by what we have heard and read recently, there are some people who picture the future Governor at the worst as a sort of Frankenstein's monster, who will bstride the stage, browbeating the ministers and defying the legislature and trampling

under foot the new found liberties of the people and at best as "an irresponsible autocrat who will hold those liberties in the hollow of his hand. I can assure you that there is neither a jot nor a tittle of justification for either picture. If those of you, to whom it will fall to administer the new Act, will display a spirit of trust which you claim that others should display, you need have no fear of any autocracy.

After the Governor's speech the *President* referred to the demise of Mr. *Abhyankar* who was an 'outstanding figure in the province. For him no sacrifice was too great for attaining the country's freedom'.

The Home Member, Mr. *Raghavendra Rao*, Leader of the House, associating himself with the sentiments expressed, said any one who had closely followed the political history of the province during the last two decades could not but be impressed by Mr. *Abhyankar's* personality.

#### RELIEF TO AGRICULTURISTS

**26th. JANUARY :—**The House devoted the day to the discussion of a non-official resolution urging the Government to give relief to agriculturists in the province on a large scale where cotton crop had failed this year in the form of suspension and remission of land revenue and by advancing taccavi loans. Several members, speaking in support of the motion, dwelt on their sad plight and urged Government grant on a liberal scale to help the agriculturists.

Mr. *R. N. Banerjee*, Revenue Secretary, stated that the Government were examining the position and in cases where necessary, would grant adequate relief in accordance with the policy that had been hitherto followed. Coercive processes had to be applied only in the case of wilful defaulters.

Mr. *N. J. Roughton*, Revenue Member, speaking later in the debate, explained the Government's policy on the subject. He denied the allegations that the Government employed illegal methods to collect revenue dues and declared that the attitude of the Government towards tenantry had been always sympathetic which would be clear from the fact that a sum of rupees 20 lakhs, outstanding as revenue arrears in Berar last year though not suspended, still remained uncollected. He added that the Government were taking every possible precaution to get accurate crop reports. Though he was not in a position at present to state definitely what steps the Government would take, the Revenue Member assured the House that their attitude of sympathy would continue and good results would occur from whatever steps they would adopt in the future.

The resolution was carried, the Government not pressing it to a division. The discussion on another resolution urging the Government to take over primary education from district boards was proceeding when the House adjourned till the 28th.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES TAXATION BILL—CHAIR'S RULING

**28th. JANUARY :—**Considerable excitement was witnessed to-day in Council when Mr. *C. B. Parakh* defended himself on the important point of order raised by the hon Mr. *E. Raghavendra Rao*, Home Member and leader of the House, seeking a ruling from the Chair as to whether a member of the select committee was entitled to disclose the observations made by any member in the committee proceedings which was a sequel to the minute of dissent sent by Mr. *C. B. Parakh* (Nagpur-cum-Kamptee) to the select committee report on the C. P. Motor Vehicles Taxation Amendment Bill in which Mr. *Parakh* stated he had moved certain resolutions at the select committee meetings which were rejected but of which there was no mention in the report.

The hon. Mr. *Raghavendra Rao* contended that Mr. *Parakh* had introduced the matter which was entirely out of place in the dissenting minute and amounted to a clear breach of privilege. He said that without restraint on publicity there could be no frank and free exposition of views held by members so essential to the labours of the select committee. So far as Mr. *Parakh's* motions were concerned the select committee was clearly of opinion that Mr. *Parakh* was not in order in moving them as they were based on misconceptions of the functions and duties of the select committee. Regarding Mr. *Parakh's* contention that the procedure followed in the select committee was illegal and improper, the Home Member was sure he would have the support of all other members of the committee when he said that the same was entirely without justification. The Home Member concluded by saying that that part of the minute of dissent which offended the well-understood rules of legislative procedure should be expunged from the Council's official proceedings.

Mr. Parakh before justifying his action raised a point of order questioning the legality of the point of order raised by the leader of the House. He said according to Parliamentary practice as outlined in Sir Thomas Maule's *Parliamentary Practice* either to decide whether there had been a breach of privilege or to expunge portions of certain speeches or a vote of dissent did not rest with the President. In the former case it rested with the committee of privileges of the House and in the latter with the house itself.

Continuing Mr. Parakh referred to the recent incident in the House of Commons when similar charges were brought in by Mr. Churchill against Sir Samuel Hoare and the subsequent reference of the question to a committee of privileges. Mr. Parakh further felt that what the Government wanted was not the Chair's ruling but stifling the Opposition's expression of views.

Giving his ruling to Mr. Parakh's preliminary objection, the President conceded Mr. Parakh's point that the House alone could expunge the proceedings if it considered that such a course was necessary. He was aware, he said, of the practices and conventions of the British Parliament, but pointed out that the procedure adopted in the Indian legislatures was not an exact parallel of the British procedure as the question of observance of discipline by members in India was exclusively a matter within the domain of the President. He, therefore, disallowed the objection.

Mr. Parakh then rose to reply to the charges levelled against him. Mr. Parakh contended that the select committee's report was not a faithful record of the proceedings as the fact that his resolutions were rejected was not a faithful record was not mentioned therein. It was not open to the select committee to review its decision once arrived at which in fact had been done and his motion that the taxes of private cars should be fixed at Rs. 25 annually which had been carried was annulled at a subsequent meeting by the casting vote of the chairman (Mr. Raghuveendra Rao).

Mr. Parakh next contended that the fears expressed by the leader of the House postulated that Government wanted members to have two opinions, one for the electorate and the other for Government. Mr. Parakh next spoke on the effect of the President's rulings on posterity when the President reminded him he was not addressing a public meeting.

The President then gave his ruling upholding the point of order raised by the leader of the House. It was his definite opinion, he said, that the evidence tendered in the select committee could not be disclosed in view of the fact that they were of an informal nature. Further nothing was final until the committee had submitted its report to the Council as the select committee was entitled to view any particular proposal in a different light at any time and modify its decision at any stage of its proceedings. In this connection he cited five rulings, two by Sir Frederick Whyte and three by the late Mr. V. J. Patel directing that these deliberations should not be divulged. The President accordingly held Mr. Parakh guilty of a breach of privileges of the House and further upheld the decision of the chairman of the select committee in ruling Mr. Parakh's resolutions out of order as his amendments were beyond the scope of the select committee.

#### OFFICIAL BILL

**29th. JANUARY:—**A large number of teachers of the Wardha district council, at present on strike, staged a peaceful demonstration close to the council hall gate just before the Council resumed its sitting to-day with the object of ventilating their grievances. Later, after the strikers had withdrawn in the open area near the chamber, it was again a scene of another demonstration by about 1,500 peasants from Betul district who urged the establishment of debt conciliation boards.

The Council disposed of official business and referred five bills to select committees. The *C. P. Tenancy Amendment Act Bill* was enacted into law on the motion of Mr. N. J. Roughton, Revenue Member. Two Bills, introduced by *Rai Bahadur K. S. Nayudu*, Minister of Local Self-Government, sought to confer power on the Government to enforce orders in the case of dismissed employees of the municipalities and local bodies.

The netting of birds and animals is to be penalized according to the provisions of the *Wild Birds and Animals Protection Bill* which was modelled on a similar Act in the United Provinces while the *C. P. Bank Bill* is designed to afford protection to the same and stipulated licenses obligatory for sportsmen providing revenue. These two measures were introduced by the Home Member, Mr. E. R. Rao.

The House then adjourned.

## C. P. DEBTOR'S RELIEF BILL

**30th. JANUARY :—**The Council to-day disposed of 11 non-official Bills.

The *C. P. Debtors' Relief Bill*, the object of which was to prevent the expropriation of agriculturists and other holders of immovable property for a period of three years in the present period of economic depression, was referred to a select committee, despite opposition from the Government by 28 votes to 25. Several members supported the measure which was opposed on behalf of the Government by the Home Member, *Mr. E. Raghuvendra Rao*. He feared that the legislation might result in creditors closing down business. The Government was showing every possible consideration to agriculturists, as they fully realized the difficulties facing the debtors. He detailed the various measures adopted by the Government in order to relieve debtors and pointed out that the rate of interest payable by debtors to creditors had been much reduced according to the provision of the C. P. Money-lenders Act and the amended Usurious Loans Act. The Government, the Home Member added, was not prepared to accept the principle of the Bill which sought to grant a sort of moratorium for three years and was likely to produce far-reaching consequences. He concluded by saying that the Bill would not benefit creditors nor debtors, but might prove harmful to the latter.

The House then discussed the adjourned motion moved by *Mr. V. B. Chaubal* in connection with the Wardha District council teachers' strike. The mover referred to the financial position of the body which was the main cause of the non-payment of the salaries of teachers (about 400 in number) for the last four months.

*Mr. B. G. Khaparde*, Education Minister, explaining the Government's attitude, said that they sympathised with the teachers and were doing their best to mitigate the strikers' grievances. That the Government was not unmindful of the situation, would be clear from the fact that instructions had been already issued to pay up the teachers all arrears by the end of February. The Minister also assured the House that he would consider the question of restoring the cut.

After a short discussion in which it was pointed out that the Government should restore the 20 per cent cut in the grants to local bodies, the mover withdrew the motion in view of the assurance given by the Education Minister. The House then adjourned.

## FINE YEAR PLAN

**1st. FEBRUARY :—**The Council agreed that the Government should accept liability for the guarantee of the principal of debentures to the extent of Rs. 50 lakhs to be raised in order to provide capital for co-operative land mortgage banks, which, as the Minister stressed in his speech, would provide the agriculturists of the province with loans at a cheap rate of interest.

Another measure, calculated to help them to get due share of prices for agricultural produce, namely, the *C. P. Agricultural Produce Market Bill*, which sought to check malpractices now prevailing in markets, was referred to a select committee.

The House, having concluded official business, resumed the discussion on the resolution suggesting the Government to appoint a committee in order to draw up a five-year plan for the economic and industrial development of the province.

*Rai Bahadur K. S. Nayudu*, Minister of Industries, said in that the absence of any definite proposals from members, no useful purpose would be served by appointing a committee. He added that the Government had been doing everything possible with a view to encouraging several industries and improving the economic conditions of the province. The resolution was declared carried the Government not claiming a division.

## J. P. C. REPORT-DEBATE

**2nd. FEBRUARY :—**In the Council to-day, after question time, the Home Member, *Mr. Rao* moved that the J. P. C. Report be taken into consideration. He said that the Government members could not participate in the debate and expressed the hope that the discussion would be carried with dignity, decorum, restraint and wisdom and informed the House that a report of the debate would be sent to the Secretary of State in London by airmail as soon as possible.

*Mr. R. K. Kanitkar* referred to the problem of Berar's future and said that Berar had been demanding a separate existence in the federation whatever agreement might be arrived at between the British Government and the Nizam and he hoped that the Berar people would be given an opportunity to assert their views on the subject. *Mr. Kanitkar* urged that the allocation of revenues between the Central Provinces and Berar should be determined by statutory obligation.

Mr. C. B. Parakh dwelt on the defence problem of India and emphasised the need of rapid Indianisation of the army. Characterising the J. P. C. proposals as highly unsatisfactory and falling short of the Indian demand, the speaker supported the summoning of a constituent assembly with a view to forming a suitable constitution. As regards the financial aspect of the committee's proposals, Mr. Parakh opined that imperial preference was writ large on the recommendations and said that what England had given with one hand she had taken away more freely with the other.

Dr P. S. Deshmukh deplored the absence of the term 'Dominion Status' in the proposals and urged a specific declaration of India's goal to this effect in the India Bill. Unless this demand was conceded the new constitution would not be acceptable to the people.

Mr. T. I. Kedar favoured the total rejection of the proposals as the recent elections had made it clear that the electorate was predominantly Congress-minded, while Mr. S. M. Rahman declared that there was no sense in the talk of rejection of the constitution. Even the conservative Moslems, he said, considered the recommendations unsatisfactory, but there was no reason why they should not work the reforms and agitate for more.

The Rev. Rodgers paid a tribute to the Joint Select Committee members for their labours and appealed to all to work the new constitution in a spirit of good-will and sincerity in the interests of ordered freedom and social justice.

Mr. G. A. Gawai (depressed classes) expressed gratitude to the British Government for conceding adequate representation to his community in the legislatures and for all their efforts to uplift the depressed classes in the country.

Seth Sheolal urged that provision should be made in the constitution that there should be no legislative interference in the social and religious customs of the people.

Mrs. Ramabai Tambe (nominated) expressed appreciation of the J. P. C. for the recognition of women's importance in the political life of India by conceding a wider franchise of women, but protested against the introduction of the communal element in electorates despite opposition by all women's organizations in India.

Khan Bahadur Mirza Rahman Beg, accepting the reform proposals, declared that they must work the reforms in order to prove their capacity for further advance.

The House at this stage agreed to the closure of the debate, when the Home Member, Mr. F. R. Rao, Leader of the House, speaking on behalf of the Government, vigorously defended the reform proposals. The Home Member declared that the federal scheme as had been evolved by the J. P. C. would shine in future as a guiding star pointing the way to the attainment of that real democratic state without the catastrophe of a general national breakdown. It was necessary that, along with creating autonomous provinces, they should have a strong centre and any course which led to its stability was to be closely examined and accepted. Proceeding, he said:—"My own view of the future of provincial autonomy of this province is that if the future ministers were resolute men determined to assert their constitutional powers, administer justice, uphold the rule of law, shoulder the responsibility for additional taxation and show respect to the canons of public finance and are supported by a strong and disinterested legislature and an honest Opposition, there is no reason to believe that the provincial autonomy even as is envisaged by the most advanced political parties in India would not be attained within the next few years. The Home Member, continuing, asked the people of India to determine their attitude towards the British Empire and pointed out that even Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged and admired one of the ideals of the British Empire, namely, every subject of the Empire had the freest scope for his energies and honour and whatever he thought was due to his conscience. The speaker thought that this was true of the British Empire as it was not true of any Government. The deficiency of the proposed constitutional reforms was not too high a price to pay to stand firmly by their anchorage. The Home Member, concluding, declared that the constitution may not give all that the people of India aspired to but it was a great advance over the present constitution as it gave the widest representation to all classes of people. The Council then adjourned till the 25th. February.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1935-36

**25th. FEBRUARY:—**Mr. N. J. Raughton, Finance Member introduced the budget to-day. The revised estimates for 1934-35 show a deficit of 11.04 lakhs as against the originally estimated surplus of Rs. 2.19 lakhs. The revenue position had deteriorated, the principal decreases in income receipts being under land revenue (Rs. 10.77 lakhs) and stamps (Rs. 4.38 lakhs). The Budget, as originally framed, provided for receipts

in the revenue account of Rs. 473 17 lakhs and expenditure of Rs. 470 98 lakhs, but the revised estimates anticipate revenue receipts of Rs. 452.12 lakhs and expenditure of Rs. 463.16 lakhs.

Coming to 1935-36, the Finance Member said that the total estimated revenue receipts were placed at Rs. 480 73 lakhs and expenditure charged to the revenue at Rs. 475 26, giving a revenue surplus of Rs. 5 47 lakhs. But this surplus has been converted into a deficit of Rs. 1.33 lakhs by the restoration of the out in pay. It is clear, added the Finance Member, that the position was far from satisfactory from the financial point of view. The Budget was not one that would arouse enthusiasm. It has been framed with caution and every effort has been made to make both ends meet. The deficit expected is a small one and this result has been obtained by rigid exclusion from the budget expenditure on the new commitments.

Drawing attention to the provision in the budget to the increase of preventive excise staff, Mr. Roughton said that the most ardent advocate of temperance should welcome any measures to check illicit distillation.

The Finance Member concluded saying that the end of world-wide depression is much nearer than before and in a short time the effect of improved conditions on the budgetary position would become apparent.

#### THE C. P. GAMES BILL

After the Budget speech the Central Provinces Game Bill, a Government measure providing for the control of shooting, netting or killing of game in the province was after some discussion passed into law. The Bill was referred to the Select Committee in the January session of the Council and the report of the Select Committee was presented to the House by Mr. *Raghavendra Rao*, Home Member.

Mr. *Iftikar Ali* (Jubbulpore Muslim) urged that the Bill should be recommitted to the Select Committee on the ground that the former committee did not comprise of Shikaris. Mr. *Parakh* favoured the throwing out of the Bill, as it was a money Bill. Mr. *Iftikar Ali's* dilatory motion was thrown out by a large majority, 9 voting for and 43 against it. All other non-official amendments were either withdrawn or thrown out. The House then adjourned.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**26th. FEBRUARY :—**The Council devoted the whole of to-day to the general discussion of the Budget.

There was a chorus of non-official disapproval of the Government's action in restoring the 5 per cent salary cuts and the attack on the Treasury Benches was all the more persistent as the restoration had converted the Budget from surplus to deficit.

Mr. *D. T. Mangalmurthi*, representative of the Nagpur University who opened the discussions, alleged that the debate in the House generally proceeded in an atmosphere of unreality, as the Government were usually unresponsive to the popular wishes. He, however, complimented the Finance Member for presenting to the House a budget, which was the best in the circumstances.

Dr. *Punjabrao Deshmukh* (Amraoti) felt that the Government's estimates of revenue receipts were optimistic. This optimism was not good for the health of a subject nation like India as it was exploited by the keepers and promoters of vested interests. Dr. *Punjabrao's* speech constituted a trenchant criticism of the Government's decision to restore the salary cuts.

Mr. *Y. M. Kale*, member from Berar, urged an equitable distribution of expenditure between the Central Provinces and Berar.

Mr. *Kanitkar* advocated the adoption of the Punjab Government's land revenue policy as an experimental measure. He also urged orientation of the new excise policy in the light of experience gained in the last fourteen years.

Mr. *Zunilal Verma* (Damoh) complained that the solemn resolutions of the Council have been ignored by the Government and that they would be justified in refusing supplies.

Messrs. *Choudhuri*, *Multipal Rao Sahab*, *V. S. Patil*, *S. G. Sapkal*, *I. F. Tikar Ali*, *Rao Sahab Fulay* (Labour), *Rao Bahadur Kothare*, Mr. *K. S. Muzaffar Hussain* (Deputy President), *Rev. Rogers*, *Beth Sheolal*, Mr. *V. D. Kolte*, Mr. *Arjunlal* and Mr. *C. B. S. Parakh* also participated in the debate.

The need for legislation to settle trade disputes and the desirability of setting up conciliation boards which were greatly in demand everywhere, the plight of the agriculturists and the starvation of the local bodies on account of cuts in grants were some of the grievances voiced by the members.

*Reverend Rogers* appealed to the Government to consider the desirability of imposing an entertainment tax in the province for increasing the grants towards education, while *Seth Sheelal* deplored that the Government were imposing fresh taxation on the eve of the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

Replying to the criticism levelled against the Government in regard to the restoration of salary cuts, Mr *G. Deshmukh*, Financial Secretary, asked whether it would not be honourable to adhere to the contract entered into with the public servants. He also denied the suggestion that the Government's revenue receipts and estimates were exaggerated.

The Hon'ble Mr *N. J. Roughton*, Finance Member, who spoke next categorically denied the suggestion that the Government had restored the salary cuts with the intention of handing over a bankrupt state to Indians in the next constitution. He appealed to the House not to create an anomalous position by pressing the reimposition of the cuts, as certain services were beyond their scope and felt that the House could appropriately express its disapproval in the form of a token cut. He reiterated the Government sympathy towards the agriculturists by pointing out to the various relief measures undertaken and the utmost economy in the expenditure observed.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**28th FEBRUARY.**—In the Council to-day Mr *K. P. Pande* withdrew his cut motion which was discussed throughout yesterday in view of the Excise Minister *Rai Bahadur Nayudu's* assurance to accept the proposal suggesting the appointment of a committee to go through the question of excise policy.

On the motion of *Rai Bahadur G. P. Jaiswal*, the House carried without a division the Rs. 1 cut as a protest against the decision of the Government to restore the salary cuts.

Non-officials were defeated three times in their attempt to censure the Ministers' policy in not restoring the cuts in the educational grants to the local bodies and not nominating members of the depressed classes and women to the local bodies.

The entire demand under the head "General Administration" (Transferred) for Rs. 64,000 was then carried.

*Khan Sahib Muzaffar Hussain*, Deputy President, moved a Rs. 1 cut in the demand of administration of justice and demanded the establishment of Debt Conciliation Boards in every Taluk throughout the province.

Various sections of the House expressed support to the demand.

The speakers emphasised the sad plight of the peasantry owing to heavy indebtedness and urged the Government to come to their rescue by agreeing to the suggested course.

Mr *N. G. Roughton*, Finance Member, while expressing sympathy with the proposal, complained about the paucity of men who could act as honorary chairmen on these Boards, suitable and diligent men who desired to devote themselves to the needs of the country-side. He further pointed out that the Government had already established seven Boards and proposed to start four more in the near future. He urged the withdrawal of the motion, which was carried without a division, the Government not opposing it.

**2nd. MARCH.**—Better supervision by the police force in the province with a view to preventing motor accidents which were lately marked by an increase, was urged by *Rao Shub U. S. Patil*, who moved a token cut to-day, when the demand under the head 'police' came up for discussion.

As regards the suggestions put forth in the course of the debate, the Home Member Mr *E. Raghavendra Rao* promised to consider the same at the time of revising the rules for regulating traffic, upon which the motion was withdrawn.

The House adopted Mr *Deshmukh's* motion protesting against the action of the Judicial Commissioner in not closing courts for a day, as a mark of respect to the memory of Mr *M. V. Abhyankar*.

The Home Member, Mr *E. R. Rao*, objected to the motion on the ground that the subject was very stale. Further the House was not entitled to discuss the conduct of a judicial officer acting in the judicial discharge of his duties. The motion was also calculated to cast reflection on the Judicial Commissioner.

The President, Mr *S. W. A. Rizvi* allowed the motion as it was in perfect order and related to administrative functions of the Judicial Commissioner.

*Seth Thakurdas'* complaint regarding bad food in jails evoked opposition from several non-official members who testified to the wholesome quality of the food given

in jails, which they tested by paying surprise visits to jails in different parts of the province.

Mr. *C. F. Waterfall*, Chief Secretary, stated that it had been noticed that prisoners after admission had put on weight. The motion was defeated without division.

Mr. *M. P. Kolhe*, moving a cut motion, criticised the conduct of the police force and said that crime was on the increase, the number of undetected cases and murder in Berar had increased and the convictions secured had fallen.

Three members supported the motion, while several others praised the police force.

The Home Member, Mr. *E. Raghavendra Rao*, pointed out that crime had increased in Berar and referred to the abnormal period, when people were not prepared to co-operate with police force. He further assured that the Government would consider all points raised during the debate. The motion was withdrawn.

**4th. MARCH.**—Strong criticism of the Government for increasing the police force during the period of financial stringency was made by Mr. *R. A. Kantikar* to-day in the Council in moving a cut during the discussion of the demand for Police Administration (Reserved).

Mr. *G. M. Rahman*, however, thought that the Police force in the Province was inadequate to meet the emergency cases.

The Home Member Mr. *E. Raghavendra Rao* justified the increase saying that the agrarian troubles, the disputes between capital and labour and the tendency to migrate from villages to the town—all these causes necessitated the strengthening of the Police. The motion was lost by 25 against 20 votes.

Another proposal seeking to reduce the number of constabulary in the province was defeated by 29 to 26 votes.

The House agreed to the entire demand on Education (Reserved) amounting to Rs. 1,12,000.

Mrs. *Ramabai Tambe* (nominated) wanted the Government to take over girls' primary education from the local bodies which she declared were unable to make any progress, handicapped as they had been by financial considerations. Education of girls as compared to boys in the Province was almost at a standstill. Therefore, the mover emphasised that it was the duty of the Government to see that the present position was soon improved. The proposal was supported by several members who urged that no time should be lost in taking the necessary step.

Mr. *Owen*, Director of Public Instruction, while expressing his sympathy with the motion, pointed out that the Government were doing everything possible. The proposal would involve an expenditure of Rs. 20 lakhs which their present financial position would not permit them to incur.

Mr. *B. G. Khaparde*, Education Minister, assured the House that it was not lack of will on his part, but the fact was that they were still unable to get over the lack of funds. The matter was now being considered by the Government and the Minister and an early decision would be taken. The motion was withdrawn.

**6th. MARCH.**—That the posts of the Director of Public Health and Inspector General of Civil Hospitals in the province should be amalgamated as an economy measure was the demand voiced by Mr. *S. M. Rahaman* in the Council to-day. The House accepted the proposal by 42 votes to 18. It was pointed out on behalf of Government that the matter had already been referred to the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. *C. B. Parakh* moving a cut under-head 'Civil Works' (transferred) observed that the quarters for the police could wait until Government found money to restore all educational grants.

Mr. *C. F. Waterfall*, Chief Secretary, said that these works were undertaken in the interests of health of Government employees. The cut motion was defeated by 48 votes to 10.

Despite opposition from eight members the rest of the demands were voted and the entire budget got through the House, which then adjourned.

#### C. P. COURT FEES AMEND. BILL

**7th. MARCH.**—The Council met to-day to consider the C. P. Court Fees Amendment Bill on the motion of the Home Member.

The object of the Bill was mainly to provide funds necessary for establishing a high Court in the province and also to correct certain inequalities in the matter of the costs charged to litigants.

The Home Member, Mr. *E. Raghavendra Rao*, moving for consideration of the Bill at once, said that the fees now being imposed were in accordance with the provisions



of the Act of 1870 and in view of the vast changes in the judicial system in the province, reforms in the matter of levying fees were necessary. If the province wanted a High Court, the cost thereof should not be thrust on the general tax-payers, but on those who were likely to benefit by the proposed reforms, namely, the litigant public.

Proceeding, he said that the present Bill was in accord with the wishes of the House which during the previous session urged the Government to establish a High Court in the province. He hoped that the members would support the Bill, since the House had already committed itself in principle.

Mr. D. T. Mangalmurthi moved an amendment that the Bill be referred for eliciting public opinion.

The House having devoted the whole day for the discussion, the amendment was put to vote and negatived, 36 voting for and 19 against, resulting in a Government victory.

A feature of the debate was the strong opposition by several non-official members to the Bill. While opinion was unanimous favouring a High Court, criticism was directed against the imposition of fresh taxation in the form of funds necessary for this purpose.

Mr. T. J. Kedar, Leader of the Opposition, supported the Bill in principle, but agreed to the motion for circulation to consider the various details of the measure.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh favoured the complete rejection of the Bill which, he said, had been brought at an inopportune time. He preferred to wait till the passing of the new Constitution Act.

Khan Saheb Mazaffar Hussain, Deputy President, declared that it was the duty of the Government to make the administration of justice as cheap as possible. On the contrary, the Bill was brought to enhance the court fees.

Mr. W. R. Purank, Government Advocate, made it clear that legislation was long overdue and was aimed at removing the anomalies in the law so as to bring this province into line with other provinces.

Replying to the debate, the Home Member, Mr. Rao pointed out that the Bill was sought to set right inequalities in taxation and assured that its clauses would not hurt the poorer class of litigants. The measure was designed to restrict litigation. As a result of the local Government's representations, the Secretary of State for India had agreed to the constitution of a High Court in the Province, the Judge of which would receive emoluments lower than elsewhere in India.

**8th. MARCH :—**In the Council to-day, Mr. R. A. Karanthkar, moved that the C. P. Court Fees Amendment Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

The Home Member, Mr. E. R. Rao, said that the Government was opposed to the motion, but in view of the opinions expressed in the House would agree to it. He added that the consideration of the Bill should be finished before the end of the present financial year.

The House accepted the Select Committee motion and adjourned till March 25.

**25th. MARCH :—**After a debate lasting nearly six hours, the Council passed the Court Fees C. P. Amendment Bill, a Government measure, into law.

The Bill was introduced in the Council on March 7 last by the Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Home Member, and evoked much opposition from non-official benches, as it involved taxation proposals for the establishment of a High Court in the Province. The Bill underwent important changes in the Select Committee stage in that the incidence of taxation was reduced from Rs. three and a half to Rs. 2 lakhs which constituted the funds essential for the establishment of a High Court.

When business in the House was resumed to-day, the Home Member presented the report of the Select Committee and urged that the Bill be taken into consideration.

Mr. D. T. Mangalmurthi attacked the Bill and pleaded for the inability of the Province to sustain fresh taxation.

He was supported by Dr. Punjab Rao Deshmukh, while Mr. W. R. Purank, Government Advocate, pointed out that the principle of raising the status of a province by establishing a High Court had already been accepted.

Mr. S. M. Rahman, supported the Home Member's motion which was carried by 38 votes to 19.

Among those who supported the Government were Mr. T. J. Kedar (Leader of the Opposition) and 19 elected non-officials.

Discussion on the Bill was then resumed. Non-official members had tabled no less than 63 amendments, most of which were either rejected or not moved. Having regard to the view of the Opposition, the Government accepted five amendments.

The most important amendment to the Bill was that of Mr. Mangalmurthi, seeking to restrict the life of the Bill to March 31, 1937, instead of March 31, 1943, as proposed by the Select Committee. He felt that it was improper on the part of this Committee to fetter the hands of the future Governments and, therefore, wanted to limit its life only to a couple of years.

Messrs. Iftikar Ali, K. P. Pande, and Seth Thakurdas supported the amendment, while Mr. C. B. Parakh opposed the motion.

In opposing the amendment, the *Home Member* pointed out that the High Court was going to be a permanent institution in the province and the cost incidental to it would be a recurring one on the revenue of the province. The original Bill was introduced to be a permanent measure, but in view of the strong feelings expressed the Government had agreed to limit the life of the Bill upto March 1934. The Government had come to that decision after a full consideration of all the circumstances, as they expected that the term of the first Provincial Council under the new reforms would expire in 1943 and that would be the proper time to judge whether or not the continuance of the Act was essential.

The hon. Mr. Gordon, Finance Member, intervening, said that the passage of the amendment would give rise to suspicion in the minds of higher authorities as regards the stability of the Court.

Mr. Mangalmurthi's amendment was passed to a division and lost by 43 votes to 21. The Council then adjourned.

# The Punjab Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

- 1 THE HON'BLE CHAUDHRI SIR SHAHAB-UD-DIN (*President*)

### *II.—Executive Councillors and Ministers*

- 1 THE HON'BLE MR. D. J. BOYD
- 2 THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB MUZAFFAR KHAN
- 3 THE HON'BLE SARDAR SIR JOGENDRA SINGH
- 4 THE HON'BLE MALIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON
- 5 THE HON'BLE DR. SIR GOKUL CHAND NARANG

### *III.—Official Members*

- 1 ANDERSON, MR. J. D.
- 2 BOURNE, MR. F. C.

- 3 DOBSON, MR. B. H.
- 4 FAZL ILAHI, KHAN SAHIB SHAIKH
- 5 ASKURITH, MR. A. V.
- 6 LATIFI, MR. A.
- 7 MARSDEN, MR. P.
- 8 PEARSON, MR. H. J.
- 9 PUCKLE, MR. F. H.
- 10 RAHMAN, KHAN BAHADUR DR. K. A.
- 11 SANDERSON, MR. R.
- 12 TATE, MR. T. B.

### *IV.—Non-Official Members*

- 1 ABDUL GHANI, SHAIKH
- 2 AFZAL HAQ, CHAUDHRI
- 3 AHMAD YAR KHAN, DAULATANA, KHAN BAHADUR MIAN
- 4 AKBAR ALI, PIR
- 5 ALLAH DAD KHAN, CHAUDHRI

- 6 ARJAN SINGH, SARDAR
  - 7 BAHADUR KHAN, SARDAR
  - 8 BALBIR SINGH, RAO BAHADUR  
CAPTAIN. RAO
  - 9 BANSI LAL, CHAUDHRI
  - 10 BHAGAT RAM, LALA
  - 11 BISHAN SINGH SARDAR
- IV.—Non-Official Members*
- 12 CHETAN ANAND, LALA
  - 13 CHHOTU RAM, RAO BAHADUR  
CHAUDHRI
  - 14 CHOWDHRY, MR. SAJAN KUMAR
  - 15 FAQIR HUSAIN KHAN, CHAUDHRI
  - 16 FAZL ALI, KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB  
CHAUDHRI
  - 17 GHANI, MR.
  - 18 GOPAL DAS, RAI SAHIB LALA
  - 19 GURBACHAN SINGH, SARDAR  
SAHIB SARDAR
  - 20 HABIB ULLAH, KHAN BAHADUR  
SARDAR
  - 21 HAIBAT KHAN DAHA, KHAN
  - 22 JAGDEV KHAN KHARAL, RAI
  - 23 JANMEJA SINGH, CAPTAIN, SARDAR  
BAHADUR SARDAR
  - 24 JASWANT SINGH, GURU
  - 25 JAWAHAR SINGH DHILLON, SARDAR
  - 26 JYOTI PRASAD, LALA
  - 27 KESAR SINGH, RAI SAHIB  
CHAUDHRI
  - 28 LABH CHAND MEHRA, RAI SAHIB  
LALA
  - 29 LABH SINGH, MR.
  - 30 LEKHWATI JAIN, SHRIMATI
  - 31 MALAK, MR. MUHAMMAD DIN
  - 32 MAMRAJ SINGH CHOHAN, KANWAR
  - 33 MANOHAR LAL, MR.
  - 34 MAYA DAS, MR. ERNEST
  - 35 MAZHAR ALI AZHAR, MAULVI
  - 36 MANGAL SINGH, SARDAR
  - 37 MOHINDAR SINGH, SARDAR
  - 38 MUBARAK ALI SHAH, SAYAD
  - 39 MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHMAN  
KHAN, CHAUDHRI
  - 40 MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN, KHAN  
BAHADUR MALIK

- 41 MUHAMMAD EUSOOF, KHWAJA
- 42 MUHAMMAD HAYAT QURESHI,  
KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB, MIAN
- 43 MUHAMMAD HASAN, KHAN SAHIB  
MAKHDOOM SHAIKH
- 44 MUHAMMAD JAMAL KHAN LEG-  
HARI, KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB
- 45 MUHAMMAD RAZA SHAH GILANI,  
MAKHDOUMZADA SAYAD
- 46 MUHAMMAD SADIQ SHAIKH
- 47 MUHAMMAD SARTPARAZ ALI KHAN,  
RAJA
- 48 MUHAMMAD YASIN KHAN, CHAUDHRI
- 49 ASAD ULLAH KHAN, CHAUDHRI
- 50 MUKAND LAL PURI, MR.
- 51 MURKEGI, RAI BAHADUR MR. P
- 52 MUSHTAQ AHMAD GURMANI, KHAN  
BAHADUR MIAN
- 53 MUZAFFAR KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR  
CAPTAIN MALIK.
- 54 NARENDRANATH, DIWAN BAHADUR  
RAJA
- 55 NATHWA SINGH, CHAUDHRY
- 56 Nihal CHAND AGGARWAL, LALA
- 57 NOOR AHMAD KHAN, KHAN SAHIB  
MIAN
- 58 NUR KHAN, KHAN SAHIB RISALDAR  
BAHADUR
- 59 NURULI AH, MIAN
- 60 PANCHAM CHAND, THAKUR
- 61 PANDIT, MR. NANAK CHAND
- 62 RAHIBIR SINGH, HONORARY CAPTAIN  
SARDAR
- 63 SHAH NAWAZ KHAN, NAWAB KHAN
- 64 RAMH DAS, LALA
- 65 RAM SARUP, CHAUDHRI
- 66 RAM SINGH, 2ND-LIEUT, SARDAR SAHIB  
SARDAR.
- 67 RANJAT ALI, KHAN SAHIB CHAUDHRI
- 68 ROBERTS, PROFESSOR W.
- 69 SAMPRAN SINGH, SARDAR
- 70 SEWAK RAM, RAI BAHADUR LALA.
- 71 SHAVE, DR. (MRS) M. C.
- 72 SHEO NARAIN SINGH, SARDAR BAHADUR  
SARDAR
- 73 UJJAL SINGH, SARDAR SAHIB SARDAR
- 74 UMAR HAYAT, CHAUDHRI
- 75 ZAMAN MEHDI KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR  
MALIK.

# Proceedings of the Council

BUDGET SESSION- LAHORE—21st FEBRUARY to 26th. MARCH 1935

## PUNJAB ANTI-BEGGARY BILL

The Budget Session of the Punjab Legislative Council commenced at Lahore on the 21st. February 1935. After formal business a motion to refer to the Select Committee the Punjab Anti-Beggary Bill, which was introduced and circulated for public opinion last year was defeated without a division, the Government opposing.

Mrs *Lekhvat Jain*, the only Congress member in the House and the mover of the Bill, sought to minimise the evil of begging by introducing a system of licensing for beggars, the contravention to be punishable by imprisonment.

The majority of opinion was opposed to the Bill.

Mrs *Jain*, recommending the motion for a select committee, said that the sadhus, fakirs and other professional beggars were becoming an increasing nuisance in the public streets, more so because they were beggars by day and potential burglars by night. In the Punjab alone, there were six to seven lakhs of beggars, three-fourths of whom could easily do manual labour. It was difficult for a graduate to earn Rs. 2 daily, whereas the beggars easily earned Rs. 3. Legislation was the best course to put an end to the evil.

Mr. *Boyd*, on behalf of the Government, opposing, said that Section 151 of the Punjab Municipal Act which deals with beggary would be strictly applied and the Deputy Commissioner's attention would be drawn to this.

## IMMORAL TRAFFIC SUPPRESSION BILL

22nd. FEBRUARY :—The Council to-day referred to the Select Committee the Punjab Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill introduced during the last session by *Pandit Nanak Chand* and which was circulated for public opinion.

An overwhelming majority of opinion favoured the Bill's provisions with slight modifications. The Bill aimed at checking the evils of traffic in women and children by giving more powers to the authorities, whereby protection may be afforded to those in danger from procurers and traffickers engaged in commercialised vice through the provision of penalty of three years imprisonment with fine.

The Leader of the Unionist Party, Mr. *Chaudhury Chatu Ram*, while supporting the Bill's principles, permitted the members of his party, the biggest in the Council, to express their own opinions. Only one member opposed the motion on the ground that the existing sections of the Penal Code were sufficient remedy against the evil, but a number of speakers including Raja Narendra Nath and the representative of the Indian Christian community supported and the motion was carried without a division, the Government remaining neutral.

Earlier, the Council rejected the Punjab Small Towns Amendment Bill and the Punjab Village Panchayat Amendment Bill. The Council then adjourned till the 25th.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1935-36

25th. FEBRUARY :—The Punjab Government's estimates for 1935-36 were presented in the Council to-day by the Hon'ble D. J. Boyd, Finance Member. In his speech Mr. Boyd said :—For the year 1935-36 our estimate of total ordinary revenue is Rs. 10,39,16,000, which is less than the revised estimate of the current year by 8 and a half lakhs and is only one lakh above the actuals of 1933-34. We expect to spend Rs. 10,38,60,000, or Rs. 56,000 less than we receive. We have been able to estimate only for a barely balanced budget, and all proposals for future new expenditure will have to be jealously watched. But while economy must be observed, it would be a mistake to cut out of the schedule of new expenditure items such as the extra expenditure required for rural reconstruction and the propagation of the use of good seed.

Discussing the principal heads of income and expenditure for 1935-36 Mr. Boyd said : Our income is derived from our main sources—Land Revenue, Irrigation, Excise and Stamps. In the year 1933-34 these four heads provided 86 per cent. of our income, and it is well to examine their future prospects.

The revised estimate under Land Revenue for the current year is 283 lakhs, and the budget estimate for 1935-36 is 272 lakhs. This sum, however, includes 17 lakhs of

receipts from rents for temporary cultivation, which from 1926 to 1934 were credited to Extraordinary Receipts. Apart from this addition, the estimate would have amounted to 257 lakhs only.

The average income from Excise since 1927-28 has been 105 lakhs, the revised estimate for the current year is 98 and one-third lakhs. We may hope for 99 lakhs in the coming year.

The revised estimate for the current year from Stamps is 107 lakhs. we expect a slight increase to 110 lakhs next year.

Irrigation accounts for roughly 332 lakhs of expenditure, but although Education Department comes next with a total expenditure of 160 lakhs it actually takes the lion's share because Irrigation also produces revenue.

As regards the present year, the Finance Member said. The budget estimate of the present year anticipated a surplus of 51 lakhs. but, so far as can be seen, the surplus will be 20 lakhs less. This is not due to any excess of optimism on the part of the Finance Department, but to the fact that after the budget was framed the Government decided to reduce water-rates by an amount that in a normal year would cause a drop of 36 and a half lakhs in this source of revenue. At the same time special remissions of revenue amounting to over 20 lakhs have been granted whereas only 15 lakhs of special remissions were anticipated.

Half a lakh has been provided for the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of Their Majesties' reign, of Rs. 30,000 for Jubilee scholarships and of 3 lakhs for the new Council Chamber.

The position with regard to the Sutlej Valley project is as follows :

The cumulative interest is 4.51 crores. The cumulative net revenue is 2.03 crores, and the resulting sum at charge is 11.72 crores. The position ten years hence may probably be as follows : cumulative capital 9.01, cumulative interest 9.89, cumulative net revenue 7.51, sum at charge 11.39 crores. In the year 1944-45 the project will be paying 5.3 per cent, as against about 3.8 per cent. at present, and it is calculated to pay 6 per cent in the year 1945-47. In 1931-35 we hope to assess 12.8 lakhs of acres irrigated, and in 1944-45 we hope to assess 13.61 lakhs, a comparatively small rise owing to the fact that the water available at the sowing season is limited.

The other great project of the Province about which the Council will desire to be informed is the Hydro-Electric Scheme. This scheme has cost 626 lakhs, of which 42 lakhs represent expenditure on local distribution. To this sum of 626 lakhs we have to add the enormous sum of 123 lakhs as accumulated interest charges, so that the total capital expenditure charges against the scheme comes to 749 lakhs.

**28th. FEBRUARY :—**Charges of apathy, respecting nation-building activities, were levelled against the Government by several speakers during the general discussion on the budget, which commenced in the Council to-day. Several speakers congratulated the Finance Member on his presenting a balanced budget, and supported the restoration of the pay cut but stressed that the province was far from being prosperous, the people were groaning under taxation and well planned schemes to improve the basic condition of the people was urgently needed.

*Shankh Mohammad Sadiq* and *Mr. Nanakchand Pandit* vehemently criticized the Government and its irresponsiveness to public opinion, and the almost total neglect of national development. *Mr. Sadiq* contrasted with what other free countries were doing with their budgets, apart from maintaining *status quo* and peace and order, and *Mr. Pandit* said : 'This would not be tolerated for a single day in any free country'. *Mr. Pandit* maintained that although they had had reforms for the last 14 years with their own Ministers, there was practically no progress for which the people could be thankful and the same old system and outlook persisted. He said that their Ministers had failed to do their duty which was to bring combined pressure on the Government to initiate beneficial schemes to ameliorate unemployment and to develop small industries, but they had only served to keep the people quiet.

*Choudhry Choturam*, leader of the Opposition, initiating the debate, congratulated the Finance Member on presenting a balanced budget, which was, he said, not an easy thing in these days of depression. He, however, complained that the benevolent departments were being starved which was the last thing the Government should do. He advocated the imposition of fresh taxes. (He was the only member to make this suggestion)—on the urban population. Maintaining that the people in towns got away with the least burden of taxation, *Choudhry Choturam* suggested to taxes on cinemas, bicycles and aerated waters.

*Raja Narendra Nath*, while joining *Chaudhry Choturam* in his tributes to the Finance Member regarding the balanced budget, said that the incidence of taxation fell equally heavily on the urban population as on the rural. He urged a reduction in the water rates, on fodder crops and keeping the price of a unit of hydro-electric energy at a low level so as to enable struggling farmers and small industrialists to take advantage of this new force, when they had already been hard hit by the depression.

*Sardar Ujval Singh* and *Shaik Mohammad Sadiq* appealed to the Government to do what other free countries like Japan were doing to provide healthy occupation for their nationals, and safeguard them against foreign competition. *Shaik Mohammad Sadiq* suggested that a committee should be appointed to suggest ways and means for helping small industries.

*Mr. Nanakchand Pandit* and *Mr. Afzal Haq* complained against the Government's policy of inaction, respecting the reports of commissions and committees and said that it was a policy of discouragement.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**1st. MARCH.**—*Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh*, Minister, while admitting that the progress had not been as great as it might have been, and also admitting the fact of unemployment in the province opined that within certain limits there had been real and considerable progress both in agriculture and industry of the province. He quoted facts and figures from the working of the various branches in support of his contention. He said that the foundation of progress had been truly and broadly laid and what was needed was a better organisation and persevering work. Though, so far as production was concerned, there had been progress regarding the regulation and movement of the prices, he said, "We remain where we were". This was a complicated question depending on international factor.

*Mr. Manoharlal*, ex-Minister, in an impressive speech pointed out how the ratio of international exchange was becoming steadily unfair in agricultural countries and thought it was time that Government should engage their attention in tackling this problem. The speaker exposed the inaccuracy of the Agriculture Minister's statistics of the all-round progress and put it to Government how they were going to tackle and solve this problem of the increasing ruralisation of the country. He thought that the strongest condemnation that could be laid against the Government was for their apathy to industrialising the country.

**5th. MARCH.**—The Punjab Government's hydro-electric scheme came in for some criticism when suggestions were made through token cuts for bringing electric energy within the reach of agriculturists through cheaper rates and for the appointment of a committee to go into the question of rates and of making the scheme more useful and paying.

*Sir Gokulchand Narang* said that at present they were not producing energy to the capacity of the plant, but whatever energy they were producing was being taken up and their main difficulty was to cope with the demand. He said that the Government's policy was to make energy available to all and as soon as the proper stage was reached the question of reducing the rates for agriculturist users of energy would be considered. He assured the House that the Government were determined to profit by past experience and would not only consult the members of the House but also expert opinion in India and abroad so as to examine their proposals with a strict eye to economy and technical success.

The grants were passed, but several speakers drew attention to the fact that the province was greatly handicapped through the original estimates of the scheme, namely, two and a half crores having risen to seven and a half crores and they were still not beyond the first stage. They contrasted the price of energy, namely, eight pies whereas it ought to have been about two and a half pies and said that so long this position was not remedied, the main purpose of the scheme would remain unfulfilled.

**6th. MARCH.**—In the Council to-day *Chaudhury Choturam*, leader of the opposition, moving a cut of Re. 1 in the grant for Civil Works entered a strong plea for lowering the contractors' rates. He said that frequently the contractors quoted thirty-five per cent. below the departmental estimates and still made money. When the speaker was proceeding to make charges of corruption, the President pointed out that it would be better that specific points as distinct from general and vague statements should be made in such cases.

Hon. Sir Joginder Singh said there were no cases of contractors or enginers becoming fabulously rich in this province and said that Government were ready to re-examine the contractors' rates. The cut was withdrawn.

During debates on the grants under Hydro-electric schemes when the question of communal representation in this branch of the service was raised, Mr H. P. Thomas, Chief Engineer, said that Muslims in this branch were over forty per cent, although they evinced a peculiar ineptitude for the electrical line. In some cases, he added, the present incumbents were maintained in their positions not because of their efficiency but because they were Muslims.

Only one cut was carried to-day, namely, that of Re. 1 in the P. W. D. Buildings grant to urge the employment of agriculturists.

**8th MARCH :—**The Punjab Government's programme of road development was explained by the Minister of Agriculture during the debate on the motion for grant of Rs. 78 lakhs under head Civil Works (Transferred) to which Khan Bahadur Nawab Mian Muhammad Hyat Qureshi moved a cut of Re. 1 to urge "fairer distribution of expenditure on communications."

The Minister, replying, referred to the recent deliberations of the Rail Road Conference and the Government's survey of the problem and said that the Government of India was taking keenest interest on this question. The Central Government had asked his Department to chalk out the programme of laying out good roads to link up villages with the cities and Government were working out the road classification scheme with the object of improving the net work of roads and filling the gaps. He mentioned that in the last six years 1,000 miles of new metalled roads had been added throughout the province and the progress of the scheme was so well maintained that he expected it to be completed in the next three or four years.

A proud reference was made by the ex-Minister Manohar Lal to the fact that the Punjab possessed the biggest public library in India compared to which the Imperial Library at Calcutta came nowhere in the course of a cut motion urging better housing and bigger grant thereto. Next to that came the Baroda Library, but the Lahore library sadly lacked adequate Government patronage.

Sir Ferozekhan Noon, Minister for Education, expressed deep sympathy with the demand, but pointed out that there were other and far more urgent demands for funds in his Department. For example, he had seen with his own eyes the veritable black holes in so-called girls' schools in Lahore, where in one case he was presented with the spectacle of 110 girls cramped in a room 14 feet by 14.

Incredulous murmur led the Minister to offer to take a member to that place, but he warned that, seeing such a sight might induce humicidal thoughts against those who were keeping girls under such conditions, wherein you would not keep dogs.

The cut was withdrawn, after the Minister had promised to do what he could.

During question-hour, the Finance Member placed the land settlement on the table showing that in the last three years in the two districts of Hoshiarpur and Jullunder 85 cases of kidnapping of girls occurred. (Of those, all except one were minors.

Replying to a question by Mr. Chaudhry Afjal Huq, Mr. Boyd, Finance Member, said that ten communities had been restricted under section 3 (1) (d) of the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Mr. Afjal Huq asked why the communities were so restricted unless they happened to be terrorists.

Mr. Boyd : Because if unrestricted they were likely to act in a manner prejudicial to public peace and safety.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Minister for Education, in replying to Chaudhry Mahomed Abdul Rehman Khan, wished the member would have tried to ascertain the truth before raising the matter. The question related to the award of nine science scholarships recently created under Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar's munificent transfer to the Punjab University of a gift of a lakh and half made to him personally in which the questioner had suggested that not one thereof would finally go to a Muslim.

Sir F. K. Noon said : "Perhaps the hon. member is referring to the Punjab Chemical Research Fund which is maintained and financed by private donations and administered by trustees. Neither the Government nor the University has any right to say how these scholarships would be awarded. It will interest the hon'ble member to know that ten scholarships were awarded last year. Only three Mussalmans (applied, of which two were successful in securing, (1) Attock Oil Company's scholarship and (2) Prof. Bhatnagar's scholarship of Rs. 60 per month. I am sure the hon'ble member

and his community have cause to be highly grateful to the non-Muslim professor, namely, Prof. Bhatnagar."

**11th. MARCH :—**The Punjab Government's scheme for rural reconstruction came in for severe criticism in the council when demand for Rs. 1,33,500 was presented for sanction, to be placed at the disposal of the commissioner for rural reconstruction. A token cut was moved for reducing the demand by rupee one with a view to draw attention to the insufficiency of resources provided for this work.

*Pandit Nanak Chand* at the outset congratulated the Government on having undertaken rural uplift work when no less a person than Mahatma had done so. The speaker, however, deprecated the method adopted by the Government as he thought it would not bring the desired result. None deny the fact, added he, that the Congress and the Government were one in holding that the conditions of villages needed serious attention, but their methods differed. An officer drawing Rs. 3,000 as pay and moving in cars would not be looked upon sympathetically by villagers who, steeped in the abyss of poverty were unable to find even money for purchase of mosquito curtains. The speaker thought that the problem could really be successfully tackled by one moving among the villagers as one of them, wading through dust and filth and mixing with them freely. He maintained that time has come for the Government to change its angle of vision. He referred to the Bihar earthquake and stressed the necessity of the Government and the Congress co-operating in providing relief for suffering humanity.

The Finance Member, in replying, said that the Commissioner for rural reconstruction was appointed according to the request made to the Governor by a deputation of the Zamindars.

*Nawab Muzafarkhan*, Revenue Member, wanted to clear misapprehension about Government intentions in this direction. He said that the Punjab Government had undertaken village uplift work ten years ago. There was no reason why the Congress and the Government should not work in co-operation in this respect if Congressmen are honest in their profession and purpose.

The cut motion was ultimately withdrawn and the demand was adopted.

**12th. MARCH—**A feeling speech by *Dr. Sir Gokulchand Narang*, Minister for Local Self-Government, on industrialisation of the Punjab marked to-day's proceedings in the Council, when the unfinished debate was held on industries demand for Rs. 42,000. Several speakers dwelt on the backwardness of the Punjab in respect of development of industries, and contrasted the meagreness of Rs. 42,000 for industries in comparison with many times larger allotment for travelling allowance to the police.

In response to the Minister's request for a specific mention of the industries which they wished to be developed and the lines they wanted the Government to take, non-officials mentioned dairying, butter-making, carpentry, dyeing and even improved methods of barbering and washing in order to help the unemployed.

*Dr. Sir Gokulchand Narang* said that the development of industries was the subject next to his heart, and his earnestness in this respect was second to that of none. But ever since he took office the Government were passing through financial stringency. Capital and specialised industrial training were the two essentials for industrial expansion and the Punjab was deficient in both respects. Technical knowledge was lacking, and as regards capital moneyed-classes were not investing in business, but were depositing in banks. He asked members of the House to create an industrial mentality among those holding capital. But, above all, what was required was patriotism. "Are you showing patriotism", he asked? (Voice: Yes).

"No, you are not" said *Dr. Narang* and added that until they themselves use rough and unfinished articles they could not expect to obtain finer and excellently finished products of their own country. As for himself, he tried as far as possible to meet his needs with Indian made articles, and only when all tried the same, there would be real support to Indian industries.

**18th. MARCH :—**An important announcement of the Government's intention in regard to the programme of industrialisation of the Punjab was made by *Sir Gokulchand Narang*, Minister for Industries in the Council to-day during the debate on the demand for industries grant.

Various cuts were proposed, the common purpose of which was to urge a co-ordinated policy of helping forward the cottage and other industries, including one cut advocating a five-year programme to foster small industries.



Replying to the debate which altogether spread for over three sittings, Sir Gokulchand Narang declared that the whole question was engaging the earnest attention of the Government and revealed the salient features of a draft Bill having for its object the encouragement of investment in industries for helping the existing enterprises and expediting industrial schemes generally. The Bill which Sir Gokulchand Narang announced would come up before the Council during the next session would provide for giving grants and subsidies to the new industries, grant of lands, Government assistance through the purchase of shares and expert advice, etc., and affording all possible facilities to enterprising industrialists to embark on schemes in new directions.

*Sir Gokulchand Narang* said that the Bill would propose that under certain conditions the Government should guarantee at least three per cent return on the money invested so as to bring out shy capital. He suggested to the House to persuade the Government to raise an industrial loan of a crore or two, because without industrial progress they could not dream of prosperity and unless they took the risk, development would be impossible.

All the five cuts including that urging the appointment of a Committee to draw up a five-year programme to develop village industries were passed, the Government not opposing.

**22nd. MARCH:**—After interpellations, the Council discussed the demand under head "Agriculture" including Co-operative Department.

*Mr Joginder Singh*, Minister for Agriculture, replying to the debate referred to the frequent questions regarding communal representation in his department and said that he and his colleagues were willing to fix communal proportion and carry them out in all new recruitment in the transferred departments, if they received sanction of the Council. The first brick of the new constitution, he said, should be well and truly laid on the basis of common good-will and understanding. He suggested that the Hindus and Sikhs should accept the claims of Moslems for representation of their population and Moslems on the other hand, should join hands with the Hindu and Sikh brethren for making the constitution a success.

The demand was passed.

The demand for medical and public health was under discussion when guillotine was applied.

Due to lack of co-ordination on the part of non-official members, the Council was unable to discuss this year many important heads of expenditure including Police, Judiciary, Jails, General Administration and Education as eight days allotted for demands for grants were spent in discussing secondary heads and on the guillotine being applied to-day at 5 p. m. the remaining 18 demands including the above mentioned demands were voted without a discussion.

#### RECOGNITION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

**26th. MARCH:**—Strong criticism of the rules recently framed by the Government to regulate the recognition of private schools so as to eschew undesirable influences in the management, to protect the interests of the staff as well as of the pupils and to ensure financial stability was voiced in the Council to-day when a non-official resolution was discussed recommending modifications of rules and exemption from their application of those schools which were in existence already.

The rules make recognition conditional upon certain financial guarantees in respect of staff's salaries etc., and members of the management and staff, not engaging in agitation against the authority of the Government or dissemination of disloyal opinions or feelings of hatred between the different parties. Members including Mr. Nanukchand, Pandit Mukund Lal Puri and Mr. Manoharlal, ex-Education Minister and two members of the Rural Unionist Party supported the resolution and opposed the officialisation of all schools.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Education Minister, defended the rules in the interests of students and masters alike and said that the rules were drawn up in consultation with the Standing Education Committee of House. The resolution was eventually withdrawn. The Council then adjourned.

# The Burma Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

THE HON'BLE U. CHIT HLAING

(President)

SAW PE THA, (Deputy President)

U BA DUN, (Secretary)

H. M. ELLIOT, (Assistant Secretary)

### *Ex-Officio Members—Officials*

THE HON'BLE MR. THOMAS COUPER.

THE HON'BLE U BA.

### *Ministers*

THE HON. U. BA PE.

THE HON. DR. BA MAW

### *Nominated Members—Officials*

HARRY TOMKINSON

WALTER BOOTH-GRAVELY

PHILIP CHRISTOPHER FOGARTY

RAIBEART MACINTYRE MACDOUGALL

WILFRID HUGH PAYTON

HUGH GRAHAM WILKIE

A. MEKERRAT

COLONEL CLIFFORD ALLEHIN GILL

A. R. MOMI

R. C. MORRIS

### *Non-officials*

ARTHUR EGGAR

JOHN ARNOLD CHERRY

U PO LIN

DR. N. N. PARAKH

A. M. M. VELLAYAN CHETTIAR

U PO YIN

E. P. PILLAI

R. B. HOWISM

### *Elected Members*

U SAN SHWE BU

U KUN

U PO YIN

U BA SHWE

U MAUNG MAUNG GYI

U BA THAN

U CHIT HLAING

DAW HNIN MA

U BA THAN

L CHOON FOUNG

U TUN AUNG

KHAO HOCK CHUAN

R. K. GEORGE

B. N. DAS

GANGA SINGH

M. M. RAFI

S. A. S. TYABJI

TILLA MOHAMED KHAN

A. M. A. KAREEM GANNI

U TUN BAW

SRA SHWE BA

U SHWE NYIM

SAW PE THA

U BA THEIN

U SHWAY THA

U PHO KHINE

U PO MYA

U SO NYUN

RAMRI U MAUNG MAUNG

U THIN MAUNG

U SAW

U KYAW DIN

DR. BA YIN

U PAW U

U SEIN BA

U BA TIN

U NYUN

U KYAW DUN

U BA SAW

U TUN MIN

U PE MAUNG

U BA THAUNG

U MYA

THE HON'BLE SIR J. A. MAUNG GYI

U PU

U THA GYAW

U THI

U NI

U BA CHAW

U PO THEIN

U KYI MYINT

U KYA GAING

U MYA THA DUN

U MAUNG GYEE

U LU PE

U SEIN WIN

U MIN OH

KHOO LOCK CHWAN

U MAUNG GYI

C. P. KHIN MAUNG

U ON MAUNG

U SAN LU

U BA TIN

U BA

U BA THAW

DR. BA MAW

C. H. CAMPAGNAC

SIR OSCAR DE GLANVILLE

R. T. STONEHAM

C. S. WODEHOUSE

U BA GLAY

CHAN CHOR KHINE

W. C. PENN

U TUN PE

KHAN BAHADUR AHMED CHANDOO

# Proceedings of the Council

BUDGET SESSION—R.A. NGON—14th FEBRUARY to 8th MARCH 1935

The budget session of the Burma Legislative Council commenced on the 14th. February in a depleted house. With the exception of a few nominated members and Independents and two Ministers in the officials block the whole opposition bloc remained unoccupied. All members, *U Chit Hlaing's*, *Dr Ba Maw's* and people's parties, boycotted the House, it was stated, protesting against the President's continuance of office despite their unanimous request that the President should resign as a sequel to passing a no-confidence motion on him last session. They, however, held a discussion in the 'no' lobby and, it transpired, decided to boycott the House for the next day and day after but most likely they would participate in the discussion of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, commencing from Feb 18.

The 'No confidence' motion on *U Ba Pe*, Forest Minister, fell through owing to the absence of all the three movers who asked for leave to move it.

## BUDGET FOR 1935-36

Mr. T. Couper, Finance Member, then presented the budget. According to the revised estimates for 1934-35, the moneys are Rs. 8,81,87,000. The anticipated short-coming of Rs. 49,96,000 will be met by a loan from the Government of India. The budget forecast of revenue only in 1934-35 was Rs. 7,36,65,000. It is now hoped to collect Rs. 8,81,49,000. On the expenditure side there is a decrease of Rs. 22,39,000 of which Rs. 15 and a half lakhs is accounted for by a continued cut in pay. The total receipts in 1935-36 are estimated to be Rs. 8,36,85,000 and disbursements Rs. 9,16,92,000. To meet the deficit it will be necessary to obtain an advance of Rs. 93 lakhs from the Government of India. A revenue deficit of Rs. 93 lakhs and an increase of Rs. 72 lakhs in the provincial debts are the prominent points in this year's estimates. The rehabilitation of provincial finances, the Finance Member said, depended on the rise in prices or in finding new sources of revenue.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION ON BUDGET

**15th. FEBRUARY:**—For the first time in the history of the Council general discussion on the budget, finished to-day within one and half hours and the House adjourned until the next day. Only six speeches were made. The Independents and Burmese nominated members did not express their views, while all members of *U. Chit Hlaing's*, *Dr Ba Maw's* and People's parties are continuing their Council boycott policy. *U. Tha Gyaw* (*Dr Ba Maw's* party) who it would be remembered was suspended for a day by the President for creating disturbance in the Council during the last session entered and left the House without bowing to the Chair.

Mr. R. T. Stonham, speaking on the budget, quoted the figures to show that there was a fall in prices in the teak trade instead of a rise; while Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji thought that revenue estimates had been guardedly framed and deplored that the effect of retrenchment as compared with 1933-34 was not appreciable and also not uniform in all Government departments.

Mr. C. G. Woodhouse declared that so far the financial settlement had gone against Burma and mentioned the non-refund by the Government of India of half of the rice export duty. He, therefore, expected that the Finance Member would put up strongly Burma's case to secure a favourable settlement.

Mr. M. M. Hlyan Chetlyar doubted whether separation would bring better financial results and opined that the Government should find new sources of revenue.

The Finance Member thought that the trend of prices of timber at present was on the upward and explained that if efficiency in revenue collection were to be maintained it would not be possible to effect retrenchment of more than 65 lakhs instead of 96 lakhs as recommended. Regarding the refund of rice export duty the Government had not succeeded despite correspondence with the Government of India. He assured the House that Burma's representatives on the financial committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India for financial settlements between India and separated Burma would certainly do their best for Burma.

**16th. FEBRUARY:**—Unexpected participation by the boycotters on two occasions was witnessed to-day when the Council resumed the consideration of the official busi-

ness. The members of the three boycotting parties who were present in the 'no' lobby entered the chamber in a body when the *Home Member* moved for the passing of the Rangoon Police Amendment Act Bill and forced a heavy Government defeat on the division thereon. Thereafter, with the exception of a very few, all retired until the Forest Minister's resolution ratifying the draft agreement of the Bangkok Opium Smoking Conference so far as it related to Burma came up for consideration. On this occasion the member of *U. Chit Hlaing's* party and several from *Dr. Ba Maw's* party resumed their seats and opposed the resolution, being supported by the Independents. The Forest Minister's resolution was lost on division, the two Ministers voting in favour, while the majority of the People's party did not participate.

Earlier *Mr. H. C. Khoo*, whip of the People's party alone refused to grant leave to the *Home Member* to introduce the Burma Oilfields Labour Bill and in doing so beckoned to the other boycotters to enter chamber but they did not enter. Consequently the House granted leave amidst laughter of the official bloc. During this period the whips of the two other boycotting parties were present in the chamber. The House adjourned until 18th.

#### JOINT COMMITTEE REPORT DEBATE

**18th. FEBRUARY :—**The House was not very lively, when it commenced to-day the three-day debate on the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Neither the visitors' nor distinguished visitors' galleries were full, while in the House besides the Independents, nominated and minority community members, *U. Chit Hlaing* with his party was present. Very few members of *Dr. Ba Maw's* and the People's parties occupied their seats.

The *Finance Member*, moving the resolution for consideration of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, stated that it was unnecessary to say that the records of the debate would be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India as early as possible.

Being asked by *Sir J. A. Maung Gyi*, leader of the Independent party, to give an account of the Government attitude on the report, particularly in relation to the separation of Burma from India, the *Finance Member* said that if the separation-federation issue was brought forward, the Government would vote against such a motion and also any amendments in that connection. He explained that officials would not participate in the debate, but would elucidate the points raised by the House. He also stated that the reserved subjects proposals were workable and represented a constitutional advance.

Thereafter seven amendments to the *Finance Member's* motion were moved.

*U. Ohn Maung (U. Chit Hlaing's party)* moved his motion, opining that Burma should remain part of India and enter the Indian Federation as an autonomous provincial unit, opposing separation as it was against the desire of the large majority of the Burma electorates, and rejecting the constitutional proposals for separated Burma as they were totally unsatisfactory and unacceptable to a large majority as recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, now embodied in the Government of India Bill under consideration of the British Parliament.

*U. Kun (People's party)* moved his four amendments. His first amendment was as follows :—

(1) (a) That this Council is dis-satisfied with the measure of reforms mooted out to separated Burma as in its opinion it deserved a fuller measure of reforms than that which has been accorded to Burma, and (b) urges upon his Majesty's Government to make an express provision in the Act itself that Burma's goal is Dominion Status forthwith.

His two other amendments opposed the recommendations that the office of Chief Justice of the High Court be thrown open to members of the Indian Civil Service ; and that 7 out of the existing ten battalions of the Burma military police be under the control of the Governor ; while the fourth one recommended that statutory provision be made to establish a central State bank for Burma.

*Daw Hnin Mya (Chit Hlaing's party)* by her amendment urged that necessary steps be taken forthwith to introduce wifehood franchise into Burma, while *Mr S. A. S. Tyabji's* amendment wanted that the Anglo-Indian constituency be known as the Anglo-Burman constituency.

Altogether 18 speeches were made on the amendments, of which five were from *Dr. Ba Maw's* party, seven from *Chit Hlaing's* and one from the People's party. That their wishes for federation had not been accepted by the Parliament, that even the Bill for separated Burma had been read second time in the Parliament and that if the consti-

tution which had not been approved by them would be forced upon the country, they would not be held responsible if such a constitution was boycotted by the people, were the points touched upon by the anti-separationists, while *U Kun*, the only member of the People's party, merely moved his amendments.

*Khan Bahadur Ahmed Chandoo* doubted at the outset whether any useful purpose would be served by discussing the report at present when Parliament had decided on the matter, but wanted to know from the leader of the House and financial experts how separation would act upon the progress of the country through rupees, annas and pies and how Burma would be able to repay the provincial debts. Opening that the India Bill did not cast the faintest shadow of home rule, Mr. Chandoo criticised the entry clause contained in section 340 of the Bill. He continued that when no restriction had been imposed upon the British minority why Indian entry should be restricted. This was unfair, unjust and unequitable. Further, it were Indians who had developed Burma's business and progress better than British compatriots. This clause would affect the Indian business community most. Therefore, it should be amended in a more general manner.

*Rai Bahadur R. K. Ghose*, strongly objecting the remarks made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee against the Chettyars and Indian labour, declared that it was a humiliation of the Indian nation as a whole that Indians should remain here at the sweet will of the legislature and demanded nothing but justice in view of the large contributions made by Indians.

**19th FEBRUARY** --The Council resumed the debate in a thin house to-day. One member of the People's party was present, while a very few of *U. Chit Hlaing's* and *Dr Ba Maw's* parties occupied their seats.

During the course of the debate *U. Saw* (People's party) read out a statement, declaring that as the parties no longer recognized Sir Oscar de Glanville as the elected President of the Council the People's party as a party would not take part in the discussions on the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (*President: order, order*).

The statement explained that as the views of the People's party had already been fully expressed in the House and before the Joint Parliamentary Committee as well as in the resolution passed at the recent All-Burma Separationist Conference and that the Bill for Burma was now well on its committee stage, any discussion thereon or suggestions brought forward would not alter the main principle of the Bill and, therefore, consideration of the report would be useless and waste of time.

*U. Saw* then left the House without bowing to the chair.

*Mr. A. M. M. Vellayan Chettyar* opining that the report takes a step further towards constitutional progress deplored the remarks of the Joint Parliamentary Committee against the Chettyars and hoped that Parliament should embody in the Bill necessary safeguard for his community and would provide one seat in the reformed legislature.

*Mr. B. N. Das*, quoting facts and figures asserted that the Joint Parliamentary Committee deliberately behaved cruelly towards Indians with regard to entry, representation and franchise.

*Sir John Cherry*, viewing the recommendations generally, said that they embodied suitable steps towards responsible government and contended against the recommendation with regard to immigration of Indian labour and the power to be given to the legislature to restrict Indian entry. He thought that the Burmanization of the services should not be speeded out. Europeans were not satisfied with the proposals with regard to the legislature and franchise voted out to them as well as to other minority communities and strongly deprecated that the post of Chief Justice of the High Court should be thrown open to the Indian Civil Service.

Several anti-separationists recalling the history of the separation-federation issue, stressed that the country demanded federation.

*Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji*, dealing with the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, adversely affecting Indian rights and interests as now embodied in the India Bill, strongly criticized section 340 with special reference to the proviso of sub-section 3 and sections 429 and 435. By this Bill Indians would be kept as hostages in Burma on behalf of Indians in India. It was through this Bill that India would be made to agree to a trade convention. He doubted whether the instrument of instructions to the Governor would secure protection for Indians. He regretted the inability of the Burma Government to safeguard Indian interests as had been done in the case of United Kingdom subjects.

U. Kun (People's party) further amended part two of his first motion moved yesterday. It urged his Majesty's Government that dominion status be granted to Burma forthwith.

**20th. FEBRUARY :—**The Council resumed the debate in a depleted house to-day.

U. Y. *Ohn Maung's* amendment demanding Federation, opposing separation and rejecting the constitution for separated Burma, was on division defeated by 37 against 47 votes. The People's Party with U Ba Pe, Forest Minister, Su J. A. Maung Gyi, Leader of the Independent Party, with a few Independents and official bloc voted against, while Dr Ba Maw with his party and U Chit Hlaing with his party voted in favour. The Europeans and majority of Indians and U Kyaw, ex-Education Minister, remained neutral.

U. Kun's (People's Party) first part of the first amendment, expressing dissatisfaction with the measure of Reforms meted out to separated Burma and opining that it deserved fuller measure of Reforms, was defeated by 23 against 48 votes.

Dr. Ba Maw's and U Chit Hlaing's parties, Independents and Europeans voted against, while the People's Party voted in favour of it. The majority of Indians remained neutral.

The second part of U Kun's amendment urging upon His Majesty's Government, that Dominion Status should be granted to Burma forthwith and the remaining five other amendments were carried without opposition.

Mr. R. G. McDowall, Reforms Secretary, criticising the remarks made by the various members on the J. P. C. Report, stated that the view that the Reforms to be given to Burma were inferior to those given to India were unfounded. The constitution offered a very wide scope and was a liberal one. Explaining what were transferred and reserved subjects, he observed that the former afforded good opportunity to Burma to show its administrative ability, while the latter were the same as that for India excepting currency in which department Burma had no experience. He advised the House that the suitable course to adopt was to accept the constitution and work it. The demand for Dominion Status was a shortsighted policy at present. Referring to the protection of Indians, Mr. McDowall opined that it was an exaggerated view taken that the Governor was going to exercise the powers provided in the proviso in sub-section 3 of Clause 340 of the India Bill.

Sir Maung Ba, Home Member, concentrating on the Separation vs. Federation issue, maintained that the matter had now reached such a stage that any further discussion on it would be valueless. It was not right to say that the constitution would not benefit Burma without working it. Referring to the anti-separationist majority in the last general election, he explained that out of a total population of 14 millions only about two millions had the right to vote. Therefore, that did not give a clear-cut view of the country's demand for Federation.

Mr. T. Couper, Finance Member, said that, in December 1932 and 1933, the House was given an opportunity to give its considered opinion on the Separation-Federation question, but no clear information was obtained and nothing could be communicated to His Majesty's Government. Therefore, the official bloc was now justified in participating in voting only in support of Parliament's decision. The speeches made failed to set up any concrete case. As regards currency, the Burma branch of the Reserve Bank would function in the same way, as it would function in India. Referring to the protection of Indians, Mr. Couper said that there were two classes of Indians, viz, domiciled resident in Burma and domiciled non-resident in Burma. The former class would be protected by clause 435 of the Bill while clause 342 safeguarded the interests of the latter class.

#### REMOVAL OF PRESIDENT

**21st. FEBRUARY :—**For the first time the session of the Council was lively to-day when the House met to consider non-official business, particularly Sir J. A. Maung Gyi's Buddhist Bhikkus Bill, providing for a settlement of disputes regarding religious usages between Bhikkus and a motion for the removal of the President. The Opposition benches were full, excepting the block of the People's party where the attendance was thin. Mr. I. T. Whitty, Major Watkins, the Governor and his private Secretary were present in the Governor's box while over 60 Phoongis were present in the visitors' gallery to watch the fate of the Bhikkus Bill, which could not be introduced, the House refusing to grant leave by 12 votes against 51.

U. Ba Chau, (U. Chit Hlaing's party) then moved the President's removal motion. He drew the attention of the House towards the President's action in connection with the requisition of extra police in the Council precincts as well as his sending letters,

warning him the (mover) and *U Saue* during the last session. He stated that the President's insufficient knowledge of Burmese had been the occasional cause of friction between the Chair and Burmese-speaking members and asserted that Sir Oscar had unreasonably disallowed several questions which were sent in by him during the last session and in the previous budget session.

Several Burmese members of the three parties, supporting the motion, associated themselves with the mover's remark.

*U Saue* pointed out that when the India Bill made no provision for the Governor's concurrence in the event of a removal motion on the President passed by the House, then if a motion of that nature was passed by the House presently it was enough justification for removing the President.

Sir *John Chetty*, on behalf of the Europeans, said that the removal of the President was a serious matter. There must be strong ground for it. He did not agree with the interpretations made by members with regard to the President's insufficient knowledge of Burmese and requisitioning the police, the latter being done for the safety and the maintenance of the dignity of the House. Sir Oscar conducted the proceedings impartially.

Rai Bahadur *R. K. Ghose*, appealing to the mover to withdraw the motion, submitted that the President's impartial and dignified conducting of business had made him a model president. The House adjourned for lunch.

The President after the luncheon interval, explained that *U Ba Chaw's* questions were not admitted, because they did not satisfy the conditions laid down in the Council rules and standing orders, relating to the admission of questions. Regarding the extra police arrangements, he said that as it was reported that an attempt would be made to take away the mace, he found the necessity of an extra precaution to maintain dignity and order in the House. He now realised that the purpose of carrying away the mace was to attach dignity to a parallel Council which was then being held in the 'no' lobby. He also stated that as under the rules the language of the Council was English, and, therefore, he must conduct the proceedings in English.

The President then retired, leaving the chair to the Deputy President and reserving the right of reply.

*U Po Khine* explaining the reasons for his not participating in similar motions on previous occasions, declared that his opinion had now undergone a change on this occasion on the grounds that the President in having not vacated the chair against the majority's verdict, lost his self-respect and violated parliamentary tactics and constitutional procedure.

The *Chief Secretary*, explaining how the President had cleared sufficiently the points raised by various speakers, stated the necessity of taking the assistance of the police. A motion of this nature was a formality when the Council used due to discretion in doing so, but in the present case it was not so. Regarding the provisions in the India Bill he pointed out that there was no reference with regard to the necessity of the Governor's concurrence on a motion of the removal of a President, passed by the House, but there were certain sections which provided safeguards. Further he observed that the whole controversy was being done in an inferior plane.

Mr. *S. A. S. Tyabji* moved an amendment for the substitution of the original motion urging the formation of a Council watch ward committee for the purpose of making arrangements for the safety of members and the public through the co-operation of the President with the Governor-in-Council. Mr. Tyabji in doing so recalled the dispute between the late President Patel and the Governor-General as regards the police arrangement in the Assembly.

*U Kyaw Din* stressed that the most important thing to be taken into account in this connection was the will of the majority and its feeling, though reasons might not be sufficient. The House then adjourned.

**22nd. FEBRUARY :—**The Council resumed the discussion on *U Ba Chaw's* motion for the removal of the President from his office. Several Burmese members spoke in support of the motion, while Sir *J. A. Maung Gyi*, leader of the Independent party, supported Mr. Tyabji's amendment which wanted the formation of a Council watch and ward committee in the place of the original motion. Sir *J. A. Maung Gyi* said that the amendment showed an easy way to get out of the present controversy and maintained that the President's conduct and behaviour to members were always good.

The *Finance Member*, associating himself with the remarks made by the Chief Secretary and Sir *John Chetty* yesterday, said that the President had maintained the self-respect, impartiality and dignity of the Chair. Referring to the controversy which

had arisen from requisitioning the police during the last session the Finance Member pointed out that Mr. *Tyabin's* amendment showed the way in a dignified manner to escape from the present situation. He commended the acceptance of the amendment which on a division was lost by 38 votes against 58, the Ministers and three opposition parties voting against it.

The original motion for the removal of the President was carried by 56 votes against 38 votes, the Ministers with their parties and *U. Chit Hlaing's* party voting in favour of it.

**23rd. FEBRUARY :—**The deputy president was in the Chair when the Council resembled to consider the official business. After interpellation he read a communication from the Governor regarding the passing of the removal motion of the President yesterday. In the course of the communication the Governor said that in refusing concurrence to a similar motion before he had pointed out the great consequences of such action. The Council had now seen fit to pass again the same motion. The responsibility for the decision rested on the Council. He was not in any sense a court of appeal from the Council and it was for the Council to assess the value on the grounds on which they proposed to Act. He did not think that he was justified again in refusing his concurrence, but in giving this he made it clear that it did not imply his approval of their action or his acceptance of the reasons. His Excellency fixed Feb. 27 for the election of a new President.

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

**27th. FEBRUARY :—***U. Chit Hlaing*, leader of the Anti-Separationist Party, was to-day elected President of the Council in succession to Sir Oscar de Glanville.

He secured 57 votes against 30 obtained by one of his rivals, *U. San Shive Bu*, a Separationist, and two by the other rival, *Dr. Ba Yin*, an anti-Separationist. *U. N. (Independent)* withdrew his candidature.

Out of the total membership of the Council of 103, eleven, including four Europeans, were absent, while the Finance Member and the Deputy President, *Saw Pe Tha*, remained neutral. One voting paper was rejected.

His Excellency the Governor approved *U. Chit Hlaing's* election. All sections of the House, including the official bloc represented by the Finance Member, welcomed the new President and assured him of their loyalty.

*U. Chit Hlaing*, replying, declared that as the Separation and Federation issues were at an end, he would be the last person to reopen the question so long as he remained President. He would be above party politics and would maintain the dignity of the Chair by conducting business with impartiality and justice.

*U. Chit Hlaing* was the first elected President of the Council, having been elected without opposition in the December session in 1932. After he had been in office for a week, he was removed by a motion which was passed by 75 votes against 25. After his removal Sir Oscar de Glanville was elected President. It was Sir Joseph Maung Gyi who nominated *U. Chit Hlaing* for the Presidentship in 1932 and it was he who moved the motion for his removal. On this occasion it was understood that Sir Joseph Maung Gyi, with his party, voted solidly for *U. Chit Hlaing*, besides Indians, *Dr. Ba Maw's* party and *U. Chit Hlaing's* party.

#### NO-CONFIDENCE ON EDUCATION MINISTER DEFEATED.

**4th. MARCH :—**The Council to-day rejected on block *U. Ba Shwe's* (anti-separationist) token cut motion under Education expressing no confidence in *Dr. Ba Maw*, Education Minister.

*U. Ba Shwe* moving the cut reminded the House that *Dr. Ba Maw* in the last Council election pledged that he would work for the cause of anti-separationists. Consequently the G. C. B. A., supported him in securing votes with which he was returned, but *Dr. Ba Maw*, after his election, wavered in his pledge and sided with other parties in dislodging *U. Chit Hlaing* from the Presidential Chair in December 1932.

The motion was emphatically opposed by members of the various parties.

*U. Ba Chaw* (*Chit Hlaing's* Party) requested the mover to withdraw the motion, while Mr. *H. C. Khoo*, whip of the people's Party, observed that *U. Ba Shwe* had absolutely failed to establish his case.

*U. Thi*, whip of *Dr. Ba Maw's* Party declared that the motion had been moved as a personal grudge. *Dr. Ba Maw* had so far done admirable work as Minister.

*Dr. Ba Maw* replying refuted the charges made by the mover.

The motion was then lost without a division, the whole House shutting "No" while the mover remained silent.



## REDUCTION OF PRESIDENT'S SALARY

**7th MARCH.**—In the Council to-day, *U So Nyun* moved for consideration of the Bill for the reduction of the President's salary from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 1,500 per mensem on grounds of economy.

It was opposed by several members of the *U Chit Hlaing* and *Dr Ba Maw's* Parties, besides, Mr *S A. S. Tyabin*, who said that if economy were the only consideration, the motion for the reduction of the Ministers' salaries should have been brought before the House long ago which was not done.

The consideration of the motion was defeated by 46 against 19 votes. Those in favour included two officials and the Forest Minister, while the rest of the official bloc remained neutral. The Education Minister voted against the Bill. The Council then adjourned till the **8th. March** when it was *prorogued*.

# The N. W. Frontier Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. THE HON'BLE, KHAN BAHADUR, KHAN ABDUL GHAFUR KHAN, KHAN OF ZAIDA ( <i>President</i> ) | 19. BAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR, NAWAB      |
| <i>II—Ex-officio Members and Ministers</i>   | 20. GHULAM HAIDER KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR            |
| 2. THE HON'BLE SIR G. CUNNINGHAM   | 21. GHULAM HASSAN ALI SHAH ALIAS HASSAN GUL FIR |
| 3. THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB SIR ABDUL QAYUM KHAN                                   | 22. KHAN SAHIB HIDAYTULLAH KHAN                 |
| <i>III—Officials Nominated</i>   | 23. KHAN HABIBULLAH KHAN                        |
| 4. THOMSON, MR. J. S.  | 24. HAMIDULLAH KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB         |
| 5. CAPT. MACANN  | 25. ISHER DAS, RAI BAHADUR LALA                 |
| 6. DEGALE, H. O.   | 26. KARAM CHAND, RAI BAHADUR                    |
| 7. COLONEL C. I. BRIERLY   | 27. KHUDDA BAKHSI KHAN, MALIK                   |
| 8. SARDAR RAJA SINGH   | 28. LADHA RAM, LALA                             |
| <i>IV—Non-officials Nominated</i>  | 29. MUHAMMAD ZAMAN KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR           |
| 9. ALLAH NAWAZ KHAN, NAWABZADA   | 30. KHAN MAHAMMAD ABBAS KHAN                    |
| 10. KHAN (GHULAM RAHMAN) KHAN  | 31. MUHAMMAD SHARIF KHAN, ARDAB                 |
| 11. HASSAN ALI KHAN, SULTAN KHAN SAHIB   | 32. MUHAMMAD AYUB KHAN, MR.                     |
| 12. KHAN MALIK-UR-RAHMAN KHAN, KAYANI  | 33. MEHR CHAND KHANNA, RAI SAHIB, LALA,         |
| 13. NARINJAN SINGH BEDI, BABA  | 34. NAWABZADA NASRULLAH KHAN                    |
| 14. KHAN ABDUL GHAFUR KHAN   | 35. PIR BAKHSI, MR.                             |
| 15. ABDUL QAYUM KHAN, MR.  | 36. JAGGAT SINGH SARDAR                         |
| 16. ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN, ARDAB   | 37. ROCHI RAM, RAI BAHADUR LALA                 |
| 17. KHAN ABDUL HAMID KHAN, KUNDI   | 38. SULTAN MUHAMMAD KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR          |
| 18. ABDUR RAHIM KHAN, KUNDI, KHAN BAHADUR  | 39. SAMUNDAR KHAN, MR.                          |
|  | 40. TAJ MUHAMMAD KHAN, KHAN BAHADUR             |

# Proceedings of the Council

BUDGET SESSION--PESHAWAR--5th. MARCH to 14th. MARCH 1935

The Budget Session of the N. W. Frontier Legislative Council commenced at Peshawar on the 5th March, 1935. In introducing the Budget for 1935-36, the Hon'ble Mr. G. Cunningham thus summed up the budget position :—

“Our inelastic revenue, inelastic because three-fifths is fixed as the subvention from the Government of India, the remainder at present does not show much possibility of expansion, is barely enough to meet our standing charges and gives disappointingly meagre scope for development, whether in agriculture, education, medical relief or any other direction which might lead to greater happiness of the people of the province”.

Analysing the current year's account, he said that the revenue estimates amounted to Rs. 1.63 and a half lakhs, receipts exceeded nearly Rs. 1 lakh. Expenditure would be over Rs. three and a half lakhs. Coupled with the increase of Rs 5 lakhs in the opening balance, it meant that the current year would close with a balance of Rs. 11,41,000, instead of Rs. 1,76,000 as originally estimated.

Turning to the coming year, the Finance Member said :—“We start with a balance in the revenue account of Rs. 11,41,000, while the year's working will show a deficit of Rs 11,92,000. We estimate, therefore, that we shall end with a minus balance of Rs. 51,000. The revenue side of the forecast generally follows the revised estimates of the current year, except that we hope for increased receipts of Rs. half a lakh each from forests and irrigation. Receipts under minor heads are estimated at Rs. 55 and a half lakhs.

“On the expenditure side, there is a total increase of Rs. 6,32,000 owing to certain heavy expenditure forced by unforeseen calamities, including Rs. 2,00,000 for the reconstruction of the Government House in Peshawar and Nathlgali, Rs. 2 and a half lakhs for repairs to the Kahul river bridge at Adozai, which partially collapsed during the summer. The restoration of salary cut cost Rs. 1,92,000. Rs. 60,000 has been provided for the election charges and Rs. 1 and a half lakhs for the Council Hall.”

Under the Capital debt head, the Finance Member referred to the Malakand-Hydro-electric Scheme on which work had been started. The new tunnel was approaching completion. Its total cost would be Rs. 52 lakhs spread over several years.

Concluding, Mr. Cunningham pleaded for an increase in subvention, and referred in this connection to late Sir Stuart Pear's promise that in matters of general administration and development, the province would be brought to the level of the Punjab.

**7th. MARCH :—**After the presentation of the Select Committee reports on the *Village Council Bill* and the *Local Option Bill*, the Council discussed Mr. Habibullah's motion referring to the *Moslem Personal Law Shariat Application Bill* to the Select Committee to report thereon by the 15th instant.

*Nawab Hamidullah's* amendment calling for the report by October 31 next was carried without a division, after three hours' discussion in which speakers participated. Mr. Habibullah said that opinions received were encouraging and strengthened his position, one significant fact being neither any female nor any representative organisation in the province had given opinion against the Bill. Mr. Hamidullah said that the object of his amendment was to give the Select Committee sufficient time to deliberate over issues involved.

Mr. Cunningham, Leader of the House, related the Government's attitude accepting the adoption of the Shariat, but they received representation that the Bill in the present form was not workable. He said that the amendment was only designed to give the Committee sufficient time to consider the Bill and present it to the Council in the form in which it might be worked.

Before the Council met, posters on behalf of the Frontier Branch of the All-India Women's Conference appealing to the Council members to safeguard the lawful rights of the ten lakhs of Moslem women of the Frontier were distributed.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**8th MARCH.**—The Council commenced general discussion of the Budget today.

Mr. *Malik Khuda Baksh*, Leader of the Opposition, said that it was the fourth budget since the Reforms and the Council had done its best to do justice to the grant of reforms by pointing out the defects latent in the administration. Although their revenue was inelastic, the change in the method of allocation of grants to the different heads to provide more for beneficent departments was required to save the province from bankruptcy. Creating new posts and constructing new buildings were the secret of delict budgets. It was a curious coincidence that the Government houses at Nathagah and Peshawar should be in dangerous condition when even mud huts were safe. The speaker criticised the internal administration of the Public Works Departments, opposed the restoration of the salary cuts, and complained against the Government's apathy towards the Council's demand as embodied in its resolution. Finally, he pressed for increase in the subvention by Rs. 17 lakhs to raise it to the basic figure.

Four other members who spoke to-day criticised the Public Works Departments and invited the Government to check corruption.

Mr. *Abdur Rahim*, Deputy President, criticised the Government for not appointing sub-committees like other provinces to advise on the various Departments.

*Rai Bahadur Ishardas* suggested embarking on the constructive policy of industrial development to increase their revenue and finance new schemes by borrowing, as money was cheap.

*Rai Bahadur Rochiram* warned them against the gradual increase in expenditure and decrease in the revenue and urged them to be more economical.

**9th. MARCH:**—The demand for an increase of subvention to the basic figure of Rs. 1,17,00,000 recommended by the Haig Committee loomed large, when the Frontier Council resumed general discussion on the Budget to-day.

Fifteen speakers participated in to-day's debate, several complementing the Finance Member on the clarity of the Budget statement.

Mr. *Ladharam* invited the Government's attention to Jail Administration in the Province which, if properly managed, could not only be self-supporting but be a source of revenue.

Mr. *Abdul Gafur* wanted relief for agriculturists by the postponement of the building programme and alleged that the incompetence of the judiciary was responsible for increased expenditure under that head.

*Nawab Hamidullah* wanted the subvention to be raised to Rs. 1,50,00,000 at least.

Mr. *Peer Baksh* also urged increase of subvention.

Mr. *Ghulam Haider* urged marketing facilities for agriculturists.

Attacks were levelled against the Publicity, Broadcasting and Agriculture Departments by members, who urged their immediate closure as they were not benefitting the masses.

Sir *Abdul Qayyum Khan* paid a tribute to the Finance Member for more generous allotment of funds for beneficent departments and suggested a united front in demanding an increase in the subvention as a matter of right and not of charity.

Sir *Stuart Pearce's* promise made with the full authority of the India Government that in matters of general administration and development, the departments of the Frontier would be brought to the level of the Punjab, was recalled by members, amidst cheers.

The Finance Member, replying to the two days' debate, said that his impression was that the House had received the Budget with sympathy, if not with entire approval. He said that the Government were working details on the basis of the present and future requirements, to strengthen the case for an increased subvention.

**11th. MARCH:**—The Council held a brief sitting to-day and passed supplementary demands for the current year.

Answering questions, Mr. Cunningham, the Finance Member, informed the Council that 15 prisoners for the various offences in connection with the Red Shirt movement were still in jail. He tabled a statement giving the names, term of imprisonment, section of the Penal Code or any other law under which they were imprisoned. Ten were undergoing imprisonment under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

**13th. MARCH :—**The Council passed the *Redemption of Mortgages Bill* to provide for summary procedure for redemption of mortgages of land in the Northwest Frontier Province of a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 or on holdings not exceeding 30 acres.

The Council also passed the second reading of the *Regulation of Accounts Bill* by 27 to 6 votes, all six votes against the motion being of the minority party.

On the Finance Member's motion, the Council passed the *Northwest Frontier Courts Regulation Amendment Bill* to provide for appointment of one or more additional Judicial Commissioners.

The Finance Member said that the provision for appointment of a second additional judicial commissioner was made in the budget for six months to clear arrears.

**14th. MARCH :—**During the discussion on the Frontier Regulation of Accounts Bill, attempts by the minority members to whittle down the provisions failed.

An amendment proposed the deletion of Clause 7, providing penalty for creditors recording in the accounts book as lent to the agriculturist, a sum larger than what was actually lent, for the first offence, a fine extending to Rs. 200, for the second or subsequent offence a fine of Rs. 1000 or imprisonment of either description, not exceeding six months or both.

The minority members continued that such a provision did not exist in the Punjab and that its incorporation was a clear injustice. Mr. Cunningham, Finance Member, said that the provision was taken from a similar measure passed in the United Provinces.

When Mr. Cunningham moved that the Bills be passed, Mr. Ladharam, on behalf of the minority party, rose to record an emphatic protest against the Bill, which he termed, as an attempt at class legislation.

The House next passed the *Usurious Loans North-West Frontier Amendment Bill* defining excessive rate of interest and fixing the point which courts shall regard as dividing usurious from non-usurious loan and then adjourned.

# The Assam Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

THE HON'BLE MAULAVI FAIZNUR ALI  
(President)

THE HON'BLE MR. W. L. SCOTT

THE HON'BLE RAI BAHADUR  
PROMODE CHANDRA DATTA

*Ex-officio—Nominated Members  
Officials*

1. MR. E. P. BURKE
2. MR. H. M. PRICHARD
3. MR. H. G. DENNEHY
4. MR. G. A. SMALL
5. MR. A. V. JONES

*Non-officials*

6. SREEJUKTA ATUL KRISHNA BHATTACHARYA
7. SRIJUT MAHENDRA LAL DAS
8. KHAN BAHADUR MAULAVI MUHAMMAD MASHRAF
9. RAI SAHIB PYARI MOHAN DAS
10. REV. TANURAM SAIKIA

11. SUBADAR-MAJOR SARDAR BAHADUR JANGBIR LAMA

12. KHAN BAHADUR MAULAVI KERAMAT ALI

*Elected Members*

13. THE REVEREND JAMES JOY MOHAN NICHOLS ROY
14. BABU SANAT KUMAR DAS
15. BABU HIRENDRA CHANDRA CHAKRABARTI
16. BABU BIRENDRA LAL DAS
17. BABU KALICHARAN MUCHI
18. BABU GOPENDROLAL DAS CHAUDHURY
19. BABU JITENDRA KUMAR PAL CHAUDHURI
20. BABU CHIRATAN MUCHI
21. MR. SASANKA MOHAN DAS
22. KUMAR PRAMATHESH CHANDRA BARUA
23. SRIJUT BEPIN CHANDRA GHOSE

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|---|---|
| 24. SRIJUT ROHINI KUMAR CHAUDHURI         | 38. MAULAVI ABDUR RAHIM CHAUDHURY           |
| 25. RAI BAHADUR RAJANI KANTA CHAUDHURY    | 39. MAULAVI SAIYID ABDUL MANNAN             |
| 26. RAI SAHIB DALIM CHANDRA BORA          | 40. MAULAVI ABDUL KHALIQUE CHAUDHURY        |
| 27. KUMAR BHUPENDRA NARAIN DEB            | 41. KHAN SAHIB MAULAVI MAHMUD ALI           |
| 28. RAI BAHADUR BRINDABAN CHANDRA GOSWAMI | 42. MAULAVI ABUAL MAJID ZIAONSHSHAMS        |
| 29. SRIJUT JOGENDRA NATH GOHAIN           | 43. KHAN SAHIB MAULAVI MIZANAR RAHMAM       |
| 30. SRIJUT KASINATH SAIKIA                | 44. KHAN BAHADUR MAULAVI NURUDDIN AHMED     |
| 31. SRIJUT MAHENDRA NATH GOHAIN           | 45. THE HON'BLE MAULAVI FAIZNUR ALI         |
| 32. RAI BAHADUR NILAMBAR DATTA            | 46. MR. L. J. GODWIN                        |
| 33. SRIJUT SARVESWAR BARUA                | 47. MR. A. T. HALKETT                       |
| 34. HAJI IDRIS ALI BARLASKAR              | 48. MR. E. S. ROFFEY                        |
| 35. THE HON'BLE MAULAVI ABDUL HAMID       | 49. MR. G. E. RAYNER                        |
| 36. MAULAVI ABDUR RASHID CHAUDHURY        | 50. MR. W. E. D COOPER                      |
| 37. MAULAVI MUNAWWARALI                   | 51. THE HON'BLE RAI BAHADUR KANAK LAL BARUA |

## Proceedings of the Council

BUDGET SESSION—SHILLONG—25th. FEBRUARY to 9th. MARCH 1935

BUDGET FOR 1935—36

"Had such a state of affairs occurred in ordinary commercial life, the only straightforward course would have been to file immediately a petition in the bankruptcy court". This pessimistic note was struck by Mr. Laine, Finance Member, while presenting the Budget estimates of the Assam Government in the Assam Legislative Council which met at Shillong on the 25th. February under the chairmanship of Mr. Faiznur Ali.

The Budget provided for a revenue of Rs. 2,28,00,000 and expenditure charged to revenue of Rs. 283,20,000 thus resulting in a deficit of Rs. 55,20,000 which will have to be met by loans from Provincial Loans Fund. The 5 per cent. cut on the salary of Government Servants will be restored from the 1st of April. Provision for expenditure on election under the present or new constitution has not been made and will be made in due course. By the end of 1935-36 the total obligations of the Assam Government would be a little over two crores.

In the revised estimates for 1934-35 revenues stand at Rs. 2,17,00,000 and expenditure at Rs. 2,63,00,000 thus showing a deficit of 46 lakhs. During the present year the Assam Government will get 8 and a half lakhs on account of jute export duty.

The Finance Member next quoted the observation of the Controller of Assam in course of which he says: "The Assam deficit has been increasing in geometrical progression during the last three years and the revenue position of the Government which was bad enough last year has grown still worse in the year under review. The deficit of Assam which was 8 per cent. only in 1932-33 increased to 17 per cent. in 1933-34 whereas in the budget for 1934-35 the deficit is nearly 30 per cent. At the rate at which the position of Assam is deteriorating it seems very probable that it will soon fall behind Burma and Bengal which were the last in the race"

Concuding the Finance Member announced that in June session of the Council bills for enhancement of Court fees and Stamps would be introduced.

### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**27th. FEBRUARY :—**General discussion of the Budget commenced to-day. Discussing the Budget *Mr. Roffey* urged for more funds from petrol tax. *Mr. Sanat Kumar Das* urged for abolition of Commissionership *Rai Bahadur Nilambar Dutta* opposed the system of co-education in Cotton College, Gauhati, and condemned the Government for giving contracts of fisheries, ferries and excise leases etc. to foreigners *Mr. Brindaban Goswami* said that lands should not be settled with immigrants and immigration into Assam should be stopped *Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhuri* deplored that the people of Assam were not getting their due share in the services.

**28th. FEBRUARY :—***A. J. Lame*, Finance Member, denied the charge of unfair discrimination with regard to the withdrawal of certain land revenue concessions in favour of tea gardens.

*Mr. F. J. Heathcote*, a representative of the tea planting community, challenged on behalf of tea planters of the Surma Valley division the remarks made by the Excise Commissioner that little assistance was received by the Excise staff from tea garden authorities in the Surma valley in putting down illicit distillation. He maintained that planters in that valley as a body were always willing to co-operate with the Government; so also were planters of the Assam valley. Lists of persons suspected to be implicated in illicit distillation, he went on, were frequently supplied to officers but these were far from being correct. He sympathized with the Government over the fall in Excise revenue. The loss in the revenue from country spirits alone amounted to over Rs. 2 lakhs. But they had to remember that coolie earnings were now not what they were in the more prosperous times.

*Mr. Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarty* pressed for more posts for bonafide natives of Cachar. He said that a circular had been received from Calcutta University, preventing some girls from reading in a boy's school at Hailakandi. He requested the Education Department to move the University in this matter.

*Khan Bahadar Maulvi Keramat Ali* urged upon the Government the necessity of making a recurring grant for the leper colony at Jorhat started by the American Mission and for the Jorhat Girls' High School. He asked for a training college for high school teachers, for improvement of Madrassas and maktabas which had been neglected for several years and for a High Court for Assam.

*Mr. Gopendra Lal Das Choudhuri* demanded a policy of economy. He regretted that the grant for agricultural loans was reduced from Rs. 1,50,000 to Rs. 50,000. He pressed for reduction of school fees in Habiganj sub-division.

*Mr. Bepin Chandra Ghose* opposed the taxation proposals and regretted the absence of any provision for the supply of pure drinking water in the rural areas of Goalpara. He said they needed four or five dispensaries. He questioned the utility of a grant of Rs. 25,000 to the Assam Medical Research Society and advocated free supply of quinine to all sufferers from malaria.

*Khan Sahib Maulvi Mahmud Ali* said that little was being done for improvement of cattle and removal of water hyacinth. *Haji Idris Ali Barlaskar* said that as the Moneylenders Act had not been put in force in proper time, moneylenders took advantage of the position and ruined debtors by enforcing decrees.

*Mr. J. A. Dawson*, Chief Secretary, said that the Government carefully examined the question of domicile before appointing outsiders. He assured the House that if crime was found to decrease in the next two months, the police force would be reduced.

*Mr. H. M. Prichard*, Finance Secretary, assured the House that inquiry would be made into the grievances of the mazadars which had been placed before His Excellency the Governor.

*Rai Bahadur Kanak Lal Barua*, Minister for Local Self-Government, said that the question of a recurring grant to Leper Asylum was under consideration and that Rs. 3,000 had been sanctioned for the Nalbari Road.

*Maulvi Abdul Hamid*, Minister for Education, said that until the University Board had formulated their views on education, it would be premature to have a conference on education in Assam. He assured members that settlement of Excise shops was being made with natives of the province as far as possible.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**1st. MARCH :—**The Council passed to-day the Government demands under land revenue, forests and railways. Token cuts moved by non-official members were defeated or withdrawn.

There was considerable heckling over a question put by *Rai Bahadur Nilambar Dutta* with regard to domicile certificates granted by the Government to people of other provinces. *Rai Bahadur Nilambar Dutta* asked : "Is permanent residence with no intention of returning to the native district of the applicant, one of the conditions to be satisfied by an applicant for a domicile certificate? If so, will the Government be pleased to state if inquiries are made for verification of the above condition?"

*Mr. J. A. Dawson*, Chief Secretary, replied : Owing a homestead (house and land) in the province, 10 years' residence in that homestead, and the intention to live therein until death, are the conditions laid down. Children of persons domiciled in the province are 'ipso facto' domiciled unless, and until they clearly show their intention of reverting to the country from which their parents came. The Government have no reason to think that proper inquiries are not made by district officers.

*Mr. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury*, *Khan Bahadur Keramat Ali*, *Mr. Mohendra Lal Gohain*, *Mr. Jogendra Nath Gohain* and others who joined in this discussion, impressed upon the Government the necessity of revising the present rules of domicile.

*Mr. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury's* cut motion for raising a discussion on the remuneration and position of the 'mauzadars' were opposed both by the Government and *Rai Bahadur Nilambar Dutta* and eventually lost.

**2nd. MARCH :—**In the Council after discussion *Mr. Rohini Chowdhury* withdrew his censure motion on the Hon'ble *Rai Bahadur P. C. Dutta*, Judicial Member.

His censure motion on *Mr. Abdul Hamid*, Education Member, was ruled by the President out of order.

*Mr. Mahomed Mosraff's* motion for increasing the travelling allowance of Council members was carried by 25 to 9 votes. The Judicial Member promised that he would look for a cheaper agency in engaging lawyers in Government cases in the High Court of Calcutta and that he would get the scheme for the establishment of a High Court in Assam and he further promised to look into the question about bringing the courts in Shillong under the civil jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court.

After some discussion the grants of Rs. 18,07,300 for general administration and Rs. 8,91,500 for administration and Rs. 8,91,500 for administration of justice was carried, all cut motions being either withdrawn or not moved.

**4th. MARCH :—**The House criticised the Government for the maltreatment of civil population of Shillong by the Assam Rifles.

*Maulvi Abdul Rashid Chowdhury* moved that the provision of Rs. 67,536 for the police force be reduced by Re. 1. In course of his speech when the mover was referring to the fact that assaults were made by the members of the Assam Rifles, *Mr. Dawson* said that the Government is aware about some incidents connected with the Gurkha Sepoys of the Cantonment. *Mr. Dawson* added that he will inform the House about the incidents when proper notice is given. *Sj. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury* in a forceful speech criticising the inactivity of the Government brought to the member's notice the Gurkha soldiers' attempt on two Khasi women and appealed to the House to support the motion. *Sj. Sarat Kumar Das*, while informing the House about the assaults of some brutal Gurkha soldiers on *Babu Dwijendra Kisore Sen* who jumped for the rescue of two Khasi women from the clutches of the Gurkha soldiers at the considerable risk of his own life, the whole House shivered. Great excitement prevailed while the discussion was going on. As the Government assured the house that they will do their best for the detection and punishment of the culprits for the future safety of Civil population of Shillong, the motion was withdrawn.

Demand for grant of Rs. 2,407,800 for the police evoked animated discussions. *Mr. Abdul Rashid's* cut motion for appointment of Sylhet and Bengali Hindus in the District Intelligence Department was carried by 22 votes against 21.

*Mr. Gopendra Das's* motion against the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Inspector of Habiganj due to 'lapses' of the Dy. S. P. and that he was transferred with black remarks.

The Chief Secretary said that he had a good record and that he was transferred in the usual course.

Mr. *Rohini Chowdhury's* cut motion for no-confidence in the police was carried by 24 against 15 votes.

Mr. *Abdur Rashid* withdrew after discussion his cut motion for discussion of ill treatment on civil population by the Assam Rifles. Other speakers said that one Bengali gentleman was severely assaulted resulting in bleeding wounds when he tried to protect 2 Khasi women.

The *Judicial Member* said that he would make enquiries, and the Chief Secretary said that the matter had been referred to the Officer Commanding, Gurkha soldiers for preventing recurrence of the incident.

**5th. MARCH.**—The Council to-day passed the demands under Jails and Convict Settlements, Miscellaneous Departments (Reserved), establishment charges of the Public Works Department, and Famine Relief. Cut motions were either withdrawn or defeated.

In opposing some of these motions the Government members took the opportunity of correcting certain misapprehensions with regard to the relief of distress in certain parts of Sylhet district.

*Maulvi Abdul Rashid Chowdhury's* cut motion under the head "Famine Relief" to censure the Government for the death of persons from starvation in Sunamaganj and Habiganj sub-division of Sylhet, was lost by 23 to 10 votes. *Maulvi Munawar Ali* narrated stories of distress in Sunamaganj and stated that the death of a woman, Meherjan Bibi, was due to starvation. Mr. *Gopendra Lal Das Choudhary* also gave a description of cases of alleged starvation in Baniachong.

The Hon. Mr. *A. J. Laine*, Revenue Member, replied that it had been reported that distress was still continuing in Baniachong. A careful inquiry had been held into each of the cases in Kashba and Baniachong, in which it had been alleged that death was due to starvation. and it had been established beyond any doubt that the immediate cause of death was not lack of food but some definite disease. It was proposed, he added, to continue gratuitous relief in the Habiganj sub-division up to the middle of April 1935. In addition to this, Rs. 20,000 had been placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner, Sylhet, for the distribution of seeds in the distressed areas of the sub-division.

**6th. MARCH.**—In the Council to-day the Hon'ble Mr. *Abdul Hamid* moved for a grant of Rs. 3,145,800 under the head Education.

Four cut motions were tabled drawing attention to the necessity of establishing a separate university in Assam. Heated discussion ensued and Government members opposed the motion on financial grounds. Mr. *Jogendra Gohain* who moved one of the cut motions withdrew the same, but Mr. *Brindaban Goswami's* motion was carried by 32 against 13 votes. Mr. *Abdul Khaleque* tabled his cut motion for not completing the medical school at Sylhet.

The Hon'ble Mr. *Kanaklal Barua*, Minister, moved for grants of Rs. 1,164,900 under the head "Medical" and Rs. 616,700 under the head "Public Health". Mr. *Rohini Chowdhury* tabled a cut motion drawing attention to the necessity of establishing a tuberculosis sanitarium in Assam and Mr. *Brindaban Goswami* tabled another motion drawing attention to the undue partiality towards the Sylhet Medical School.

**7th. MARCH.**—The debate in the Council was dull to-day. About 40 cut motions were tabled under the heads "Industries," "Agriculture," "Veterinary," "Excise", etc. most of which were not moved while others were withdrawn. The Hon'ble Mr. *Abdul Hamid*, Minister, moved for Rs. 1,77,100 (Industry), Rs. 6,90,500 (Agriculture, Co-operative and Veterinary) Mr. *Laine* moved for Rs. 2,66,500 for Printing and Stationery Mr. *Abdul Hamid's* motion for a grant of Rs. 5,14,000 for Excise was carried. The Hon'ble Mr. *Kanaklal Barua*, Minister, moved for a grant of Rs. 3,73,700 for Civil Works under transferred departments. Mr. *Kashinath Saikia's* cut motion, drawing attention to the inadequacy of grants for village communications, evoked discussion. It was carried.

About noon, when Mr. *Jogendranath Gohain* was moving his cut motion on the Industries grant, electric wires of the building were fused and there was a fire in the Council Chamber. Confusion followed and many members ran out. The fire was, however, immediately extinguished.



DEVELOPMENT OF SILK INDUSTRY

**8th MARCH**—The Council to-day approved the proposal placed before the House by the Hon'ble *Munshi Abdul Hamid* (Minister of Education) that, subject to the approval of the Government of India, the scheme for the development of the sericultural industry in Assam at a maximum cost to the local Government of Rs 10,000, non-recurring only, be undertaken and given effect to in 1935-36.

The Government of India proposed, subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, to distribute for five years sericultural grants aggregating to Rs one lakh a year for expenditure between April 1, 1935 and March 31, 1926 to provinces (and possibly also to Indian States) for the benefit of the sericultural industry in British India. The Government of Assam, said the Minister, submitted a number of different schemes, viz, (1) for research, (2) production for seed on Government stations, and (3) production of seed by aid to private rearers.

The Government of India having decided that the most profitable line of action is that adopted in Bengal, viz, aid to rearers, and that research must be ruled out of consideration, the Government of Assam, continued the Minister, propose to give aid to 100 additional rearers for instruments, appliances, hygienic doors and windows to the extent of Rs. 13,500 and Rs. 6,000 for microscopes and accessories as non-recurring grants, and propose a recurring grant of Rs. 14,571 for the fifth year. Rearers and weavers of Kamrup, Goalpara and the Garo Hills were already awake, he said, to the advantage that would be gained by expansion of their areas of cultivation by eliminating loss due to diseased cocoons and by local production of mulberry silk yarn, which would save weavers the purchase of imported yarn from China and elsewhere.

The Assam Government would ask the Government of India to meet the charge on buildings on account of Assam's present financial position, but if this was not accepted, would undertake that Assam would meet the non-recurring cost to the extent of Rs. 10,000, viz., Rs 4,000 for microscopes and accessories and Rs 6,000 for initial grants in aid at Rs 150 to 10 selected rearers. It is hoped that savings from the grant may be available for grants to further rearers who really need them.

Speaking on this motion Mr *Jagendranath Gohain* said the economic crisis in Assam could be removed if the Government would concentrate on the silk industry. He was of the opinion that Assamese "Moga Gudi" and "Pat" were far better than any silk in the world and that the Assamese "Gudi" cloth lasts for 10 or 30 years.

PROGRAMME OF ROAD DEVELOPMENT

The Council passed the following resolution moved by the Hon'ble *Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutta* :—

"With regard to road development in Assam, this Council recommends to the Government of Assam that, subject to the approval of the Government of India, a programme of road improvement drawn up after consultation with the Assam Communications Board to be undertaken from the reserve fund of the Central Road Development account, be approved within the limit of funds to be allocated by the Government of India, and that order of priority shall so far as possible be shown in that programme for each valley, the distribution of the total grant available being generally in proportion of two to the Assam Valley and one to the Surma Valley."

REFORMS REPORT DEBATE

**9th. MARCH** :—The Council refused to consider the Government motion for consideration of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the proposals for Indian constitutional reforms contained in the Government of India Bill. In bringing this motion before the House the Hon. Mr. A. J. Laine, Finance Member, said : "These proposals are the outcome of many months of close discussion and anxious consideration by a joint committee of unprecedented strength with whom, as the Hon. Members are aware, were associated a representative delegation of Indian advisers of equally outstanding experience and ability.

"Assam, as a prospective autonomous unit in the proposed Federation, is, of course, as closely concerned as any other unit with the general principles underlying the J. P. C. Proposals. Some of these general principles have no doubt from various points of view, been persistently attacked elsewhere, but there have been important developments since, and I am optimistic enough to hope that in the light of these more recent developments the members of the Assam Council will come to the conclusion that some at least of these criticisms have lost much of their sting. I am referring, of course, to the Secretary of State's renewed pledge, on behalf of

His Majesty's Government, that the natural issue of India's progress was and is the attainment of Dominion Status and that whatever defects there may be in the present proposals—defects, if any, which are due to difficulties inherent in the present complex problem—these are defects to be removed in the course of working with this ultimate goal ever in view".

With regard to the much-discussed question of safeguards, the Finance Member read extracts from His Excellency the Viceroy's recent address to the Legislative Assembly. Continuing he said "Some of the critics of the new constitutional proposal would, as His Excellency the Governor pointed out recently in the course of an address, have us believe that the proposed new constitution means nothing because of the safeguards reserved to the Governor. They talk as if these powers and safeguards were solely intended as the safeguards of an autocratic regime. It is not so. These safeguards expressed or implied exist in every constitution that is intended to combine efficient government with freedom. They are not safeguards of autocracy. They are the safeguards intended to maintain freedom, fair play and justice.

"What are the special responsibilities which the Governor is to have in the exercise of his functions? The first is the prevention of any grave menace to peace. Peace and tranquillity are matters that affect the people most.

"The next special responsibility which the Governor is to have is the protection of the legitimate interests of minorities. Where does autocracy come into this? Is this not a safeguard of fair play to all?

"Then, there are the safeguards for the protection of the legitimate interests of the services and to prevent discriminatory legislation."

He concluded by requesting members of the Council to avoid, as far as possible, the barren repetition of purely destructive criticisms on matters which are not really going to affect our future provincial activities very greatly, and to concentrate attention on those recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee that are likely to concern ourselves and our province in the future.

Mr. *Rohini Kumar Chowdhury*, who was the first to oppose the motion, said that he considered it too late and that no useful purpose could be served by discussion at this stage, when already several clauses of the Bill had been passed in the House of Commons. As a practical man, he did not like to waste members' time in discussion.

Mr. *E. S. Roffey*, leader of the Planting Group, supported the Government motion and, in doing so stated that although the debate might to some extent prove academic, the Government having offered the opportunity of a discussion the members of the Council, as elected representatives, should take advantage of it. Otherwise they would lay themselves open to the charge of a want of responsibility.

The Finance Member said that it was not too late yet. The present was not the final stage of the Bill. There was yet the House of Lords. If members did not like to discuss the motion, this would show that they lacked the sense of parliamentary responsibility.

The motion, on being put to the vote, was lost by a overwhelming majority. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

## Special Session—Shillong—27th. May to 8th June, 1935.

### GOVERNOR'S OPENING ADDRESS

Opening the Special Session of the Assam Legislative Council at Shillong on the 27th. May 1935, His Excellency Sir *Michael Keane* congratulated the hon. Mr. *A. J. Laine* who, he said, had filled every appointment of responsibility in his province and had been selected to be Governor during his Excellency's absence on leave.

His Excellency stated that Assam's financial difficulties and the harshness of the financial treatment she had received in the past had at length been amply admitted on all sides and it only remained now to ascertain the amount of financial subvention that should in justice be met from the central Government not only to put the province on its feet, but to enable it to make good the long years of arrested development as well as to undertake in future a steady consistent policy of improvement and amelioration. The Government had already initiated a detailed enquiry into the revenues and resources of the province and its normal and future requirements as a self-governing unit and would place their estimates before the committee which would arbitrate on the subvention due to Assam.

His Excellency alluded to the problem of a university for all Assam for which a bill had been prepared by *Maulavi Munawar Ali* but to the introduction of which his

Excellency took the responsibility of refusing sanction on the ground that it would impose a heavy charge on the revenues of a bankrupt province. He stated that the controversy over this question and the deep interest that was being taken in it by the people in both the valleys would necessitate, first of all, a proper enquiry into its various aspects by a special officer and the appointment of a strong representative expert committee to consider all the facts placed by him before them, to take evidence if necessary and to make their recommendations to the Government. Without such an inquiry, his Excellency said that details of a University Bill could not be expected to be hammered out and reconstructed in the Council Chamber.

His Excellency expressed his disappointment over the Tenancy Bill as it had emerged from the select committee. It was in response, he stated, to the constant demand made in the Council for tenancy legislation for the temporarily settled areas that the Government had prepared this Bill and he had hoped that would receive the willing assent of the Council. The select committee had so limited the operations of the Bill that the Government were not prepared to proceed with it. His Excellency would not, however, accept the verdict of the committee as final. To give the Council an opportunity of saying whether they agreed with the committee or not the hon. the Revenue Member would move for recommitment of the Bill and the Government would be guided in their future action in regard to the Bill by the decision of the Council.

His Excellency commended to the Council the Court Fees and Stamp Amendment Bills, the passing of which, he said, would be a most practical gesture, showing that the province was doing its best to explore its resources.

Concluding, his Excellency made a touching reference to the manner in which the people in Assam took up the jubilee celebrations. He said, 'We have no great princes, no great business magnates, no owners of great estates. The moneys subscribed came from the pennies or the pice of the people, even from children. The boy scouts made a touching contribution of a pice a head for their own celebrations and sent a telegram of congratulations from themselves to his Majesty and the Queen. With his usual graciousness his Majesty sent them a special message in reply. Judged by our wealth or rather by our poverty our collections have reached a creditable, if not a great, total. But entirely apart from material aspect a striking fact on which all observers have commented, was the spontaneous spirit of loyalty in which the celebrations were taken up by the whole people.'

#### ASSAM TENANCY AMEND. BILL

**28th. MAY** —The Finance Member presented to-day the report of the Select Committee on the Assam Tenancy Bill, 1934, and moved that the Bill as amended be recommitted to the Select Committee for further consideration. After long discussion the motion was carried by 35 to 1 votes. Nine abstained from voting and eight were absent.

#### COURT-FEES AND STAMP AMEND. BILLS

The Hon'ble Mr. *A. J. Lains* next introducing the Assam Stamp Amendment Bill, 1935, and the Assam Court Fees Amendment Bill, 1935, moved for their reference to select committees. Both were lost.

The bills aimed at increasing duties in certain respects on the lines of the recent Bengal legislation under those heads.

#### MUNICIPAL AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AMEND. BILLS

The Hon'ble *Rai Bahadur Kanak Lal Barua* then introduced and moved for reference to the select committee the Assam Municipal Amendment Bill, 1935, and the Assam Local Self-Government Amendment Bill, 1935. Both motions were carried.

The Bills aimed at rapid and efficient method of settling election disputes by laying down a special judicial procedure of placing settlement disputes in the hands of the District Judge.

#### CIVIL COURTS AMEND. BILL

The Hon'ble *Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutta* moved consideration of the Assam Civil Courts Amendment Bill, 1935, but an amendment referring it to select committee was carried.

#### NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

**29th. MAY** :—The Council proceeded with resolutions to-day. *Muhammad Mashraf's* resolution as amended recommending establishment of a provincial board for primary education with a non-official majority elected by the Council was carried.

## DEATHS BY STARVATION

*Babu Sanat Kumar Das's* resolution recommending appointments of a committee of non-officials and officials to enquire into cases of deaths alleged to have been caused by starvation in Sunamganj and Habiganj owing to the floods of June 1934 was lost after a division.

## RURAL WATER SUPPLY

*Mr. Sarveswar Barua's* resolution that in the distribution of funds available for rural water supply, claims of districts and sub-divisions should be considered with reference to rural areas and population was carried without a division.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF LEPER COLONY

*Muhammed Mashraf's* resolution recommending establishment of one leper colony for the province was withdrawn on the objection that there should be many such institutions in different sub-divisions also and on the assurance that the Government would look into the matter. The Council then adjourned.

## SECOND CHAMBER FOR ASSAM

**31st MAY:**—In the Council to-day an adjournment motion to consider the question of urgent public importance, namely, submission of opinion by the Government to the Secretary of State for India, favouring the establishment of a second chamber without consulting the House, was defeated by 29 votes to 13.

*Mr. Abdul Rashid Chaudhuri*, mover, said that the Government belittled the importance of the House which had decided against the question in 1932 when the Government's attitude was neutral.

The hon *Mr. A. J. Laine*, in the course of a statement of the Government position pointed out that the Secretary of State's reference asking Government's opinion was received in April last when the Council was not sitting. The Council could not be consulted the matter being urgent and confidential. *Mr. Laine* pointed out that the present Government unanimously favoured a second chamber and also the provincial franchise committee did so.

The Government did not participate in the debate, while non-official opinion was markedly divided.

## UNIVERSITY FOR ASSAM

**1st JUNE.**—At to-day's sitting of the Council when *Revd. Nichols Roy* moved that this Council recommends to the Government of Assam that a scheme for a University in Assam be immediately prepared and placed before the Council the proceedings were made tense and a volley of bickerings was brought into play in spite of the President's ruling to the contrary. *Mr. Gopendra Lal Das Chowdhury* objected to the motion as Surma Valley rejected the University but this point was ruled out of order. *Mr. Abdur Rashid Chowdhury* said they do not want a University. Hence no need of the scheme. *Mr. Abdur Rashid* pointed out: "Prepare a scheme first. Then we may decide whether the University is wanted or not regarding learning facilities." *Mr. Sanat Das* spoke vigorously against the motion as no Surma Valley man excepting *Mr. Munawar Ali* favoured the proposal. *Mr. Jogendra Gohain* pointed out that the scheme must be ready before the subvention committee was composed. *Mr. Mohendra Gohain* said the opposition was too premature as preparing a scheme was not to mean the establishment of a University. *Mr. Rohini Chowdhury* said the preparation of the scheme should be expedited and submitted before the next session when the decision might finally be made whether a University was wanted or not.

The *Education Minister* explaining said that he maintained neutrality without being influenced by Surma Valley or Assam Valley considerations. Government proposed to appoint an officer to investigate facts and figures for submission to an expert committee. The officer will consider public opinion in both Valleys. The final decision of the establishment of the University rested with the Government. After considering the officer's findings he cited the instance of Dacca University. Preparing a scheme immediately was impossible. It was further said that a rough estimate of the expenditure will be placed before the Subvention Committee for which a rough scheme will be made soon. *Khan Sahib Mamudali* said that Surma Valley Muhammadans had not decided either way.

The motion urging the establishment of the University was carried by 28 to 7 votes.

TEACHERS' PROVIDENT FUND

Mr. *Gopendral Das Choudhury's* both resolutions—one recommending the introduction of provident fund system for the benefit of lower primary and middle vernacular school teachers and the other recommending the extension to Assam and Bengal Patni Taluqs regulation (Amendment) Act 1933 under the power given to the Local Government by scheduled Districts Act were carried without a division.

The same member had moved another resolution recommending taking early steps for the colonisation of all landless people in some suitable areas in Assam which was withdrawn.

*Maulvi Mamudali's* resolution recommending the grant of one lakh of rupees to the Local Boards for the eradication of water hyacinth was lost by 19 to 9 votes.

STATE AID TO INDUSTRIES

*Maulvi Abdul Rashid Chowdhury* moved that the Assam State Aid to the Industries Bill 1935 be referred to a Select Committee. The Secretary said that Government's financial condition stood in the way of State aid. Even if the bill be passed he said the better course would be private finance through Industrial and Commercial Banks. He signified his sympathy for the objects of the Bill.

Mr. *Jogendra Gohain* moved an amendment for circulating the bill to elicit public opinion which was carried without a division.

SECOND CHAMBER FOR ASSAM

Mr. *Rohini Chowdhury* then being called upon moved that the Council reaffirms its opinion that there should be no second chamber in Assam. Mr. Chowdhury withdrew the motion and explaining his reason said "From the statements made yesterday by Government members it is clear that Assam Government submitted their opinion on the Second chamber without taking fresh opinion of the Councillors either individually or collectively. We have been informed that public bodies and political associations were not consulted before they submitted their opinion in April last. The position is that the non-official opinion expressed in 1932 Council holds the field. They received the official information that Government would vote on the motion though 1932 officials were free to vote. Under the circumstances friends advise me to withdraw the motion. Besides you (president) distinctly said yesterday that the motion would be disallowed if the adjournment motion on the same topic was moved".

The statement was interrupted and the president disallowed him from proceeding.

Replying to questions the Hon'ble Mr. Laune said since two floods of June Rs. 1500 and 27,000 were made available for test relief in Sylhet and Nowgong respectively and Rs. 2046, in Habiganj, 5727 in Sonamganj and Rs. 26508 in Nowgong were actually spent.

The Education Minister replied in the negative answering a question of Mr. Abdul Khalique Chowdhury whether Government intend to invite public opinion on the amendment of education rules orders. The Council adjourned till the 4th.

FINANCE MEMBER CONGRATULATED

4th. JUNE:—When the Council met to-day, the Hon. *Maulavi Faizur Ali*, President of the Council, congratulated *Sir Abraham Lane*, Leader of the House, on the K. C. I. E. conferred on him in the King's Birthday Honours. Mr. *E. S. Roffey*, leader of the Planting Group, and *Khan Bahadur Karamat Ali* associated themselves with the remarks made by the President.

*Sir Abraham* thanked all those who had given him unswerving loyalty and ungrudging co-operation during his 35 years' service in Assam.

The President also congratulated *Rai Bahadur Brindaban Goswami* and *Khan Bahadur Muhammad Moshraff* on the titles conferred on them.

QUETTA EARTH-QUAKE CONDOLENCE

Mr. *E. S. Roffey* then moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously—

"This Council joins the whole country in expressing its deep sorrow and sympathy for the grievous losses suffered in the Quetta earthquake and hopes that the people of the province will respond generously to the appeals for help on behalf of the sufferers".

## ROADS AND WATER SUPPLY

*Sir Abraham Laine* asked for the approval of the Council to the programme prepared by the Government of Assam for utilizing the sum of five lakhs of rupees granted by the Government of India for rural reconstruction in Assam.

The programme included three lakhs of rupees for water supply, one lakh for village roads, Rs. 40,000 for discretionary grants to be administered by Commissioners for purposes of public utility, Rs. 40,000 for village sanitation and Rs. 20,000 for the purchase of irrigation pumps to expand the area on which *boro* paddy may be safely cultivated under the control of the Director of Agriculture.

A committee consisting of the Minister for Industries, the Secretary of the Transferred Departments, *Khan Bahadur Karamat Ali*, *Mr. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury*, *Mr. Bepin Chandra Ghosh*, *Mr. Gopendra Lal Das Chowdhury*, *Maulavi Munawar Ali*, *Mr. Harendra Chandra Chakrabarty*, *Mr. Nichols Roy*, and *Mr. E. S. Roffey*, was formed to examine and report on the programme by June 6.

*Sir Abraham Laine* moved a supplementary token demand for appointing a Utiliza-

## SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS

tion Officer with his staff at Gauhati with a view to creating an agency through which the forest produce of Assam can be marketed to the best advantage and thus prevent loss of revenue. The demand was passed.

The supplementary demand moved by *Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutta* for an additional sum of Rs. 12,20,000 for civil works was opposed on a token cut moved by *Mr. Gopendra Lal Das Chowdhury*, who regretted that the programme did not include the project for connecting the sub-divisional headquarters of Ilabiganj with the district headquarters at Sylhet. He was supported by *Maulavi Munawar Ali* who regretted the omission of a similar project—the Sunamgunj-Sylhet Road—from the Communications Board programme.

*Mr. E. P. Burke*, Chief Engineer, assured the members that these projects would receive sympathetic consideration when the next programme was prepared.

The cut motions were withdrawn and the original demand was passed.

## GRANT FOR SCHOOLS

Another supplementary demand moved by *Maulvi Hamid*, Education Minister, for Rs. 5,000 as a non-recurring grant to schools for the repairs of damage to buildings was passed.

## ASSAM TENANCY AMEND BILL

*Sir Abraham Laine* next moved that the Assam Tenancy Bill, 1934, might be taken into consideration.

When the House rose for the day only Clause 2 of the Bill could be passed after the amendments had been disposed of.

*Mr. E. S. Roffey* moved an amendment to exclude all tea garden lands from the operation of the Bill, but his amendment was lost. He said that the Bill, if passed, would be a source of harassment to tea garden managers and might create discontent among labourers when they learnt that non-labourers cultivating tea lands would get occupancy rights while they, the labourers, would be deprived of any such rights.

*Mr. Roffey* was of the opinion that if the Bill was passed it would raise the railway freight charges.

*Khan Bahadur Keramat Ali*, in supporting the motion, said that he did so in the interests of Indian tea planters.

*Khan Bahadur Keramat Ali* moved another amendment to exclude lands covered by 30 years' periodic leases. He said that the Government had not received any complaints from tenants living on khiraj lands and that these tenants needed no protection. This amendment was lost.

*Maulavi Haji Idris Ali Barlaskar* moved an amendment to exclude Cachar District from the operation of the Bill, but this amendment was also lost and Clause 2 was passed.

At question time *Mr. Gopendralal Das Chowdhury* asked if it was a fact that some important documents were missing from the Geda murder case file, to which the Judicial Member replied that the Government had no information.

**5th. JUNE :—**The Council to-day after questions proceeded with the consideration of amendments of clause 3 of the Assam Tenancy Bill which made little progress as discussion raged over three hours on amendments moved by *Khan Bahadur*

*Nuruddin, Khan Bahadur Keramat Ali and Mr. Harendra Chakrabarty* which purported to exclude certain clauses of tenants known as "bhagidars' adhkars" etc. from definition of tenants.

Closure was applied to the debate and *Sr. Abraham Lane* moved a compromise to be arrived at by the members of the Select Committee before the matter was taken up again on the next day, the difficulty being that the terms used were susceptible of different meanings.

A few more amendments were gone through under clause 3.

**6th. JUNE :—**The Council continued to-day the consideration of the Tenancy Bill, 106 of the 131 clauses having now been passed.

*Mr. Sanat Kumar Das* and *Mr. Jogendra Nath Gohain* emphasized the necessity of being fair both to landlords and tenants and not to tenants only as was contemplated by certain sections of the Bill.

Clause 7 allows a tenant to use the land in his holding in any manner which does not materially impair the value of the land or render it unfit for the purposes of tenancy and a privileged tenant will be entitled to plant, fell or utilize and dispose of the timber of any tree on such land provided that in doing so he does not contravene the provisions of any law and provided further that he will not be entitled, without the landlord's consent in writing, to fell, utilize or dispose of the timber of any tree which stood on the holding before the creation of the tenancy. When the tenancy is over 20 years old all trees standing on the land shall be preserved unless it is proved that they were planted during the tenancy.

*Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury* moved an amendment to omit the above proviso but this move was strenuously opposed both by Government and by *Khan Bahadur Nuruddin Ahmed* and others.

*Mr. Harendra Chandra Chakrabarty*, Deputy President of the Council, said it would be wrong to give a tenant unrestricted power to fell, utilize and dispose of valuable trees standing in his holding. There were many holdings with valuable old trees standing on them and if tenants were now empowered to fell these trees landlords would suffer considerable loss. He said this obviously would be most unfair since it depreciated the value of the land. The amendment was put to the vote and defeated.

Rights similar to those conceded to privileged tenants have also been given, in Clause 14, to ryots having occupancy rights. Clause 17 of the Bill, which gives protection from objection, gave rise to considerable discussion. *Haji Idris Ali Barlashkar* moved a series of amendments the objects of which were to give landlords power to resume their land when they required it for their own purposes. He argued that according to the Bill the land once given to a tenant was lost for ever and middle-class landowners, who are now in service away from their homesteads, would find it hard to get back their lands when they retired from service. The amendments were lost.

Clause 14 also makes it obligatory that after the passing of the Bill contracts between landlords and tenants will have to be registered. *Mr. Harendra Chandra Chakrabarty* and *Mr. Sanat Kumar Das* pointed out that this business of registration would create hardship both for tenants and landlords as they would have to go through all the formalities of a registration office before a deed could be registered. This objection was overruled.

The right of sub-letting a holding by an occupancy ryot was resisted by *Maulavi Abdur Rashid Choudhury* as that might lead to litigation. Government accepted this view and opposed an amendment moved by *Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury*.

With regard to a landlord's claim for enhancement of rent, Clause 25 lays down that when an enhancement is claimed on the ground of a landlords' improvement the Court shall not grant an enhancement unless the improvement has been registered in accordance with the Act and that in determining the amount of enhancement the Court shall have regard to the increase in the productive powers of the land caused or likely to be caused by the improvement. The cost of the improvement, the cost of the cultivation required for utilizing the improvement and the existing rent and the ability of the land to bear a higher rent are also factors to be taken into consideration.

Clause 69 of the Bill gives the tenant the right to claim compensation for improvements effected by him in his holding in case he is ejected.

In reply to a question put by *Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury* with regard to Assam's annual contribution for the Calcutta High Court the Hon. Rai Bahadur Promode

Chandra Dutta, Judicial Member, replied that the contribution for 1933-34 was Rs. 82,000 and that the amount was not a fixed one and might change from year to year.

With regard to the Government Girls' School at Sylhet the Education Minister informed the House that the proposals for increasing the accommodation of the school and improving the plinth and floor of the teachers' quarters are under the consideration of the Director of Public Instruction.

**7th. JUNE :—**In the Council to-day the Assam Tenancy Bill, 1934, designed to regulate relations of landholders and tenants in temporarily settled districts in the province, which in the President's opinion is one of the longest pieces of legislation discussed in the Assam Council, was passed into law. The President and members of the Council complimented the Hon'ble Sir Abraham Laine, member in charge on the accommodating spirit displayed by him in difficult situations during the passage of the Bill. Mr. Desai, special member for the Bill, was also complimented by Sir Abraham with which the members associated themselves on his ability and helpfulness in piloting the Bill.

#### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION SCHEME

**8th. JUNE :—**In the Council to-day *Sir Abraham Laine* moved as follows: "This Council approves the programme prepared by the Government of Assam and considered by a committee appointed by the House for utilisation of Rs. 5 lakhs granted by the Government of India for schemes of rural reconstruction in the province and recommends for the purpose of advising the Government on projects to be taken up that each district Deputy Commissioner should as far practicable invite one or more Council members to sit on the informal local committee constituted for the purpose in each district or sub-division.

The motion was carried after full discussion. The Government programme proposed distribution of Rs. 3 lakhs for rural water supply, Rs. 1 lakh for village roads and Rs. 40,000 each for discretionary grants by Commissioners of Divisions for the purposes of public utility and village sanitation and Rs. 20,000 for expansion of the area for cultivation of boro paddy. Amendments of Mr. Rohini Chaudhury, Mr. Munnawarali, Mr. Sarveswar Barua, Rai Bahadur Goswami for greater allotment of water supply were lost.

After the close of the official business Sir Abraham Laine was congratulated by several members and the President on his appointment as officiating Governor. References were made to his great experience in the province and his accommodating qualities as leader of the House. Sir Abraham gave a suitable reply thanking all.

The Council was then *prorogued*.

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**Proceedings of**

**The Indian National Congress**

**JANUARY TO JUNE 1935**



# The Indian National Congress

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

Delhi—13th. to 18th. January 1935

The first meeting of the Working Committee for the year 1935, held at the residence of Dr. Ansari at Delhi on 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17 and 18, 1935. Baba Rajendra Prasad presided. The following members were present:

1 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, 2 Dr. M. A. Ansari, 3 Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 4 Shri C. Rajagopalachari, 5 Dr. Padma Sitikanavaya, 6 Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, 7 Syt. Gangaiah Deshpande, 8 Dr. Syed Mahmood, 9 Syt. Jaramdas Doularain, and 10 Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

Syt. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Prasad Gopal Bhabha Patil and Dr. Khan Sahib attended the meeting by invitation.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Committee were confirmed.

A statement of account of the A. I. C. C. office for December 1934 was placed before the meeting and passed.

### Provincial Contributions

The Committee considered the letters of the Bombay and Burma P. C. Cs. requesting the reduction of their annual subscriptions. The Committee regretted inability to introduce change in the financial arrangement.

The following resolutions were passed —

### Condolence

The Committee places on record its heartfelt sorrow at the sudden and premature deaths of Syt. Abhyankar and Acharya Gelwan. The Committee records its appreciation for the great services they rendered and the sacrifices they made in the cause of the country. The Committee conveys its sincere sympathy and condolence to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement.

### Poorna Swaraj Day

The public should not need the reminder that 26th January has been observed, since the Lahore Congress, as the *Poorna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) Day. As civil disobedience has been suspended by the Congress, the proceedings for the day should not be in breach of the ordinances or other laws or orders promulgated by local authority. Consistently with this precaution, silent processions should be taken to previously announced meeting places and at the meeting the under-noted resolution worded in Hindustani or the local languages should be read out by the Chairman and without any speeches, passed by the audience standing. Where meetings are prohibited, every household should meet at the appointed time and pass the resolution and inform the nearest Congress Committee of having done so.

At every meeting or in every house the passing of the resolution should be preceded by the unfurling of the national flag.

The resolution shall be as under:

"We remind ourselves on this, the solemn national day, that Complete Independence is our birthright and we shall not rest till we have achieved it.

"To that end we shall strive to the utmost of our ability to observe Truth and Non-violence in thought, word and deed, and shall consider no sacrifice or suffering too great to be undergone.

"As a token of the expression of the two essential qualities of Truth and Non-violence, we shall seek to

(i) adopt and promote heart unity among different communities and to establish complete equality of status among all, irrespective of caste or creed or race

(ii) to adopt and promote complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks or drugs

(iii) to promote handspinning and other village industries and to adopt for personal use khaddar and other products of village industries to the exclusion of other products

(iv) to abolish untouchability

(v) to serve the starving millions in every way we can

(vi) and to engage in all other national and constructive effort."

It is recommended that the national day be devoted, in so far as it is possible, to some special constructive effort and a determination be made to develop greater dedication to the cause of *Purna Swaraj*.

There should be no hartal observed.

#### Jubilee Celebrations

Official announcement has been made that the Silver Jubilee of His Britannic Majesty's reign is to be celebrated in India. It is necessary for the Working Committee to guide the public as to the attitude to be adopted on the occasion.

The Congress has and can have nothing but good wishes for the personal well-being of His Majesty, but the Congress cannot ignore the fact that the rule in India with which His Majesty is naturally identified has been a positive hindrance to the political, moral and material growth of the nation. It now threatens to culminate in a constitution which, if enforced, promises to exploit the nation, to drain her of what she still possesses of wealth and to harden her political subjection as has perhaps never been attempted before.

It is, therefore, impossible for the Working Committee to advise any participation in the forthcoming celebration.

At the same time, the Working Committee has no desire, by hostile demonstration, to wound the susceptibilities of Englishmen and others who will want to take part in the celebrations. The Working Committee, therefore, advises the general public, including Congressmen who may be members of elected bodies, to be satisfied with more abstention from the events that may be arranged for celebration.

The Working Committee trusts that the authorities and responsible Englishmen will recognise and appreciate the honest and incontestable attitude of the Working Committee and refrain from unnecessarily wounding national self-respect by compelling, directly or indirectly, participation in the forthcoming celebrations.

#### Textile Mills

As most of the Textile mill-owners have broken their pledge given to the Congress, the Working Committee is of opinion that it is no longer possible to continue the system of certification by the Congress or associated bodies. The old certificates issued should therefore be considered as cancelled.

The Working Committee is further of opinion that it is the duty of all Congressmen and those who sympathise with the Congress to confine their attention and give their support exclusively to the promotion of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

#### Disciplinary Rules

Under Articles XII (d) (iii) of the amended constitution the Working Committee frames the following disciplinary rules:

1. The Working Committee shall have the power to take disciplinary action against:
  - (i) Any Committee of the Congress which deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the official programme and decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire, arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed and which it is its particular duty to obey.
  - (ii) Any member of a Congress Executive or elected Congress Committee who deliberately acts or carries on propaganda against the official programme and decisions of the Congress or deliberately disregards or disobeys any orders passed by any higher authority or by an umpire, arbitrator or commissioner duly appointed and which it is his particular duty to obey.
  - (iii) Any member of the Congress who is proved to the satisfaction of the Working Committee to have been responsible for the embezzlement of Congress funds or to have broken a pledge given to the Congress or any subordinate committee or have been guilty of any fraudulent action in connection with enrolment or election to a Congress Committee or is guilty of acts involving serious moral turpitude and such as render his continuance as member undesirable in the interests of the Congress.
2. (i) In the case of a Committee of the Congress the disciplinary action may be the supersession of such a Committee; and such further action against offending individual members as may be necessary may also be ordered.
- (ii) In the case of a member of any Congress Executive or elected Congress Committee the disciplinary action may be his dismissal, and the fixation of a period during which he cannot be validly elected to any office or membership in any Committee of the Congress.
- (iii) In the case of a member of a primary Congress organisation the disciplinary action may be a disqualification for a stated period from standing for any election,

including election to the legislatures or exercising any other right of a member, or expulsion from the Indian National Congress.

3. No disciplinary action shall be taken without an opportunity being given to the Committee or individual concerned to give it, or his case and answer such charges as are made before the Working Committee.

4. When the Working Committee is not sitting, the President may take cognizance of all urgent cases requiring disciplinary action and shall act on behalf of the Working Committee. In all such cases the decision of the President must be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee who may confirm or revise the same.

5. The Executive Committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall also have the power to take disciplinary action against their subordinate Committees and members of any Charges Executive Committees and members of primary Committees within their province. In all such cases the same procedure as is followed by the Working Committee shall be adhered to. It shall be open to the Committee or member against whom disciplinary action is taken to appeal against it to the Working Committee, provided that pending the appeal the order appealed against is submitted to.

6. Any person against whom an expulsion order is passed may apply for revision to the A. I. C. C. Such application should be sent by registered post to the Working General Secretary's address not later than forty days after the date of the final order appealed against, provided that at any time a revision may be applied for and allowed by reason of altered circumstances.

#### Residential Qualifications

Interpreting the implication of residential qualification in Art. III of the constitution, the Committee was of opinion that there was no inter-district restriction with regard to elections in the constitutions. It would, however, be open to provinces to make their own rule in respect of a candidate from outside the province proposing to stand for an election in the province.

#### A. I. C. C. Members for U. P.

On a reference being made by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee for increasing its quota of A. I. C. C. members, the Committee after discussing the question decided that it had no authority to change the allocation of members as they were fixed by the constitution.

#### Bengal Elections

The Committee adhered to the interpretation already given to Article XVIII (b) and (c) of the constitution.

#### Burma

The Committee discussed the problem of Burma under the scheme of reforms in the J. P. C. Report and decided that the Burma Provincial Congress Committee would for the time being function as before.

With regard to the position of Indians in Burma under the new scheme the Committee was of opinion that as the whole scheme was unacceptable and therefore no amendments could be suggested by the Congress, there was no bar to Burma Indians criticising parts of the scheme which vitally affected their position and status.

#### Famine in Andhra

The President was authorised to issue an appeal for funds for relieving the distress in the famine-stricken areas in Andhra. He issued the following appeal:

"I have read with pain and sorrow accounts of the sufferings of the people of Rayalaseema which comprises some four districts of the Andhra Province in the Madras Presidency. Famine conditions are prevailing there and millions of human beings and cattle are undergoing such indescribable miseries as are witnessed only when a severe famine visits the land. An appeal has been made by Mr. T. Prakasam, as President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, and Prof. N. G. Ranga, as President of the Andhra Peasants Protection Committee for funds, for relieving the distress there. Having seen and worked among sufferers in another part of the country I can realise and visualise to myself the terrible plight of the people in the grip of a severe famine. I whole-heartedly support the appeal for funds and hope the country, and particularly the South, will respond to it with the generosity which the cause demands".

## MEMBERS OF THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The following is an authoritative list of the members of the A. I. C. C. :—

*Chairman*—Syt. Rajendra Prasad

### *Ex-presidents*

1 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 2 Shri C. V. V. Paragharachariar, 3 Smt. Sarojini Naidu, 4 Dr. M. A. Ansari, 5. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 6 Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, 7. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

### *Elected Members*

#### *Ajmere*

1. Pt. Gouri Shankar Bhargava, 2. Pt. Haribhai Upadhyaya, 3. Saeed Razmi.

#### *Andhra*

1. Dr. Bhogaraja Pattabhi Sitaramiah Garu, 2. Dr. B. V. Subbarama Murthy Garu, 3. Swami Narayananda Saraswati, 4. Tenneti Viswanadham, 5. Desabhatta Ronda Venkata, 6. P. P. Pantulu, 7. T. Prakasam Pantulu Garu, 8. K. Nagaswara Rao Pantulu Garu, 9. A. Kaleswara Rao Garu, 10. Dandu Narayanaraju Garu, 11. Kallur Subbarao Garu, 12. Bulusu Sambamurti Garu.

#### *Assam*

1. Bishnuram Medhi, 2. Syt. Nabin Chandra Bardoloi.

#### *Behar*

1. Syt. Sri Krishna Sinha, 2. Dr. Syed Mahmud, 3. Syt. Ramdayalu Sinha, 4. Syt. Satyanarayan Sinha, 5. Swami Sahjanand Saraswati, 6. Sardar Harthar Sinha, 7. Syt. Badri Narayan Sinha, 8. Maulavi Abdul Bari, 9. Syt. Rash Behari Lal, 10. Syt. Deep Narayan Sinha, 11. Smt. Ramtanu Devi, 12. Pt. Binodanand Jha, 13. Syt. Jyaprakas Narayan, 14. Syt. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, 15. Pt. Ramananda Misra, 16. Syt. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha.

#### *Bengal*

1. Syt. Subhas Ch. Bose, 2. Syt. Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta, 3. Dr. Prafulla Ch. Ghosh, 4. Sreemati Urmila Devi, 5. Mr. J. C. Gupta, 6. Syt. Birendra Nath Mazumdar, 7. Dr. Indra Narayan Sen Gupta, 8. Syt. Haripada Chatterjee, 9. Syt. Panchanan Bose, 10. Syt. Nishit Nath Kundu, 11. Syt. Basanta Kumar Das, 12. Syt. Saral Kumar Dutta, 13. Syt. Kamal Krishna Roy, 14. Syt. Amarendra N. Chakrabarty, 15. Syt. Ramisundar Sinha, 16. Maulavi Ghiasuddin Ahmed, 17. Syt. Jalaluddin Hashem, 18. Pandit Purushottam Roy, 19. Syt. Surendra Mohan Maitra, 20. Syt. Kiran Sankar Roy, 21. Syt. Kamini Kumar Dutta, 22. Syt. Mahendra Chandra Sen, 23. Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy,

#### *Berar*

1. Loknayak Madhab Shreehari Ancy, 2. Pundit Dinkarshastri Laxman Shastri Kanade, 3. Brijlal Bhanu.

#### *Bombay*

1. Syt. K. F. Nariman, 2. Syt. K. M. Munshi, 3. Syt. Yusuf J. Meherally,

#### *Burma*

1. Syt. Ganga Singh, 2. Syt. Ratilal Desai, 3. Syt. B. K. Dadachunji, 4. Syt. Rameshnath Gharekhan, 5. Syt. Soniram Poddar, 6. Syt. Ranchoddas H. Gandhi.

#### *C. P. Marathi*

1. Dr. N. B. Khare, 2. Syt. Chaturbhujabhai Jasani, 3. Syt. Jannunlal Bajaj.

#### *Delhi*

1. Mr. B. Narasimham, 2. Pt. Pearey Lal Sarma, 3. Master Vishnu Chandra.

#### *Gujarat*

1. Syt. Chandulal Manilal Desai, 2. Syt. Kanaiyalal Nannubhai, 3. Syt. Morarji R. Desai, 4. Syt. Manilal Valabhai Kothari, 5. Syt. Abbas Tyelji, 6. Syt. Amaratlal Dalpatbhai Seth.

#### *Karnataka*

1. Syt. Rangarao Diwakar, 2. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, 3. Syt. Viranagouda Patil, 4. Dr. N. Narayanarao Hardikar, 5. Syt. Gudleppa V. Hallikeri, 6. Syt. Sampige Venkatapathiah, 7. Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

*President* : Syt. Srikrishna Sinha. *Secretary* : Syt. Anugrah Narayan Sinha.

**Bengal**

*President* . Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose. *Secretary* : Syt. Kamal Krishna Roy.

**Berar**

*President* . Syt. Brijlal Bhai. *Secretaries* : Syt. P. B. Gole Syt. Mahavishnu.

**Bombay**

*President* . Syt. K. F. Nauman. *General Secretaries* : Syt. S. K. Patil Syt. Ganpatishanker N. Desai.

**Burma**

*President* : Syt. Ganga Singh. *Secretary* : Syt. Padeshrath Chatterkhan.

**C. P. Marathi**

*President* . Dr. N. B. Khare. *Secretaries* : Syt. E. S. Patwardhan, Syt. M. J. Ranekar.

**Delhi**

*President* . Mr. Asaf Ali. *General Secretary* . Syt. Jugal Kishore Khanna.

**Gujarat**

*President* . Sanda Vallabhbhai Patel. *Secretaries* . Syt. Morari R. Desai, Syt. Bhogilal Lala, Syt. Manilal V. Kothari.

**Karnatak**

*President* . Syt. S. K. Hosanna. *General Secretary* . Syt. R. S. Hukerikar, *Secretaries* : Syt. G. K. Gokhale, Syt. G. V. Hollakari.

**Kerala**

*President* : Syt. A. K. Gopalan. *Joint Secretaries* : Syt. K. P. Gopalan, Syt. P. Krishna Pamker.

**Mahakoshal**

*President* : Syt. Ravishankerji Shukla. *General Secretaries* : Syt. Thakur Pyarelal Singhi, Syt. L. G. Bhattaji.

**Maharashtra**

*President* : Syt. S. D. Deo. *Secretaries* : Syt. G. A. Deshpande, Syt. S. K. Dhare.

**North Western Frontier**

*President* : Pn Shahmshah. *General Secretary* . Khan Sulullah Khan. *Secretary* : Syt. Ram Singh.

**Punjab**

*President* : Dr. Satya Pal. *General Secretary* : Syt. L. Kedar Nath Sehgal

**Sind**

*President* : Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani. *Secretary* . Prof. Ghanshyam Jethanand.

**Tamil Nadu**

*President* : Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar. *Secretaries* : Syt. M. Dakshayathsalam, Sri-mati Rukmani Lakshminpathi.

**United Provinces**

*President* : Syt. Sri Prakasa. *General Secretary* : Syt. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. *Secretaries* : Seth Damodar Sarup, Syt. Vishambhar Dyal Tripathi, Syt. Thakur Das

**Utkal**

*President* : Pandit Nilakantha Das. *Secretaries* : Pandit Lingaraj Misra, Syt. Nabakrishna Chaudhuri.

**ASSEMBLY ACTIVITIES**

The session of the new Assembly opened at Delhi on January 21. The present Indian Assembly consists of 145 members of whom 41 are officials and nominated members. Among the elected seats Muslims have 30, Europeans 8, Land-holders and other special interests 11, and only 49 seats are open to the general electorate. Out of these the Congress captured 44 seats in the last elections.



### Adjourned Motions

Two adjourned motions were tabled by the Congress Party, one in connection with the Government order for cover the 19-10-34 Village Fisheries Association and another for the election of a member of the Sadi Chandra Bora. The first motion was talked out, while the Congress carried the second motion by 53 yeas to 51.

### Presidential Election

The Congress instilled a decision on the election of the President of the Assembly, the Congress candidate, Mr. A. K. Shyamam, secured 62 votes as against 70 secured by Sir Abin Chandra, a member of the Independent Muslim Party. All the Government votes were given to Sir Abin Chandra.

### Indo-British Trade Agreement

The Assembly adopted by 54 yeas to 53 yeas a motion urging the Government to terminate the Indo-British Trade Agreement. Mr. A. Annabhai, leader of the Independent Muslim Party, had been strong supporter of the motion.

### Ben on Khudai Khidmatgars

The Assembly carried a resolution regarding the removal of the Ben on Khudai Khidmatgars by 71 to 45 vote. The resolution was worded as follows:—

‘The Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take immediate and necessary steps to remove or cause to be removed the Ben on the Khudai-Khidmatgars organized in the North West Frontier Province.’

### Assembly Verdict on J. P. C. Report

The procedure followed by the Government in the Assembly in connection with the debate on the J. P. C. Report was criticised from that followed in the provincial councils. In the provinces the official bloc rigidly refrained from taking part in the voting so that only Indian opinion represented in provincial councils might register its vote on the Report. In the Assembly, however, Government decided to intervene in the debate and cast all votes at their disposal against amendments to their proposition for the consideration of the Report. But to this intervention the unambiguous resolution moved by the Congress Party recommended Government not to proceed with any legislation based on the said scheme would have been carried.

The Assembly, however, adopted the amendment moved by Mr. Jinnah. For the purpose of voting, the amendment was divided into two parts, the first part relating to the acceptance of the Communal Award. The Congress amendment of neutrality was first put to vote as an amendment to Mr. Jinnah's amendment, and was lost, there being 54 votes cast in its favour by the members of the Congress Party. After the Congress amendment was lost, the Congress group remained neutral and the first clause was carried with the votes of the Mussalmans and the Government.

The second and third clauses were put together as being an entire alternative and were adopted by the House by 71 against 58 votes. The Congress Party voted for the amendment, the Government and nominated Members voted against it.

Mr. Jinnah's amendment was as follows:—

1. ‘That this Assembly accept the Communal Award, so far as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned.’

2. ‘As regards the scheme of Provincial Governments, this House is of opinion that it is most unsatisfactory and disappointing, in as much as it includes various objectionable features, particularly the establishment of Second Chambers, the Extra-ordinary and Special Powers of the Governors, provisions relating to Police, rules, Secret Service and Intelligence Departments, which render the real control and responsibility of the Executive and Legislature ineffective and therefore unless these objectionable features are removed, it will not satisfy any section of Indian opinion.’

3. ‘With respect to the scheme of the Central Government, called ‘All-India Federation’ this House is clearly of opinion that it is fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable to the people of British India and therefore recommends to the Government of India to advise his Majesty's Government not to proceed with any legislation based on this scheme and urges that immediate efforts should be made to consider how best to establish in British India alone a real and complete Responsible Government and with that view take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion without delay.’

The amendment contained in clauses 2 and 3 which was put as an entire alternative scheme was treated by the Government, speaking through the Law Member, as

being as much a rejection of the J. P. C. Report proposals as the more direct rejection of the same by the Congress. The Law Member, while describing the nature of Mr. Jinnah's amendment, said as follows :—

"Now, Sir, I was going to say that instead of the honest, direct and frontal attack which comes from my friend, Mr. Desu, we have this disingenuous and indirect attack from my Hon. friend, Mr. Muhsen Ali Jinnah, although directed to the identical purpose."

"My Hon. friend knows perfectly well that although in form it is an attack only on half, yet in substance, in effect, there is no difference in the amendment of my Hon. friend, Mr. Jinnah, and the amendment of the Congress Leader."

### Government Defeats over Railway Budget

The Government sustained a series of defeats in the Assembly when consideration of the Railway Budget came up for discussion. The Government policy in connection with the management of the Indian Railways was exposed by the members from various points of view. Mr. Bhambhani Desai, the Leader of the Opposition, moved a motion for the reduction of the Railway Board Grant to Re 1.

In the course of his speech Mr. Desai minutely exposed the present policy of the Government which was, as he said, inspired by their Despatch in 1930. The reasons given there for such policy were (a) rendering prompt and adequate service to military authorities in times of political crisis, (b) safeguarding the enormous capital sunk in Indian Railways, (c) guarantee services of higher railway officers appointed by the Secretary of State, (d) to ensure future recruitment of Europeans on military and other grounds and (e) maintenance of the interests of the Anglo-Indian community in Railway Services. It was in pursuance of this policy that the proposed India Bill has made the Railways a subject of the Governor-General's special responsibilities.

Mr. Desai's motion was, as he pointed out in the course of the discussion, "not a token cut, but a refusal of supplies". The motion was carried by 75 to 47 votes. In a free country the adoption of the motion for refusal of supplies would have produced its inevitable effect on the Government. Nothing can expose the irresponsible character of the Government of India better than the unperturbed indifference with which even motions of such importance supported by the overwhelming majority of elected representatives are treated by the Government.

Other cut motions introduced in connection with the Railway Budget were as follows :—

1. A token cut of Rs. 100 introduced on the motion of Mr. Aney urging Indianisation of Railway Services.
2. A token cut of Rs 100 to urge greater facilities for third class passengers moved by Manvi Shakti Dandi.
3. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's token cut of Rs 10 to discuss Railway policy.
4. Mr. Joshi's token cut of Rs. 100 to urge Government to adopt recommendations of the Whitley Commission on Labour.
5. A token cut of Rs 100 moved by Captain Lalchand to urge reduction of freights for transport of agricultural produce.

The heaviest defeat for the Government was recorded when Mr. Aney (Congress Nationalist) carried his motion by 87 votes against 44 over a discussion on the unsatisfactory progress of the Indianisation of the railway services.

## Summary of Report of the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh

### Organisation of the Sangh

The affairs of the Sangh are managed by a Central Board consisting of the President, the Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Presidents of all Provincial Boards as ex-officio members and not more than 15 members co-opted by the President of the Sangh. The President of Provincial Boards may appoint their secretaries to act as their proxies in case of any of them not being able to attend a meeting of the Central Board. The President of the Central Board subject to re-election is to retire every three years and is to be elected by the then existing Board. The President of the Central Board selects the

President of each Provincial Board, who in his turn is to select not more than fifteen members for his Board of whom five shall be wholetime workers in the Harijan cause. All properties of the Sangh shall vest in a permanent Trustee or Trustees appointed by the President of the Central Board. The office-bearers, agents and members of the Central, the Provincial Boards and Committees have each to sign a pledge and have to perform some definite Harijan Service named by him and approved by or on behalf of his Board. There are in all 24 Provincial Boards of the Sangh with 179 district and 154 Taluk Committees.

#### *Educational Work 1933-34*

This year, as during the last year, special importance has been given to educational advancement. The Central Board took upon itself the duty of granting scholarships and aid for collegiate studies and the Provincial Boards concentrated on the award of school scholarships.

Against 497 schools of last year, the Board has 900 schools working this year, an increase of 85 per cent. The total attendance has swelled to 21,824 and the total annual expenditure was Rs. 75,814-12-4½. The number of night schools is proportionately very large, and out of 900 schools only 535 are day schools.

#### *"Industrial Homes"*

The Sangh has this year taken a definite steps to ameliorate the economic condition of Harijans. A number of "Industrial Homes" have been started in some provinces. The most important of these is the Hunri Shala at Karachi, started out of the munificent gift of Rs. 50,000 by the Mohatta family. The Sabarmati Ashram has got a tanning and Chappal making section which turns out on an average 800 pairs of chappals and 300 pairs of shoes monthly.

#### *Welfare work for the year 1933-34*

The total number of old wells to which access of Harijans has been secured is 170, and the total number of new wells built for their use is 80. Temples thrown open to Harijans number 177 and new temples built for them number 13. The value of medical aid rendered to them through the several provincial branches of the Sangh stands at Rs. 10,633-1-3.

#### *Gandhiji's tour*

The event of the year was the All-India Harijan tour of Gandhiji which commenced on the 7th November, 1933 and ended at Benares by the end of August 1934. This tour was a success in many ways. It was a remarkable personal victory for Mahatmaji. A sum of Rs. 8,21,179-15-11 excluding expenses was collected in about 8 months, the largest collection in a province Rs. 1,16,458 was in Tamil Nad, and the largest collection in a city Rs. 70,263-15-8 was in Calcutta.

#### *Funds*

Out of the net Parse Fund collection of Rs. 8,21,179-15-11 the quota of the Central Board amounted to Rs. 2,12,323-9¼. The ordinary collections during the year were Rs. 51,855-9-10. The Gandhi Recovery Felicitation Fund of Rs. 20,199-3-7 has been merged into the general fund and no separate account has been kept for it.

During the year the total expenditure of the Head Office was Rs. 1,05,865-6-11½ out of which Rs. 90,000 was grants and advances to Provincial Boards. Direct grants to institutions amounted to Rs. 1,649. There was an excess of expenditure over income.

The Provincial Boards spent on administration Rs. 48,016, on propaganda Rs. 22,783 and on welfare work Rs. 2,02,658. This works out as 18.8 and 74 per cent respectively. This is an advance considering that the limit of 20 per cent, 20 per cent, and 60 per cent. was prescribed for each of these items, at the last annual meeting held at Delhi. The considerable reduction of expenditure under the second head, propaganda, was partly due to Gandhiji's tour and partly due to instructions issued to that effect by the Head Office and rigidly enforced at the time of sanctioning grants.

## ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES' ASSOCIATION

The constitution of the All-India Village Industries' Association has been amended by the Board of Management of the Association at a meeting held on the 3rd February. The amended constitution makes the organisation of the Association consist of trustees, foundation members, board of management, ordinary members, agents, honorary workers, paid workers, associates and also a board of advisers. The Board of Management, which would be an elected body holding office for three years, would be responsible for the execution of the policy and programme of the Association. But there will be a permanent Board of Trustees who shall hold funds and properties on behalf of the Association and shall disburse them in accordance with the instructions of the Board of Management. The Trustees will have power to overrule the instructions of the Board of Management if in the opinion of two-thirds of them such instructions contravened the object of the Association or its best interest. But the Trustees themselves are not empowered to disburse funds on their initiative.

The text of the amended constitution is given below :—

### *Constitution*

The name of the Association is contemplated by the resolution regarding village industries passed by the Indian National Congress at its session held on 27th. October, 1934 at Bombay and known as All-India Village Industries Association i. e., Akhil Bharat Gram Udyog Sangh.

### *Object*

(2) The object of the Association shall be village reorganisation and reconstruction including the revival, encouragement and improvement of village industries and moral and physical advancement of the villagers of India.

### *Functions*

(3) For due fulfilment of its object the Association shall raise funds, carry on research work, publish literature, organise propaganda, establish agencies, devise measures for improvement of village tools and do everything that may be necessary for furtherance of its object.

(4) The Association shall work under the guidance and advice of Gandhiji.

### *Composition*

(5) The organisation of the Association shall consist of trustees, foundation members, board of management and ordinary members agents, honorary workers, paid workers, associates and shall also be assisted by a board of advisers

### *Trustees*

(6) The following six persons shall be permanent Board of Trustees who shall hold funds and properties on behalf of the Association and shall disburse them in accordance with the instructions of the board of management provided, however, if said instructions are in the opinion of the trustees in conflict with the object of the Association or with the best interest of it, there shall be joint meeting of the board of management and trustees and if in spite of a joint meeting two-thirds of trustees disapprove of the instructions of the board of management then such instructions would be deemed to have lapsed :

(1) S. Shrikishnadas Jaju, Treasurer, (2) S. J. C. Kumarappa (Wardha), (3) Dr. Gopichand (Lahore), (4) S. Jannalal Bajaj (Wardha), (5) S. Baikunth L. Mehta (Bombay), (6) Dr. Khan Sahib (Frontier).

In the event of vacancy occurring by reason of resignation, death or otherwise such vacancy shall be filled in by the remaining trustees amongst ordinary members of five year's standing or if at the time of vacancy occurring the Association has not been in existence for that period then from the list of members then in existence and registered on or before 31st day of March, 1935.

### *Foundation Members and Board of Management*

The following shall be foundation members and shall also be the first Board of Management to hold office for seven years from this date, 3rd. February, 1935 along with such members as may be co-opted in the manner hereinafter provided.

(1) S. Shrikishnadas Jaju, (2) S. J. C. Kumarappa, (3) S. Goshiben Captain, (4) Dr. Khan Sahib, (5) S. Shoorji Villabhdass, (6) Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, (7) S.

Shankarlal Banker, (8) S. Jayaramdas P. Asar, S. Shrikishnadas Jaju shall be the first president and treasurer and S. J. C. Kumarappa the organiser and secretary.

After the expiry of the term of office of the first Board of Management the succeeding Boards shall be elected every three years by ordinary members of at least three years' standing from among themselves. Each member of the Board shall be jointly and severally responsible for enforcement of policy of the Association and shall, therefore, be expected to the best of his ability when the Board is not in session to represent and enforce its policy and programme within his or her sphere of influence.

#### *Ordinary Members*

Any person, who subscribes to the pledge hereto annexed, recommended by a member of the Board of Management and whose admission is approved by the said Board, shall be an ordinary member of the Association.

#### *Agents*

Agents may be selected out of the ordinary members by the Board for representing it without any pay in villages or districts and shall be chosen for their knowledge of the area of their jurisdictions and for their organising ability and influence within their areas and shall be subject to bye-laws defining their duties.

#### *Honorary Workers*

Honorary workers shall be workers other than agents or ordinary members and shall be approved by a member of the Board of Agents. Such workers shall perform some tangible service of the Association.

#### *Paid Workers*

Paid whole-time workers shall be chosen by the Board or persons duly authorised thereto, subject to confirmation of the Board and shall give their whole time and attention to the work of the association.

Any person, who sympathises with the object of the Association and pays an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 100, shall be an associate and one who pays a lump sum of Rs. 6,000 may be enrolled as a life associate. Advisers shall be those who consistently with their pre-occupations agree to give free benefit of their special knowledge to the association whenever consulted.

#### *Powers and Duties of the Board of Management*

The Board of Management shall be in full charge of the affairs of the association and shall have powers to add to their number from among the duly enrolled members, provided the total strength does not exceed twenty. It shall maintain proper books of accounts which shall be duly audited and which shall be open to public inspection.

#### *Bye-Laws*

The Board of Management shall have power to frame bye-laws for the due carrying out of the object of the association.

#### *Alteration to the Constitution*

It will be open to the Board of Management by a vote of three-fourths of the then existing members of the Board to alter, amend or add to the constitution with exception of the clauses relating to the object and trustees. In the case of these two clauses a complete unanimity of the trustees and of the members of the Board of Management will be required to make any change.

The following shall be added to the bye-laws. Bye-law No. 11—Every ordinary member of the association shall send to the Secretary a report of the work done by him every quarter so as to reach the central office not later than one month after the expiry of the quarter. If no report is received for two consecutive quarters from any ordinary member, such a member shall cease to be a member of the association. Every honorary worker shall keep a record of the work done by him, an abstract of which he shall send to the Secretary once every quarter.

#### *Agency Rules of A. I. V. I. A.*

Under Bye-law No. 10 the following rules for agents have been framed by the Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A.

(1) To begin with, the agent will be expected to attend to the programme already drawn up by the Central Office. After he has made a fair start with the Central

Office programme he will be expected to make a survey of all such industries that may be revived, improved or introduced in his area and shall forthwith report to the Central Office the results of his investigation and submit a programme of work based thereon for examination by the office.

(2) Every agent will be expected to attend to sanitation and hygiene of the village within his area.

(3) With a view to finding markets for surplus products of the villages he should induce reliable merchants to store village products for sale at prices mutually fixed between the merchants and the agent so as to ensure genuineness of such products.

(4) He should carry on an intensive propaganda to create a favourable opinion for the programme in his area.

(5) He may invite and receive subscriptions and donations to meet the expenses in connection with his work and should not expect any financial aid from the Central Office. But he shall not utilise any part of the funds so collected by him for his own personal requirements.

(6) He may appoint, whenever necessary and if funds at his disposal permit, paid workers needed for his work.

(7) He shall keep accurate accounts of all receipts and disbursements which will be subject to audit by Central Office.

(8) His work will be subject to inspection and supervision by the Central Office.

(9) He shall submit a report of his work and abstract of receipts and payments for every month so as to reach the Central Office not later than the 15th of the month following.

(10) Any neglect in submitting the monthly report and statement of accounts or in carrying out the instructions from the Central Office will involve the cancellation of the agency.

## POORNA:SWARAJ DAY CELEBRATIONS

Poorna Swaraj Day was celebrated throughout India in accordance with instructions issued by the Working Committee. The Government except in Bengal and Mysore refrained from any irritating interference with functions connected with the day.

As advised by the Working Committee, Hartal was not observed anywhere in India. Silent processions, flag salutations, unfurling of flags on housetops, and meetings where the resolution of the Working Committee was adopted and repeated word for word by the audience standing, were the features of the day. The occasion was also utilized at a few places for some form of service to Harijans. The Bombay P. C. C. organised a sale of national tri-colour flag buttons the proceeds of which were divided between the distressed peasants of Gujarat and Karnatak.

In Bengal the resolution of the Working Committee was tampered with in the course of transit and published in papers in a mutilated form. The result was that public meetings held throughout Bengal were obliged to adopt and repeat the resolution so mutilated. The Press Censor in Bengal cleverly omitted from the body of the resolution all reference to Independence, or sacrifice or suffering to be undergone to achieve the goal of Independence. The intention of this omission is obvious. It created resentment in public mind when the facts were brought to light.

Again, at Rajbari (Bengal) the flag which was hoisted in front of the Town Hall was reported to have been pulled down and taken away by the Police. The Police at the same place tried also to remove the flag hoisted at the house of the President of the local Congress Committee.

The District Magistrate of Mysore issued an order prohibiting the hoisting of the Congress flag within a radius of five miles of Mysore for six months from January 30, 1935. The ground shown was that "such a flag might be construed as derogatory to the sovereignty of the Maharaja, which has a recognised flag of its own." The order evoked much adverse criticism in the newspapers in India.

Reports have been received of the celebration having taken place at the following places. The list, however, cannot be regarded as exhaustive :—

### A

Adgaon (Akola), Agra, Ahmedabad, Ajabpur, (Derha Dun), Ajit (Aligarh), Akola, Allahabad, Amraoti, Arrah, Arvi, Asalgaon (Buldana), Aurangabad.

**B**

Badnera (Amraoti), Bagarmau (Unao), Bagriya (Aligarh), Bahampur (Aligarh), Bakhara (Sahabad), Bairampur, Baksora (Santhal Parganas), Barahiya (Monghyr), Balapur (Akola), Barthana, Bariarpur (Monghyr), Bankura, Barafla, Barisal, Basim, Begusarai (Monghyr), Benares, Bezpada, Bhabhna, (Shahabad), Bhandara, Bhojpur (Bijnore), Bikramganj (Shahabad), Blantia (Shahabad), Bholpur, Bombay City, Buldana, Buxabzar D. C. C.

**C**

Calcutta (North), Calcutta (Central), Calcutta (South), Calcutt, Chanda, Chandina, Chandpur (Bijnore), Chapra, Chengadu, Chircandi, Chinglepet, Chouk (Aligarh), Choupathy, Cocanada, Coimbatore, Comilla, Conjeevaram, Cuddapah

**D**

Dadar, Dalla, Dalsingpur, Danda (Dehra Dun), Darbhanga, Dehra Dun, Delhi, Deoghur (Santhal Parganas), Dhampur (Bijnore), Dharapuram, Diudigul, Dorwala (Dehra Dun), Dongargaon (Akola), Dumka (Santhal Parganas) Durgawati (Sahabad).

**E**

Ellore, Enactpur, Erwakatta (Etawah), Etah

**F**

Ferozepur, Fethpur (Unao)

**G**

Gaura (Shahabad), Gaya, Ghatkopar, Ghaziabad, Ghormara (Santhal Parganas), Godda (Santhal Parganas) Gola (Lakhimpur), Gondia, Gopalganj, Gudivada, Guntur.

**H**

Haldwani (Naini Tal), Hapur, Harrya (Basti), Hathras (Aligarh) Hivarkhed (Akola), Hinganghat, Houghly Howrah, Hyderabad (Sind).

**I**

Indupur (Monghyr), Intur.

**J**

Jagdishpur, Jacobabad, Jharia, Jammalawadhyia.

**K**

Kalamh (Yeotmal), Kolwari (Basti), Karachi, Katol, Karanja (Akola), Kamptee, Kasganj, Keleveli, Kelod, Khagah, Khagna, Khamgaon (Buldana), Khandwa, Kharangna, Khanhara (Santhal Parganas), Kotri, Kulpahar, Kumbhakonam, Kusmil (Santhal Parganas).

**L**

Lahore, Larkana, Lakhout (Dehra Dun), Lucknow, Lyallpur.

**M**

Madras (Andhra D. C. C.), Madura, Mahoba (Hamirpur), Makoor (Unao), Mamreypur (Unao), Mana (Akola) Mangalore, Mannagudi, Mehgar (Buldana), Mithi, Monghyr, Moradabad, Morshi, Motihari, Murtisapur (Akola), Musaliputani, Muttra, Muzaftapur.

**N**

Nagapaliam, Nakhti (Santhal Parganas), Namakha (Salem), Nashankar, Nagpur, Nasik, Nator, Nemmore, Nidubrolu, Noakhali, Nuzvid.

**P**

Palia (Lakhimpur), Panhan (Unao) Patna, Peddapuram, Peramber, 24 Parganas D. C. C., Pilibhit, Pipragautam (Basti), Pollachi, Poona, Pranimandal (Dana), Purnea, Purulia, Furwakhas (Unao), Pusao (Yeotmal).

**R**

Radhukera, Raipur, Rajamundry, Rajbari, Ramtek, Rantanpur (Santhal Parganas), Rishikesh (Dehra Dun), Rudain (Aligarh).

**S**

Saharanpur, Salem, Salkea, Santa Cruz, Sarba (Santhal Parganas), Sasni (Aligarh), Sattenapalli, Saoner, Semria, Shahpur (Aligarh), (Shahabad) Shikapur, (Shahabad)

Shokinghur, Shekhpur (Aligarh) Shukulpara (Shahabad), Sikendurpur (Una), Sondila, Sonthan (Lakhimpur), Suri, Sukode (Akola), Sukkur, Sylhet.

## T

Tameshowernath (Basti), Tanjore, Tando Md Khan, Toghra (Monghyr), Telhara (Akola), Tellicheri, Tinnevely, Tiruchengodu, Tirupati, Tirpathur, Tiruttani, Tumser, Tuticorin.

## U

Umra (Akola) Mmri (Akola).

## V

Vela, Vileparle, Villupuram, Vizianagram.

## W

Wankhed (Buldana), Wun (Yeotmal), Wardha

## Y

Yeotmal.

## ALL-INDIA PROTEST DAY AGAINST J. P. C. REPORT

Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, issued the following statement to the Press fixing February 7 as the All-India Protest Day against Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms

### Statement

"There being a general demand that a day should be fixed as a day of protest against the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian constitutional reforms, I fix Thursday, February 7, for such demonstrations.

"Public meetings should be held all over the country. The following resolution is suggested for adoption at such meetings. The J. P. C. proposals have been condemned by all shades of public opinion in the country and I appeal to all to participate in this country-wide protest against them. The report of the meeting should be sent to the office of the A. I. C. C., at Patna and to the Press.

### Resolution

"The public meeting of citizens of . . . . .condemns the proposed constitutional changes as conceived in a spirit of imperialist domination and economic exploitation and disclosing no intention of transferring real power to the people of India. This places on record its considered opinion that it prefers to continue the struggle for Swaraj under present constitution and calls upon the popular representatives in the legislatures to reject the proposed scheme".

In pursuance of this meetings were held not merely in every town of any importance in India but also in distant nooks and corners of many provinces.

The resolution suggested by the President was adopted without any dissentient voice. In Bombay all political parties combined to give expression to their dissatisfaction over the Report in a public meeting held under their joint auspices. The demonstration held in Rangoon under the auspices of the Burma P. C. C. was also unique in the sense that Burmans and Indians came together on a common platform to pass for the rejection of the Report.

## SITUATION IN MIDNAPUR

Congress organisations in the district of Midnapore (Bengal) being still under ban, the district is represented on the Bengal P. C. C. by representatives sent from the Midnapur District Workers' Association in Calcutta with the approval of the Bengal P. C. C.

The following facts about the present situation in the district are taken from a report sent by the Secretary of the Midnapore District Workers' Association.

"The Government has not yet lifted the ban on the 99 Congress Committees throughout the District. The premises of the Contai National School, Narajole Raj Kut-



chary Building and other similar buildings and institutions are under Government occupation.

“In the District and sub-divisional towns Chufew order, the prohibition of cycling by Bhadralong youngmen and the keeping of the identity cards by all persons between the ages of 15 and 30, as also the order to report all their movements to the Police are still in force

“Route marches of soldiers, with occasional house-searches still continue. A network of what are called anti-terrorist leagues have been started throughout the district and officials and certain non-officials are holding meetings preaching not merely against the misguided activities of the terrorists, but also against all Congress activities. The Government is also now bent upon saddling the district with Union Boards. It may be mentioned that Midnapur resisted the imposition of these Boards in 1921 by offering Satyagraha”

## DISTRESS WARRANTS IN BEHAR

Property belonging to relations of several Congress workers in the district of Patna was recently attached by the Government on the strength of warrants issued for realisation of fines which were imposed on them in addition to sentences of imprisonment in 1932. In every case, the Congressman concerned is reported to have had undergone the additional term of imprisonment in default of payment of the fine. In reply to the protests of the parties the Police officers engaged in the attachments are reported to have invited them to file suits to establish their claim. In the meantime in several cases the property attached was put to sale.

## UNITY TALKS

Negotiations for an agreed settlement between the communities which could replace the so-called Communal Award and which by minimising communal discord and bickerings could enable the country to present a united front proceeded for more than a month between the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League. The talks started on January 23 last and were resumed from February 12, after a short break in the first week of February. They terminated on March 1, 1935.

The Associated Press rightly reported that as far as Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah were concerned the prolonged negotiations had brought about a substantial measure of common agreement, and left to themselves they would have reached a settlement, which they had every hope would have been endorsed by the Congress and the Muslim League. But their attempt to make others outside the two organisations agree to the same failed. Accordingly negotiations were abandoned.

Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah have issued the following joint statement :

“We have made an earnest effort to find a solution of the communal problem, which would satisfy all the parties concerned. We regret that in spite of our best efforts we have not been able to find such a formula.

We realise that communal harmony and concord are essential for the progress of the country, and we can only hope that forces will arise which will make a future attempt more fruitful.

Sd. RAJENDRA PRASAD  
Sd. M. A. JINNAH

## ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The All India Congress Committee met at Jubbalpore on April 24 and 25, 1935. Babu Rajendra Prasad presided. Except the North-West Frontier Province, Kerala, Berar and Burma, all the other Congress provinces were represented.

### 1. Congress Parliamentary Board

The Committee elected the following members to the Congress Parliamentary Board :—

1. Shri Bhulabhai J. Desai, 2. Mrs Sarojini Naidu, 3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 4. Shri C. Rajagopalachari, 5. Shri K. F. Nariman, 6. Dr Khan Sahab, 7. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, 8. Shri S. Satyamurthi, 9. Shri K. M. Munshi, 10. Shri Nabin Chandra Bardoloi, 11. Shri Surendra Mohan Maitra, 12. Shri Asaf Ali, 13. Shri Sri Krishna Sinha, 14. Shri Anugrah Narayan Sinha, 15. Shri Sri Prakasa, 16. Shri Govind Das, 17. Shri N. V. Gadgil, 18. Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, 19. Dr. Satyapal, 20. Shri T. Prakasam, 21. Shri K. Nageswar Rao, 22. Shri Kiransankar Ray, 23. Shri Nilkantha Das, 24. Dr. G. B. Khare, 25. Shri S. K. Hosamani.

### 2. Election Disputes Panel

The following members were elected to the Election Disputes Panel :—

1. Sardar Sardul Singh, Advocate, 2. Capt Lal Avadhesh Pratap Singh, 3. Shri T. Viswanatham, 4. Shri Mohanlal Saksena, 5. Shri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, 6. Shri N. V. Gadgil, 7. Shri Kamini Kumar Dutta, 8. Lala Dunchand, 9. Shri Satyanarayan Sinha, 10. Prof. Abdul Bari, 11. Shri Rangarao Diwakar, 12. Shri K. Bhashyam Iyengar.

### 3. Auditors

Messrs. R. C. Methia & Co. of Bombay were appointed auditors of the A. I. C. C. for the current year.

The Committee passed the following resolutions :—

### 4. Condolence

The Committee places on record its sense of sorrow at the premature and sudden death of Syt. T. A. K. Sherwani in whom the country has lost a devoted and sincere patriot and indefatigable worker in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Committee conveys its sincere and heartfelt condolence to the members of the bereaved family. The resolution be communicated to Mrs. Sherwani and members of the family.

The Committee also adopted the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Delhi on the premature death of Syt. Abhyankar.

### 5. Congress Party in the Assembly\*

The A. I. C. C. records its satisfaction at the work of the Congress Party in the Assembly in the face of many difficulties and congratulates the members on the excellent discipline observed by them.

### 6. Ban on Congress Organisations

This Committee draws the attention of the country to the continuance of the ban on Congress organisations in the N. W. F. P., and all Congress Committees in Midnapur District in Bengal and on affiliated and allied bodies fully accepting the Congress creed and discipline like the Khudai Khidmatgars and Hindustani Seva Dal and other institutions in Bengal, Gujarat and elsewhere and the recent suppression of Labour and Youth League organisations in Bengal, the Bombay Presidencies, the Punjab and elsewhere on the plea of alleged tendencies without reference to any overt acts, and arrests of workers connected with such organisations. This Committee appeals to the people at large to realise that the political salvation of the country is bound up with the strengthening of the Congress organisation and calls upon all sections to do everything to increase the strength of the Congress.

### 7. Abuse of Foreigners' Act

The Committee notes the flagrant abuse of the Foreigners' Act, an ancient piece of legislation intended for a wholly different purpose, in pursuance of the same general policy of continued repression, whereby a large number of Congressmen who fully accept the Congress creed have been externed from British India and thus deprived not only of the opportunity of legitimate activity but also of residing and carrying on business which in many cases they had been doing for years.

This Committee strongly condemns the continuous repression that has been going on in Bengal particularly in the detention and internment without trial and in secrecy

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\*Note :—Members of the Assembly in the A. I. C. C. did not participate in the voting on this resolution.

and for indefinite periods of a large number of the youth torn from their natural surroundings depriving their families and dependants in many cases of the natural source of maintenance without making any other arrangement for their support.

This Committee is of opinion that it is high time for the Government of Bengal either to discharge the detainees or give them a fair trial through the ordinary law courts.

This Committee assures the people of Bengal in general and the detainees in particular of its full sympathy in their affliction.

The Committee asks the Bengal P. C. C. to prepare a list of detainees and internees with full particulars including their period of detention and internment and about the financial condition of the families and report it to the Working Committee.

This Committee further resolves that an All India Fund for the relief to the Detenuees' families be started under the control of the Working Committee.

### 9. Mob Violence at Ferozabad

This Committee deeply deplures the horrible acts of mob violence perpetrated at Ferozabad culminating in the burning alive of the whole family of Doctor Jivaram including children and patients. This Committee hopes that leaders of all communities will realise the extent to which religious fanaticism when once roused can go and that they will see the advisability of abstaining from saying or doing anything that fans such frenzy. It appeals to all to take effective steps to make people realise the need for all communities, particularly Hindus and Muslims, living together in peace and friendship with mutual good understanding and respect.

### 10. Indian States

This Committee declares that the interests of the people of the Indian States are as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of British India and assures them of its full support in their struggle for freedom.

## THE WORKING COMMITTEE

The Working Committee met at Gopal Bag, Jabulpore on April 23, 24 and 25, 1935. Babu Rajendra Prasad presided. The following members were present:

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sri K. F. Nariman, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveushar, Shri Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Shri J. B. Kripalani.

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad was present at the meeting of April 25th.

Shri Bhulabhai Desai, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Surendra Mohan Moitra, Shri Nabin Chandra Bardoloi, Pandit Nilkantha Das and Shri Ravishanker Shukla attended the meeting by invitation.

The minutes of the last meeting held on January 16, 17, and 18, 1935 were confirmed.

The statement of A. I. C. C. office accounts from January to March, 1935 was placed before the meeting and passed. The Committee sanctioned the excess expenditure of Rs. 124-7-6 under the head "Miscellaneous".

### Estimate of Expenditure

The following estimate of expenditure of the A. I. C. C. office till the end of December, 1935 was adopted by the Committee.

			Rs.
1.	Establishment	...	7000
2.	Postage and Telegrams	...	900
3.	Stationery and Printing	...	2900
4.	Travelling expenses	...	1800
5.	Rents and taxes	...	640
6.	Furniture	...	1000
7.	Library	...	1000
8.	Miscellaneous	...	900
9.	Repairs of Swaraj Bhawan	...	300
10.	Electric Installation	...	250
Total			16,960

NOTE :—Under the head Stationery and Printing provision has been made for the following over and above the usual publications :—

- (a) Reprint of I. N. C. 1927.
- (b) Printing of I. N. C. for period 1930-34.
- (c) Printing of a compilation of Indian opinion on the J. P. C. Report as suggested by Dr Ansari.
- (d) Preparation of a map of India indicating Congress provinces.

#### Remission Granted to Frontier P. C. C.

In view of the continuance of Government ban on Congress organisations in the North-West Frontier, the Committee granted the province the remission of provincial subscription for this year

The Committee adopted the following resolutions :

#### Provincial Subscription

The Working Committee notes that many provinces have not paid the first instalment of their provincial quota while some have not paid anything at all. The Committee resolves under Art XVIII, (n) that all Provincial Congress Committees should pay up their full annual quota by the 31st. of July, and in case of default members from the defaulting provinces will not be permitted to participate in any meeting of the A. I. C. C. thereafter.

#### Provincial Constitutions

The Provincial constitutions adopted by the Provincial Congress Committees of Assam, Karnatak, Kerala, Sindh, Tamil Nad, C. P. Marathi and Burma are sanctioned.

The constitutions of Ajmer, Bombay, Andhra, Bihar, Utkal, Punjab, U. P., Berar, Gujarat, and Maharashtra are sanctioned subject to abeyance in respect of clauses involving doubts and conflicts. The President is authorised to deal with such clauses and sanction them after their rectification. The President is further authorised to sanction the constitutions from Mahakashal, Delhi, Bengal and N. W. F. P. after consideration and such enquiry as he considers necessary.

#### Maximum Number of Delegates

The maximum number of delegates returnable by the provinces under Art VI, f, ii, will be as follows :

1. Ajmer	...	...	44
2. Andhra	...	...	144
3. Assam	...	...	25
4. Behar	...	...	185
5. Bengal and Surma Valley	...	...	324
6. Berar	...	...	20
7. Bombay city	...	...	21
8. Burma	...	...	88
9. Nagpur	...	...	17
10. Delhi	...	...	22
11. Gujarat	...	...	62
12. Karnatak	...	...	104
13. Kerala	...	...	53
14. Mahakoshal	...	...	83
15. Maharashtra	...	...	98
16. N. W. F. Province	...	...	21
17. Punjab	...	...	131
18. Sindh	...	...	22
19. Tamil Nad	...	...	141
20. United Provinces	...	...	300
21. Utkal	...	...	95

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#### Extension of Date for Enrolment of Members

The Committee ratified the extension of the last date of enrolment of Congress members to 13th June.

Consistently with this alteration, the following time table was also sanctioned :—

1. Last date for enrolment as Congress member qualified to vote at the election of delegates for the next Session of the Congress

13th June

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| 2. Despatch by the primary committees of lists of qualified Congress members                                       | 13th July      |
| 3. Receipt by the P. C. Cs. of above list from Primary Committees  | 30th July      |
| 4. Receipt by the A. I. C. C. office of above lists from the P. C. Cs.   | 30th August    |
| 5. Despatch by the A. I. C. C. office of figures of provincial quotas of delegates                                 | 30th September |
| 6. Election of delegates in districts  | 14th December  |
| 7. Receipt of names of delegates by P. C. Cs. from districts   | 21st December  |
| 8. Receipt of lists of delegates by the A. I. C. C. office from the P. C. Cs.                                      | 3rd January    |
| 9. Meeting of delegates for electing the President   | 17th January   |
| 10. Receipt in the A. I. C. C. office of results of voting in the provinces in regard to the presidential election | 24th January   |
| 11. Announcement of the election of the President  | 31st January   |
| 12. The Congress to meet ordinarily at the end of February.  |                |

#### Change of Provincial Headquarters

With regard to change of provincial headquarters the Committee held that no such alteration could be recognised unless the previous sanction of the Working Committee had been obtained by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

The Committee directed that provincial committees requiring alteration of their headquarters should be asked to place their application before the Committee for sanction.

#### Rules of Procedure of A. I. C. C.

The following rules of procedure were recommended by the Committee for circulation and for being placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. :—

1. The A. I. C. C. may be summoned by the President or one of the Secretaries to meet at any place within the country and as often as required by the Working Committee.
2. The notice of a meeting of the A. I. C. C. shall be issued at least fifteen days before the date of meeting except in case of emergency when a meeting may be summoned by a notice of seven days only.
3. The President and the Secretaries shall be sole judges of the occasion for summoning an emergent meeting.
4. The A. I. C. C. shall meet on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than fifteen members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the A. I. C. C. At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration provided due notice thereof has been given to the members.

#### Order of Business Etc.

5. In the order of business the draft resolutions of the Working Committee shall have the claim of priority.
6. The order for the rest of the business of the meeting shall be settled by the President.
7. The Working Committee shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A. I. C. C. other than those of the Working Committee.
8. The order of precedence of resolutions by private members shall be determined by lot.
9. Notice of resolutions by private members should be given at least seven days before the meeting.
10. It shall be in the discretion of the President to allot the time for speakers moving either substantive propositions or amendments or generally taking part in the debate.

#### Resignation from A. I. C. C.

11. Resignation from the A. I. C. C. shall be placed before the President who will accept it and declare the place of the member on the A. I. C. C. vacant.
12. Any vacancy in the A. I. C. C. by death, resignation, removal of a member or otherwise will be filled up by the members of the Provincial Congress Committee by election from among themselves.

### Election Disputes

13. Objections to elections will be dealt with in the provinces in accordance with rules framed in this behalf by the Provincial Congress Committees.

14. Appeals will lie to the Working Committee against decisions on objections to elections by Provincial Congress Committees, or against their refusal or failure to give decisions.

15. Any appeal preferred to the Working Committee will ordinarily be decided by the Tribunal appointed in accordance with Article XI, (h) of the Constitution. It will be open to the Working Committee to decide such dispute if it considers it inconvenient or impracticable to convene a Tribunal in terms of Article XI, (h).

16. The decision of the Election Disputes Tribunal or of the Working Committee, as the case may be, shall be final.

### Other Disputes

17. Complaints against action by individual members of any Congress organisation or of any Congress Committee will be dealt with in the provinces in accordance with rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committees.

18. No subject which can be ordinarily dealt with by a P. C. C. shall be referred to the A. I. C. C. except through the P. C. C. concerned.

19. An appeal will lie to the Working Committee against any decision of a Provincial Congress Committee, or in the event of its failure or refusal to give such decision.

20. The Working Committee will either decide such disputes itself or will appoint any other person or persons to decide them. The decision of the Working Committee, or of the person or persons appointed by it, as the case may be, shall be final.

### Nagpur P. C. C.

The Committee approved of the adoption of the name of Nagpur P. C. C. by the Central Provinces (Marathi) P. C. C.

### Khaddar Clause

With reference to the enquiries made, the Working Committee instructs the Provincial Congress Committees to treat a person as habitual wearer of khaddar who has shown himself as having worn khaddar for a period of six months prior to his election to office or as a member of a Congress Committee.

### Provident Fund for office Staff

The Committee approved of a scheme for the establishment of a Provident Fund for members of the A. I. C. C. office staff and directed the Secretary to frame rules to govern the said fund and circulate them to members of the Working Committee.

### Mahakoshal Disputes

The Committee passed the following resolution :—

Mr. K. F. Nariman is appointed arbitrator with final authority to deal with the disputes of the Jubbulpore Town Congress Committee and the Khandwa District Congress Committee.

Mr. Nariman is also requested by the Committee to investigate the complaints regarding the proposed constitution of the Mahakoshal P. C. C. and the validity of the meeting held for passing the said constitution and to report to the President before the end of May, 1935 for final disposal.

### Guntur Congress Committee Dispute

The Committee passed the following resolution :—

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is authorised by the Committee to investigate the Guntur Congress Committee dispute and is requested to send up a report to the President before the end of May, 1935 for final disposal.

### Representation of N. W. F. and Midnapur

In view of the continuance of ban on Congress organisations in the North-West Frontier Province and Midnapur district in Bengal, the President was authorised by the Committee to nominate members to represent the Frontier in the A. I. C. C., and the Congress, and the district of Midnapur in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and the Congress, such nominated members having the same right as duly elected members.

**Recommendations for A. I. C. C.**

The Committee recommended items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 in the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. which were adopted with a few alterations and amendments.

**Appointments to Working Committee**

Shri Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, issued the following announcement to the Press on May 20, 1935 —

"[I appoint Sriyut Surendra Mohan Motra and Sriyut Purushottamdas Tandon as members of the Working Committee of the Congress in the vacancies caused by the resignations of Dr. M. A. Ansari and Sriyut C. Rajagopalachari]."

**P R E S I D E N T ' S   T O U R**

From the month of April last, the President of the Congress, Shri Rajendra Prasad, has undertaken a tour of some of the Congress provinces with a view to reorganise and strengthen the Congress organisation in those provinces. The other object of the tour is to popularise the new constitution of the Congress and to explain to the people the need of constructive effort at a time when the nation had suspended Civil Disobedience activities. The fight for Swaraj could never be suspended until the objective of the nation had been gained. If the Congress is to play, as it must, its expected part in the next phase of the national struggle, it must build up an organization at once efficient and capable of bearing strain.

The tour began with the Punjab in the first week of April and it was intended that the whole of the national Week would be devoted by the President to the Punjab. But unfortunately owing to a sudden breakdown of his health, the programme had to be dropped after his visit to Lahore.

In the third week of April, however, the President visited Jubbulpur in connection with the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and has since then visited the provinces of Berar, Karnatak, Maharashtra and Bombay one after another. In Berar, the President had to perform the opening of the Berar Provincial Political Conference held at Akola presided over by Pandit Govinda Vallabh Pant. Similarly, in Karnatak he opened the proceedings of the Karnatak Provincial Conference at Mangalore presided over by Shriyut Sri Prakasa of Benares.

In the course of this tour the President visited almost every place of importance in the provinces concerned covering more than 1,500 miles by car apart from the route traversed by train. Most of the places visited were villages where a Congress President is said to have gone for the first time. The following extracts from an interview given by the President to the Press will convey some idea of the tour and its effect on the provinces so far as Congress work is concerned. He said :—

"I had a very strenuous time. During my tour, I crossed and re-crossed the beautiful Western Ghats several times, and covered, I believe, more than 1,500 miles in car. I addressed more than 70 meetings, and met a large number of workers in Berar, Karnatak, and other parts of Maharashtra. In the Congress province of Karnatak, I included the Mysore State, and the small, but the beautiful province of Coorg. In Maharashtra, I included some of the Maharashtra States.

"If enthusiastic reception given to me, and the large meetings not only in large towns but in small taluka towns and even in the wayside villages are any indication of the genuine enthusiasm for the Congress and confidence in its programme, then I can say without any hesitation that the provinces I have visited are full of it."

Continuing the President said :—"Some of the places I visited have had very hard times during the Civil Disobedience movement, but I found them none the worse for it, and people were as enthusiastic as in other provinces. In such places, some attempt is being made to give relief, but any relief can at the best be palliative and people have to stand upon their own legs. I am glad that the lesson has been learnt to a certain extent, and it rests with the workers to impress it still further on them."

The programme of tour so far arranged leads up to the end of June during which the President has to visit parts of Maharashtra and the Congress Provinces of Nagpur and Mahakoshal.

## Congress Organisations and Institutions under Ban

### Gujarat

The total number of institutions or associations still under ban in Gujarat would be somewhere near 50. Some of these are educational institutions. Following are the principal institutions.—

(1) The Gujarat Vidyapith, the premier national educational institution (2) Patidar Boarding House (Ashram), Surat. (3) Anavil Boarding House (Ashram), Surat. (4) Bardoli Ashram. (5) Madhi Ashram. (6) Sarbhan Ashram (7) Velchi Ashram, an institution for literary and vocational education of forest tribes. (8) Vallabh Vidyalyaya—an institution for the education of Ram Paraj, a backward Hindu Community.

The buildings of all the banned institutions are in possession of the Government.

### Bengal

(1) Abhayasram (Comilla); (2) Simla Bayam Samity (North Calcutta), (3) Gana Mangal (Bogra); (4) Youth Association (Howrah); (5) Tarun Samity (Howrah); (6) Satya Broti Dal (Nadia).

### Faridpur (Bengal)

(1) Jabarkola Seva Samity; (2) Saldah Hindu-Moslem Jubak Sangha; (3) Bejhari Tarun Sangha; (4) Chakdah Bani Mandir Library; (5) Naria Banubhaban Boys' Library; (6) Birendra Kutir, Palong; (7) Kishore Sangha, Palong; (8) Faridpur Chattra Sangha; (10) Bhanga Tarun Sangha; (11) Madaripur Gymnastic Club; (12) Dingamanik Gymnastic Akhara; (13) Tire Union Club, Erikathi; (14) Rajbari Gynastic Club, (15) Chittaranjan Smriti Samity, Mulgaon; (16) Nikhuranjan Smriti Samity, Digsal.

### Midnapore (Bengal)

#### 1. Sardar Subdivision:—

1. Garbeta Congress Committee,	Royal Union No. 4.	
2. Garbeta " "	Jagardanga Union No.	8
3. " " "	Dariapur "	12
4. " " "	Husgur "	17
5. " " "	Radhanagar "	12
6. " " "	Urgunge "	21
7. " " "	Chandrakona " Road No	23
8. " " "	Maghan Union	24
9. " " "	Garbeta Union	27
10. Garbeta Thana Congress Committee,		
Congress Committee and Salsi Board	Union No.	28
11. Garbeta Congress Committee Kharkusma		29
12. Midnapur District Congress Committee,	Midnapur—P. S.	
13. " Town Congress Committee	" "	
14. " Sardar Subdivisional Committee	" "	
15. " Congress Sevadal Sikshashibir	" "	
16. " Committee Union No. 3	Dobia	"
17. Dhanor " " "	" "	
18. Chaknarsing " " "	" "	
19. Shalbani " " "	Shalbani	"
20. Bishnupur " " "	" "	
21. Keshpur " " "	Keshpur	"
22. Jhilla " " "	" "	
23. Thoup Congress Committee	Keshpur	P. S
24. Kushi Sub " "	" "	
25. Kotai " " "	" "	
26. Ramakata " " "	" "	
27. Anandapur " " "	" "	
28. Kharagpur Thana Congress Committee	Kharagpur	"
29. Keshiari " "	Keshari	"
30. Bagasti Union " "	" "	
31. Sabang Thana " "	Sabang	"
32. Dantan " "	" "	
33. Narain Chaak " "	" "	
34. Hariipur " "	" "	



35	Mairampur Congress Committee Union	No 2	Naraingar	"
36	Larma " " "	No 4	"	"
37	Gopinathpur " " "	No 5	"	"
38	Kantana Central " " "	No 7	"	"
39	Belda " " "	No 9	"	"
40	Baisarni Congress Office			"
41	Dhaneswarpur Congress Association Union	No 3	Pingla	"
42	Karku " " "	No 4	"	"
43	Gobardhanpur " " "	No. 7	"	"
44	Pidra Youth Association and Salishi Board Union	No. 8	"	"
45	Jalchak Congress Office and Salishi Board	No. 9	"	"
46	Anandapur Volunteer Camp		Keshpur	"

## 2. Ghantal Subdivision :—

47	Cheehua Hat Congress Office		Daspur	"
48	Nischintpur Ghantal Congress Committee		Chandra Kona	"
49	Keehkarpur " " "		"	"
50	Goshabazar Chandrakona Town Congress Committee		"	"
51	Knapur Congress Committee		"	"

## Tamluk Subdivision :—

52	Tamluk Subdivisional Congress Committee		Tamluk	"
53	Tamluk Thana " " Union	No. 4	"	"
54	Tamluk Boycott " " "	10	"	"
55	Kolaghat " " "	12	"	"
56	Rashgachhata " " Union	No. 13	"	"
57	Hijalberia " " Union		"	"
58	Nimtauri " " Union		"	"
59	Dakshin Harkuli Mayna Thana Congress and "Salishi Board			"
60	Hijalbari Congress Committee	Union No. 1	Mayna	"
61	Changrachak " " "	Union No. 4	Tamluk	"
62	Asnan " " "	8	Mayna	"
63	Keshapat " " "	"	Panchkura	"
64	Jorapur " " "	"	"	"
65	Arjunda " " "	"	"	"
66	Khodambhari " " Union	No. 9	Nandigram	"
67	Turulbari " " "	No. 13	"	"
68	Babupur " " "	No. 1	Sutahata	"
69	Chaitanyapur Volunteer Camp		Sutahata P. S.	"
70	Baibasudebpur Union Congress Committee Union	4	"	"
71	Chakdwipa " " "	6	"	"
72	Chakdwip Volunteer Camp. " " "	6	"	"
73	Gnuabaria " " "	8	"	"
74	Basudebpur " " "	9	"	"
75	Gnuabaria Congress Committee	8	"	"
76	Basudebpur " " "	9	"	"
77	Betkalla " Office " "	4	Mahishadal	"
78	Rajarampur " " "	7	"	"
79	Amritberia " " "	9	"	"
80	Nandakumar Congress Association	5	"	"
81	Lakshya " Committee " "	11	"	"

## 4. Contai Sub-division :—

82	Banamali Branch Congress Office Union	No. 7	Contai	"
83	Pichhabani Congress Committee	"	10	"
84	Bandabassain " " "	"	12	"
85	Contai Subdivisional " " "	"	15	"
86	Mirjapur Branch " " "	"	17	"
87	Ajaya " " "	"	Khajuri	"
88	Ajanbari " " "	"	"	"
89	Balighai " " Union	No. 6	Agra	"
90	Paniparul " " "	No. 10	"	"
91	Panohrol " " "	No. 9	"	"

92. Bhnbanichak	"	"	No. 15	"	"
93. Amarpur	"	Office		Patashpur	"
94. Kabuka	"	"	No. 9	"	"
95. Pania Sardar	"	"		"	"
96. Bayenda	"	"		Bhagabanpur	"
97. Simulia (Bhimeshward)	"	"		"	"
98. Gopinathpur	"	"		"	"
99. Jukhia	"	"		"	"

#### North-West Frontier

All Khudai Khidmatgar Organisations.

#### Karnatak

(1) Hindustani Seva Dal , (2) Hubli Youth League ; (3) Hubli Swadeshi Pracharak Sangh.

#### U. P.

(1) Hindustani Sewa Dal, U. P. ; (2) Prem Maha Vidyalaya, Brindaban.  
The list is incomplete. Several Provinces have not yet sent their list

### Suppression of Labour and Youth League Organisations

The following Labour and other organisations have been recently declared unlawful by the Government :

#### Calcutta

1. Calcutta Communist Party
2. Port and Dock-Workers Union
3. Workers and Peasants Party.
4. Calcutta Committee of the Workers Party of India
5. Kirti Dal
6. Workers Party of India
7. Indian Proletarian Revolutionary Party
8. Bengal Jute Workers Union
9. Bengal Match Factory Workers Union
10. The City Motor and Transport Workers Union
11. R. S. N., I. G. N., and Ry. Companies Labour and Workers Union
12. Youth League
13. Bangiya Chhatra and Yuba Sangsad
14. Tramwaymen's Union.
15. Transport Worker's Union.

#### Bombay

1. Lal Bawata Girni Kamgar Union : Red Trade Union.
2. Young Worker's League—Political Organisation of Young workers on Marxist—Leninist line.
3. Marxist League—Petty Bourgeois organisation for the spread of Marxism in social, political matters.
4. Kamgar Vangmaya Prasarak Mondal Marxist Vangmaya Mandal—Book Publishing Association.

#### Allahabad

1. Mill Majdur Union—Red Trade Union of Textile workers.

#### unjab

1. Kirtikisan Party.
2. Anti Imperialist League (Navajawan Bharat Sabha).

#### Madras

1. Young Worker's League (same as Bombay).

#### India

1. The Communist Party of India.

## Searches, Arrests and Convictions

### Campaign of Searches against Socialist Party

The Police and the C I D in Bihar, Lahore and Delhi were recently busy in connection with searches of residences of people connected with the Socialist Party. In Bihar it turned out to be a hunt for socialist literature. Even standard books as Cole on Money and a short Socialist Syllabus were taken possession of. The Proceedings Book of the Kisan Sabha, a Peasants' organisation, and all papers connected with the activities of the organisation were seized.

Simultaneously searches were carried out by the Police at half a dozen places at Lahore. Four persons were arrested in connection with Socialist activities. They raided the places on the strength of warrants issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Press Act. The arrested persons include members of the Punjab Socialist Party and the Balbhairav Sabha.

Similarly, the office of the Delhi District Congress Committee and half a dozen other places were raided by the Police at Delhi on May 5 in connection, it is reported, with the distribution of the Congress Working Committee resolution regarding the Silver Jubilee and posters issued by the Praja Mandal (peasants' organisation).

### Eighteen Months' R. I. for Sedition

Mr. Nani Sen-Gupta was sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta on a charge of delivering a seditious speech in Cornwallis Square on December 24 under the auspices of the Bengal Youth League.

### 2 Years' R. I. for Sedition

Syt. Shirdhar M. Joshi, a pleader (Bombay), was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on a charge of sedition.

### Congress Worker Arrested

Pandit Lakshmi Narayan, a prominent Congress worker in Orissa was arrested while addressing a public meeting at Bhubaneswar held in pursuance of the appeal issued by the Congress President for the observance of the Detenues' Day. The President of the meeting was also arrested and let off after some time.

The Police was also reported to have seized all papers found in possession of the President and all articles in place of meeting including benches.

### Internment Orders in Chittagong

Some 150 young men of Chittagong were ordered to remain interned in their homes for a month, infringement of the order making them liable to a punishment of six months' rigorous imprisonment.

### Congress Worker Interned

Mr. N. Sanyal, a Congress worker, was arrested on the 6th. instant, and served with an interment order prohibiting him from leaving the Faridpur District.

### Arrests under Terrorist Suppression Act

The special police arrested Jitendra Nath Karmakar of Dinajpur, Bachaulal, an employee of R. C. Kahanchand, 212 Cross Street, Calcutta, Surj Ran Teli of Keshoria in Matihari District, Saraju Ram Ghatwar of Parais in Dumka Dist., and Baldeo Hazam of Mahna in Mazaffarpur District under section 81 of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act 1932-34 and the Darjeeling Deputy Commissioner's Order dated March 18 for coming to Siliguri without necessary passport. The arrested persons were ignorant villagers, artisans or manual servants of their employers and evidently had no knowledge that the district of Darjeeling was a prohibited area for the Hindus.

### The Congress under Surveillance at Ahmedabad

The District Magistrate of Ahmedabad issued a circular to all the police officers in the district asking them to minutely observe and report all activities of Congress organisations in the district.

The circulation enjoined the police officers to note the number of Congress organisations in their respective jurisdictions, whether those organisations possessed buildings of their own, the total number of Congress members, the addresses of workers, the nature of response of the people to Congress activities and the progress of work in the villages.

The police officers it is reported have begun collecting information called for in the circular.

### Possession of Photograph a Crime

Kshetralal Saha, a young Bengali, was sentenced by the subordinate Magistrate of Noakhali, to one week's rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs 100 or in default a sentence of six months' R. I. on a charge of possessing a photograph of Santi Ghose and Santi Choudhury, two Bengali girls convicted of the charge of murder of Mr C. J. B. Stevens.

### Political Prisoners in Dacca Jail

The political prisoners who went on hunger strike in Dacca Jail were given the following sentences as Jail punishment for continuing the strike

The following three prisoners to receive 20 stripes each

Dharanidhar Ray, Haripada Banerjee and Sukumar Sen Gupta.

The following prisoners to have extension of terms of imprisonment as follows :—

Rabindra Das—4 months R. I., Dasarathi Halder—9 months R. I.; Rabindra Mitra—1 year R. I. Rupendra Das—2 months R. I., Bhagwan Biswas—9 months R. I.; Karali Biswas—4 months R. I., Akhil Mukerji—9 months R. I. Maumdia Mazumdar—9 months R. I.; Nitya Mazumdar—9 months R. I., Ananta Bhattacharya—9 months R. I.

### Two Years R. I. for Sedition

Mr. K. G. Kulkarni, a Labour worker of Bombay, who was arrested on the charge of sedition in connection with a speech delivered in April last was sentenced on May 28, to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

### Searches in the Punjab

More than half a dozen searches were simultaneously conducted by the C. I. D. Police at Amritsar, Jullundhur, Dadehar and Khanna.

At Amritsar the places searched included the offices of the Sikh Deshbhagat Parwar Sahayak Committee and of the Khalsa Sevak, and Amritsar daily. The Police seized certain handbills, posters and books.

### Raids in Calcutta

The police raided several places in Calcutta including the offices of All-India Trade Union Congress and Red Trade Union Congress and seized a mass of literature dealing with communism.

The Calcutta Gazette of May 29 announced the forfeiture of several books dealing with communism, viz., "What is Communism", "Rebel against Imperialism" by Soumyendra Nath Tagore, "View-Point of International Communist Opposition", published from Bombay by the Secretary of the Independence of India League, and Young Socialist League and M. N. Roy."

### At A. I. C. C. Office

On a warrant issued by the additional District Magistrate of Allahabad, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, accompanied by the District Intelligence Staff Police of Allahabad visited the A. I. C. C. office and took possession of all copies of "Eight Days Interlude" by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

### Restrictions on Hindu Visitors to Darjeeling

Following orders of the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling have been issued under the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act, 1932, and the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Rules, 1934.

1. In these orders "Hindu young person" means any Hindu person of either sex, between the ages of 14 and 25 years, not ordinarily resident in the district of Darjeeling.

2. No person whatsoever not ordinarily resident in the Darjeeling district shall enter, or remain in, the district without complying with the following conditions, namely :—

(a) such person shall, if so required, afford all reasonable facilities for ascertaining whether such person is a Hindu young person in possession of the pass or identity card required by these rules, to the following officers, namely :—

(i) all Magistrates :—

(ii) all Commissioned Military officers, and

(iii) all Police officers not below the rank of Assistant Sub-Inspector or Head Constable :

(b) such person, if travelling in a Motor vehicle, shall, if called upon to do so by any officer mentioned in clause (a) of this order, stop such vehicle or cause it to be stopped and afford to the officer such facilities as are mentioned in that clause.

The public have been informed that, under Section 3 of Bengal Act XII of 1932, any officer referred to in clause (a) of the above order has power to require any person whom such officer on reasonable grounds suspects to be acting or about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace to give an account of himself, and may further arrest and detain such person.

3. No Hindu young person shall enter the Darjeeling District without complying with the following conditions, namely :—

(a) the young person shall come provided with two photographs of himself or herself, each certified by an officer of the district in which the young person ordinarily resides of rank not lower than that of Deputy Magistrate, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Deputy Superintendent of Police, or (in Calcutta) of Deputy Commissioner of Police and Assistant Commissioner of Police ;

(b) every such person shall report himself at Siliguri or Teesta Bridge before proceeding to his destination.

(c) on arrival at Siliguri or Teesta Bridge, the young person shall report to the officer in charge of the special police posts which will be situated at those places, and shall apply to such officer for and obtain a pass (which shall be valid for 7 days only) authorising the young person to enter the district :

(d) in order to obtain such pass the young person shall supply the officer in charge with one of the photographs referred to in clause (a) of this order which will be attached to the pass ;

(e) the young person shall enter in writing at the special police post in a book maintained for the purpose (or, if illiterate, shall supply verbally for entry by the officer in charge) such particulars of the young person's identity, occupation and past and proposed movements as may be required by the officer in charge ; and shall sign (or, if illiterate, attest by thumb impression) such entry.

4. No Hindu young person shall remain in the Darjeeling district without complying with the following conditions, namely :—

(a) the young person, unless in possession of a valid pass, shall be in possession of and carry an identity card issued by the officer in charge of the police-station at Siliguri, Teesta Bridge, Kurseong, Darjeeling or Kalimpong ;

(b) when applying for an identity card, the young person shall produce the pass obtained at Siliguri or Teesta Bridge and shall also supply the officer-in-charge with a second photograph certified in the manner referred to in clause (a) of order 3 or by an officer in charge Darjeeling district of rank not lower than that of Deputy Magistrate or Deputy Superintendent of Police. The second photograph will be attached to the identity card. The temporary pass will be retained by the officer in charge and :

(c) the young person shall not enter or leave any railway station without showing to any Police officer who may require it a valid pass or identity card held by such person.

5. Every owner, or occupier in control of any hospital, sanitarium, school, hotel, boarding house or hostel shall without delay supply to the officer in charge of the nearest police station full particulars of the arrival or departure of any Hindu at or from such hospital, sanitarium, school, hotel, boarding house or hostel, and if so required by the officer in charge, any further information within his knowledge relating to such Hindu.

6. The Deputy Commissioner may by order in writing exempt any person from all or any of these orders :

Provided that such exemption shall be conditional on the person exempted carrying with him the written order of exemption and producing the same when required to do so by any officer entitled under these rules to require production of a pass or identity card.

## BENGAL DETENUEES

### An Appeal By the President

It is a well-known fact that a large number of youths of Bengal is in detention without trial and without any opportunity being given to them to clear their character. The All-India Congress Committee, at its meeting at Jubbalpur, passed a resolution, expressing its sympathy with the sufferers and demanding their release or, in the alternative, a fair and open trial in an ordinary court of law.

Many of the sufferers have remained in that condition for years, and there is no knowing how long they are going to be detained. There are others who, though not in prison or detention camps, have their movements restricted. Others again have been externed from the province. While on a small scale all this is happening in some other provinces also, the case of Bengal has assumed such large proportions that it has become necessary to agitate this question on a countrywide scale.

More than 2,000 persons are under such detention there. The A. I. C. C. has decided to raise funds for the relief of the distress caused to the families and dependents of the detainees on account of their being deprived of the services and assistance of their bread winners.

I accordingly appeal to the country at large to subscribe generously to the fund. I appoint Sunday, May 19, as a special day for making collections, and request provincial organisations to make arrangements for such collections and send them to the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, at Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad, who will issue receipts for them. Individuals may also send donations to the above address. The A. I. C. C. Office will keep accounts. I hope and trust the collections will be commensurate with the requirements of the work and the deep feelings of sympathy which the sufferings of the detainees evoke in all parts of the country.

### Bengal Government's Prohibition

By an order issued in exercise of the power conferred by Section 2-A of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, the Governor-in-Council of Bengal prohibited the publication of any information connected with the observance of the Detenue Day throughout India in accordance with instruction issued by the President of the Congress. In their opinion the classes of opinion specified by them in clauses (a) and (b) tended to excite sympathy with, or secure adherents to, the terrorist movement. The two clauses are as follows:—

"(a) any information regarding the "Detenue Day" announced for the 19th May, 1935 or which may be announced for any subsequent date, or any information regarding any meeting or any action or statement in connection therewith".

"(b) any information regarding any meeting or any other action, or any statement, held, taken or made or proposed to be held, taken or made, for the purpose of calling for the release of persons detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930 (Bengal Act VI of 1930) or under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818 (Bengal Regulation of 1818), or for the purpose of exciting sympathy with any such person".

In their communique issued in this connection the Government of Bengal state:

"Government realize that support may have been given to this movement by persons whose motives are purely humanitarian".

"At the same time, it must be pointed out that Government have themselves undertaken an obligation to make such provisions for detainees and their dependents as seem to them reasonable and proper. This obligation is being carried out. Moreover, though the situation as regards terrorism has improved, the public should realize that this improvement is only kept up by the utmost vigilance on the part of those charged with the duty of maintaining public security.

### Congress President's Rejoinder

Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, issued the following statement in reply to the communique of the Bengal Government:—

"I have just seen the full text of the order of the Government of Bengal prohibiting the publication of any information or news regarding the Detenue Day and any information regarding any meeting or action calling for the release of or expressing

sympathy with persons detained under Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 or under the Regulations of 1818. I have also read the Government communique justifying the Government action. The Detenue Day was intended to protest against the detention of large number of persons without trial by a court of law and without any opportunity being given to them to meet any charges that the Government may prefer against them. It is one of the recognised canons of civilised jurisprudence that a man should be held to be innocent until he has been proved to be guilty, and the whole country has felt the injustice of a lawless law, which reverses the ordinary rules of justice and fairplay. The enormity of the act is felt all the more merely because the number of persons so detained is very large and even more so because their detention is for unlimited periods and has extended in many cases to years. The sympathy which the sufferings of detainees have evoked has been intense and wide-spread and it is but natural that the country should demand their release or in the alternative an open trial in ordinary courts of law. The Day was fixed to give expression to this feeling. It was also intended to collect funds for the relief of the families and dependents of the Detenues who in many cases were the sole or principal bread winners for them. As the Government themselves recognise this action was actuated by purely humanitarian motives and the funds collected would be spent strictly for the purposes mentioned. The sympathy expressed with the detainees and their families and dependents does not and cannot mean sympathy with terrorism. The Government are nervous that expression of sympathy with detainees will inevitably stimulate and encourage terrorists. That the sympathy is there is admitted by the Government and the Government are themselves to blame for it as they have detained them without trial. They cannot deprive the Detenues of this sympathy by preventing its expression so long as they refuse to bring them to trial, if they are not prepared to release them and are convinced about the strength of their case.

"The ban of the Government of Bengal has thrown greater responsibility on other Provinces to make the appeal for funds successful. It was not intended that collections should be made only on 19th. May and I hope earnest efforts will be continued in that direction."

## THE ASSEMBLY ACTIVITIES

### Refusal of Supplies to Army Department

On a motion moved by Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Deputy Leader of the Independent Party, the Assembly refused supplies to the Army Department by reducing its demand to Rs 1. The motion was carried by 79 against 48 votes.

Sardar Mangal Singh, a Sikh member from the Punjab, agreed with the argument that it was an insult to Indian soldiers to be told that British troops formed the backbone of the army in India. He said that from personal talks with Indian soldiers and Indian officers he knew that they were smarting under the stamp of inferiority.

Mr. Tottenham said Government never thought of completely Indianizing the army, so the department could not be blamed for not pursuing that policy. He, however, assured the House that in 1952 the department would be in a position to say whether Indians were fit for leading the army and then only could the proposal of abandonment of British recruitment be seriously considered. The House was in no mood, however, to entertain any such plea and the motion was carried as stated above.

### Executive Council Demand Carried

Syt. Bhulabhai Desai's motion to reduce the demand of the Executive Council to one rupee was defeated by the Assembly by a majority of two votes. The result was achieved by some Muslim members of the Independent Party voting with the Government, in the absence of Mr. Jinnah, the Leader of the Party.

### Adjournment Motion

An adjournment motion, moved by Mr. K. L. Gauba, over the Karachi firing was carried in the Assembly by 67 votes to 52.

### Restoration of Railway Board and Army Cuts

Sir James Grigg announced in the Assembly (25th. March) that the Governor-General had restored the cuts made by the Assembly on the demands on the Railway

Board and the Army Department. The announcement was received amidst cries of "shame" by some members.

### Adjournment Motion on Burma-India Relations

The adjournment motion of Shri Mathradas Vassanji over the unsatisfactory reply of Sir James Grigg on 25th March in regard to the adjustment of financial obligations between Burma and India was carried by 78 votes to 36. The European group remained neutral.

The motion arose out of Sir James Grigg's answer in reply to questions that the Tribunal convened in London to examine the financial effect of the separation of Burma from India was about to conclude its labours.

"The personnel of the Tribunal was an insult to India said Mr Mathradas Vassanji. "Rowlatt's name had an evil association in India with the Jallianwalla Bagh affair, while Mr. Amery was one of the most reactionary Tories and was the symbol of reaction in the colonies and dependencies. Such a Tribunal could not be impartial." The mover demanded the reconstitution of the Tribunal and the inclusion in it of representatives of India as well as Burma.

Shri B. Das recalled the history of the question and showed how it was a history of broken pledges given at the Round Table Conference and those given by Sir George Schuster. He showed how the opinion of Sir Bhupendra Mitter, who on behalf of the Government had insisted on the matter being referred to the standing Tribunal of the Imperial Conference or to the Committee of the Privy Council had been disregarded by the Secretary of State. Both the Government of India and the present Government of Burma were against the separation of Burma, but the British Government were forcing it on them. The fact was, he said, the Britishers wanted Burma to become their colony for exploitation and wished India to pay for it.

Dr. Thien Maung represented the Burmese view during the debate and said his people would not be satisfied unless India and Burma were represented on the Tribunal. Financial adjustment between India and Burma, he pointed out, was not a matter only for the two Governments, but the two countries were vitally interested in it.

### Indo-Burmese Tribunal Scandal

The Finance Member announced in the Assembly on March 28 that his statement on the adjournment debate regarding the Indo-Burma financial adjustments were unintentionally misleading. While he had given the House to believe on that occasion that the Tribunal would be submitting its report early in April, he had now learnt that the report had already been signed. He was apologetic for this one more unintentional misleading statement but assured the House that before the Secretary of State submitted final proposals to Parliament, he would arrange to provide an opportunity for discussion in the Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah wanted to know whether the Government of India were aware of the Tribunal being appointed as early as 21st December last as was announced by Sir J. Grigg and, if so, what recommendations, if any, they made regarding the constitution and procedure of the Tribunal. But Sir J. Grigg had no reply.

To the query of Sir Cowasji Jehangir whether the Government of India realised the significance of the appointment of this Tribunal behind their back and in defiance of the recommendations of the Round Table Conference to which the Secretary of State himself was a party, the Finance Member could give no reply and no further information.

### Indians in Kenya

The adjournment motion moved in the Assembly by Shri Satyamurthi to discuss the situation in Kenya created by the latest decision with regard to the Highlands gave the first opportunity to the present Assembly to hold a debate in which all parties including the Government and Europeans spoke with the same voice and were unanimous in their demand for justice. At the outset Shri Satyamurthi assured the House that the motion was not one of censure on the Government of India who had consistently supported the claims of the Indian settlers. Inasmuch as the tradition of the House was that an adjournment motion when carried was considered a censure on the Government, it was withdrawn after a full debate which showed that the subject-matter of the motion had the unanimous support of the House.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, the outgoing member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, delivered a speech on the occasion which was remarkable coming as it did from a Government member. He said: "When five years ago I took office, I decided to act in the matter of Indians overseas as a member responsible to Indian Public opinion.



I came into contact with all the leaders of Indian opinion who had taken a keen interest in the subject. I had the privilege of being instructed by the Leader of the Congress (Gandhiji) who was the best informed Indian on the South African question. I also had on delegation to South Africa an ex-President of the Congress. I had touch with the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the Imperial Citizenship Association who had done a great deal of work in this matter. The Indian Nationalist Press invariably supported me. But inspite of all this support, I had achieved only very minor success which dwindled into insignificance compared with the numerous failures. Though I had not earned, I had not lost in my time, and all my colleagues worked as one team and supported me. The Secretary of State too had backed us."

What was the failure due to? Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's answer is illuminating. He said—"the task was a hopeless one, as there was a conflict of interest. India is a part of Asia, and Asia is not Europe, and the discrimination proposed is against all Asiatics."

### **Rejection of Customs Demand**

Sir James Grigg moved a supplementary demand for grant amounting to 11 lakhs in respect of customs, but the demand was rejected by 51 to 53 votes.

### **Refusal of Supplies for Transfer of Pusa Institute**

The Assembly rejected by 72 votes to 52 the supplementary demand of 36 lakhs for the transfer of the Pusa Research Institute, only seven elected Indian members voting with the Government.

### **Reduction of Salt Duty**

The Assembly adopted by 63 votes to 55 Shri A. Iyengar's motion reducing the Salt Duty from Re. 1-4-0 to twelve annas.

### **Export Duty on Raw Skins**

Shri A. Iyengar moved that the duty on skins proposed to be abolished in the Bill should remain, as the abolition would kill the tanning industry of Madras, Bombay and Cawnpore and put nearly 3 million men out of employment.

The House divided and Shri Ananthasayana Iyengar's amendment was carried by 61 votes to 60.

### **Reduction of Postal Rates**

The following three amendments with regard to this were carried by the Assembly the voting being 80 to 35, 79 to 44 and 84 to 39 respectively.

1. Prof. Ranga's amendment reducing the rate on letters not exceeding one tola to one anna and on letters exceeding one tola but not exceeding 2 and a half tolas to one and a quarter anna.

2. Shri B. K. Das's amendment reducing the rate on single and reply post cards to two pice and one anna respectively.

3. Mr F. E. James' amendment reducing the rates on Book, Pattern and Sample packets as follows:

For a weight not exceeding two and half tolas, six pies. For a weight exceeding two and a half tolas but not exceeding five tolas, nine pies.

For every additional five tolas or fraction thereof, six pies.

In the voting on these amendments, the European bloc and several nominated members combined with the opposition as against the Government.

### **Raising of Income-Tax Level**

Mr. Muhammad Ahmad Kasim moved an amendment to the Finance Bill purporting to relieve persons having an income below Rs. 2,000 from income-tax assessment. His point was that the decrease of taxable income from 2000 to 1000 per year was an emergency imposition and should be removed when the salary cut had been restored.

The House divided and the amendment was carried by 73 to 42 votes.

### **Viceroy's Message to the Assembly on Finance Bill**

The President, Sir Abdur Rahim, read the following message from the Governor-General:—

"The Finance Bill as introduced in the Assembly, contained provisions designed to reduce taxation to the maximum extent possible within our existing resources and incidentally to provide some benefit to the agriculturist by removing the bar on the

profitable sale of one of his products. The Bill was the counterpart of the policy represented in the allocation of non-recurrent surplus for the development of roads, broadcasting, civil aviation and above all, for the improvement of the economic position of the villages in this country. So far as the Finance Bill was concerned the amendments made by the Legislative Assembly, would, if accepted amount to a serious mutilation of the Bill. They entail a loss of revenue from four to five crores and so involve budgeting for a heavy deficit and all the deleterious results to India's credit which have invariably followed unsound procedure of this character. The amendments cannot, therefore, be accepted. After anxious consideration I have decided to recommend to the Assembly that the Bill be restored to the form wherein it was originally introduced. I have considered whether it is possible to accept some of the financially less important amendments made but one of these is definitely opposed to the interests of the agriculturist and the others are minor postal concessions which though affording little or no benefit to the poor, would more than double the estimated deficit on the Posts and Telegraphs Departments and postpone the restoration of solvency in that service. Every one of the remaining amendments involves loss of at least half a crore of revenue and so must be ruled out so far as the current year is concerned."

The following is the text of recommendation :—

"In pursuance of the provisions of sub-section (1) of section 67-B of the Government of India Act, I, Freeman Thomas, Earl of Willington do recommend to the Legislative Assembly that it do pass the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in or imported by land into certain parts of British India, to vary certain duties leviable under the Indian Tariff Act of 1934, to fix the maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act of 1898, to fix the rates of income-tax and super-tax and to vary the excise duty on silver, leviable under the Silver (Excise Duty) Act of 1930, in the form hereto annexed."

#### **Assembly Turns Down Viceroy's Recommendations**

Sir James Grigg moved the recommended amendment that the Salt Duty be restored to one rupee four annas per maund. This was followed by a heated debate. The procedure on the recommended bill was that should the amendment be rejected it would amount to the refusal of the Assembly to accept the Viceroy's recommendation to pass the Finance Bill in its original form.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir expressed his sincere regret that the Government should have acted in the way they did. He said this showed that the safeguards proposed in the Government of India Bill would prove the greatest hindrance to the Government of the future. The worst of all this was that moderates like him who had stood by the Government loyally were deprived of every argument for continuing their present attitude. The view-point of the European group was represented by Sir Leslie Hudson. He made a statement declaring that in order to express their disappointment, their group proposed to remain neutral on this vote. In the course of the statement he said :—

"We believe that some of the amendments might have been accepted without detriment to the budgetary position and that such action would have been in the interests of the country. We recognise that the Government alone are ultimately responsible for the consequences of their policy. The Government cannot expect us to shirk our responsibility and share theirs when they have not heeded our representations."

The amendment of Sir James Grigg was rejected by the Assembly by 64 to 41 votes.

### **Summary of Report of Kanara Farmers' Relief Committee**

*(July 1934 to February 1935)*

A no-tax campaign was conducted in the district of Kanara during 1932-34 resulting in forfeiture of lands and homes of the peasants who participated in it.

Although the causes that led to refusal of tax by these farmers were exclusively agrarian, the movement got mixed up with the general movement of civil disobedience conducted by the Congress during this period.

The cultivators of Karwar had a hard lot to contend with for many years past and it is only since the year 1931 that there had been a severe no-tax campaign on the part of the Government. Formerly North Karwar (Karwar) and South Kanara (Mandya) had been included in the same district, and that subsequently the Government split them apart into two districts on one part to the Bombay presidency and another to Madras.

The two Taluqs of Siddapur and Ankola in the district of Karwar were the centres of the no-tax campaign in 1932-34.

The suffering of the poor farmers very much needed the Council of the Karnatak P. C. C. appointed a Committee of Shri. G. S. Deshpande as Chairman to tour the affected area and report on the situation. The report of the Committee more than confirmed the accounts about the plight of the heroic peasants.

The Committee found that the two kinds of relief, temporary and permanent. Temporary relief was to be given in the form of food and clothing to be given immediately to utterly destitute farmers. Permanent relief was the securing of lands and houses for those who had lost them, so that they might have shelter and something to labour upon for their livelihood.

The Committee appointed two Relief Committees, one for Siddapur and another for Ankola for the organisation and distribution of relief. The rate of immediate relief was fixed at rupees two for three to a adult, and a little less for children per month. Only such families were chosen in both the areas as had absolutely nothing to fall back upon. The Committee had also been helped by grants the two relief Ashrams at Karwar and Shimoga for sheltering the children of the destitute farmers of Siddapur.

The Committee had several schemes of permanent relief none of which could be properly undertaken on account of inadequacy of funds. The Committee, however, has been helping the peasants to the utmost of its capacity in the following directions: (1) Assistance to ryots incapacitated by old age, (2) Securing lands to certain destitute and helpless families, (3) Helping and encouraging peasants to migrate; (4) Securing garden lands for Siddapur peasants.

Shri R. R. Diwakar and Shri D. P. Karmarkar, the Secretary and a prominent member respectively of the Kanara Farmers Relief Committee, have been recently prohibited by the District Magistrate of Kanara by an order under Section III of the Special Powers Act from entering the district. They have thus been deprived of the opportunity of rendering the necessary humanitarian help to the unfortunate cultivators who have lost their all.

## HARIJAN SEWAK SANGHA

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Harijan Sewak Sangh was held in Calcutta on April 27, 28 and 29, 1935.

The following among the more important resolutions adopted by the Committee:—

### 1. Calcutta Tannery

Resolved that (a) the Cottage Tanning Institute opened by the Bengal Provincial Board at Calcutta be also used as a Training Centre for master tanners and that the course of training should be extended from 12 months to 18 months, 3 months being passed at the Dayal Bagh or any other approved Tannery; (b) the course of studies, qualifications for admission and daily routine of work etc. in the tannery be fixed by Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta in consultation with Prof. N. R. Malkani; (c) a grant of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) only be sanctioned by the Central Board for meeting losses incurred on production upto date, and another sum of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) only be sanctioned as an advance out of the Bengal Purse Fund quota for improving and extending the chemical laboratory, started in connection with the Tannery; (d) that applications for admission to the Cottage Tanning Institute be invited through the various Provincial Boards so that training courses may begin on 1st June, 1935 and that provision be made in the Tannery for the admission of ten students, this year; (e) that the expenses incurred by the students under training on account of lodging, boarding and railway fare be equally shared by the Central Board with the Provincial Board, provided the respective Provincial Boards take steps to prepare schemes for opening Provincial Tanneries in select places and the persons deputed for training undertake to manage such Provincial Tanneries for at least two years on a reasonable monthly salary after training.

## 2. Provincial Tanneries

Resolved that a sum of Rs 25,000 be ear-marked by the Central Board for opening about 10 Cottage Tanneries in selected Provincial centres at the rate of Rs. 2,500 each as soon as qualified tanners are available, provided that no such Tannery shall be opened in any Provincial centre unless the respective Provincial Board prepares a suitable scheme and sets apart at least half the initial capital expenses (about Rs. 2,500) out of its Gandhi Purse Fund quota or by making fresh special collections.

## 3. Calcutta Carcass Disposal Scheme

Resolved that (a) an additional sum of Rs 2,000 be sanctioned as grant for the carcass disposal scheme, Calcutta, out of the Bengal Purse Fund quota, if recommended by the Bengal Provincial Board.

## 4. Constitution Bye-Laws

Resolved that bye-laws be passed and published along with the new Constitution of the Sangh with the following changes—(a) that bye-law 6 under rule 14 of the Constitution should read "All immovable property" in place of "All properties, movable or immovable;" (b) that bye-law 8 under rule 21 of the Constitution be dropped; (c) that the following bye-law be inserted under rule 8 of the Constitution,— "The Secretaries and the Treasurer of the Central Board shall hold office (unless removed earlier) for a period of three years, or until their successors are appointed."

## 5. Nattar-Harijan Trouble, Devacottah

Resolved that D. B. Bhashyam Aiyangar, Sjt K. Bhashyam and Sjt C. Rajagopalachari be requested to visit Devacottah, in Ramnad District, with a view to bring about a better understanding between the Nattars and Harijans and that they be requested to suggest means for the same.

## 6. J. K. Pani Fund of One Lac

Resolved that (a) with a view to carry out resolution No. 12, dated 30th. December 1934, of the Central Board regarding improvement of water supply in Harijan Bastis, the Provincial Boards be requested to expedite the completion of water surveys so that an appeal may be issued by the Central Board on the 1st of June 1935.

(b) that the first fortnight of June reserved for an All-India collection of Rs. 1,00,000 (one Lac) for the J. K. Pani Fund.

## 7. Delhi Province

Resolved that in view of the desirability of organising some welfare work under the auspices of the Harijan Industrial Home, Delhi, immediate steps be taken to amalgamate the Delhi Provincial Board with the Central Board.

## 8. Fresh Local Collections by Districts

Resolved that immediate steps be taken by the Provincial Boards to make fresh collections of funds in order to supplement their Purse Fund quotas so as to organise welfare work on a stable basis. To achieve this result the following arrangements will come into force from the 1st of July, 1935.—

(a) No provincial Board shall claim more than 75 per cent grant on its welfare expenditure the balance of 25 per cent to be met out of fresh collections. This provision is in pursuance of resolution 11 (b) of the Central Board passed at Delhi in December 1934. (b) Fixed block grants on the basis of previous years' expenditure should be sanctioned for independent organisations in place of the present system of percentage grant on total expenditure. (c) The Provincial Boards may spend some money on propaganda in consultation with their District and other Committees provided that the total sum spent in the Province does not exceed 5 per cent of the total expenditure. (d) Budgets for the next year may be prepared by all the Provincial Boards and their branches on the basis of receiving not more than 50 per cent grant from the Central Board on all items of expenditure irrespective of the Purse Funds, the remaining 50 per cent to be collected locally by each unit.

## 9. Training of Teachers

Resolved that the attention of the Provincial Boards be drawn to the training of teachers being given by the Rajputana Harijan Sevak at Naredi (Dt. Ajmer) and its beneficent influence on the general standard and efficiency of the teachers.

Further resolved that Provinces having a large number of teachers in their service may open training classes for teacher, after submission of a scheme thereof to the Central Board.

# The Anti-Communal Award Conference

Opening Day—New Delhi—23rd. February 1935

The All-India Anti-Communal 'Award' Conference opened at New Delhi on the 23rd February 1935. About 1500 men and women of all communities, mostly Hindus, and Sikhs, were present, among them being most Nationalist M. L. A's, Mr. P. N. Saprna, Mr. Chami, Pota Chatterjee, Ali Khan, Mr. Hossain Imam, Raja Narendra Nath and Thakore Chandan Singh, president, All-India Gurka League.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya proposed Mr. Chintamani to the chair and Sardar Mangal Singh, Mr. Ramaband Chatterjee and Mr. Abdul Samad seconded and supported the motion.

Mr. Abdul Samad said that there was nothing objectionable from the Muslim point of view in Mr. Chintamani's views. Therefore he was the fittest person to preside.

Messages, wishing the conference success, were read from Sir Hari Singh Gaur, Mr. Tambe, ex-governor, C. P., Mr. Kolkar, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Mr. Baharam and Mr. Das, leaders of Christians of Lahore and Bihar respectively and others.

## THE WELCOME ADDRESS

Dr. A. C. Sen, Chairman, reception committee, read the address welcoming the delegates. In the course of his speech Dr. Sen said:—

Communal electorates in India date back to 1909 when separate electorates were provided for Mahomedans who retained their right to vote also in the general electorate. The Aza Khan deputation in 1906 and the Amir Ali deputation in 1908 demanded separate representation for Mahomedans as a result of which the Morley Scheme for a joint electorate and reservation of seats was turned down. In 1916 came the Lucknow Pact which embodied an agreed settlement between the Hindu and Muslim communities. It provided for separate electorates for Mahomedans who ceased to vote in general constituencies. The Muslims were represented through special electorates in the provincial legislatures in the following proportions.—

Punjab one-half of the elected Indian members

U. P. 30 p. c.; Bengal 40 p. c.; Bihar 25 p. c.; C. P. 15 p. c.; Madras 15 p. c.;

Bombay one-third of the elected Indian members.

It provided that one-third of the elected Indian members in the Imperial Legislative Council should be Muslims elected by a separate Mahomedan electorate.

The Lucknow Pact formed the basis of communal representation in the October of 1919 providing for separate electorates for separate communities and separate interests.

The Simon Commission in 1930 recommended the continuation of communal electorates on the basis of the Lucknow Pact in the absence of a new agreement, with no statutory majority in Bengal or the Punjab or the alternative electorate by mutual consent in Bengal and the Punjab. It further did not provide for a separate electorate for the depressed classes but allowed representation to them through reservation of seats. The despatch of the Government of India on the report of the Simon Commission agreed with the Commission in this respect and recommended communal electorates for Muslims, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and adequate representation only for depressed classes.

## ENCOURAGEMENT TO COMMUNALISTS

The Government of India, however, were in favour of giving a larger percentage of seats in the legislatures than those recommended by the Commission. The All-India Muslim Conference (Delhi) encouraged by this partial surrender on the part of the Government of India pitched its demand still higher and asked for responsibility in the centre separate electorates; an adequate share of Muslims in the public services; adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim education, religion etc., making Sind a separate province; 33 per cent Muslim representation in central legislatures, etc. In 1931 the working committee of the Congress after the lapse of Nehru Report assured the Muslims and Sikhs full satisfaction in arriving at a settlement for any future constitution. The Round Table Conference in 1930 and 1931 sat but failed to find a common formula. The Consultation Committee later in Delhi met with a similar fate. On the failure of the communities to come to an agreement

between themselves or to appoint the Prime Ministers as arbitrator in 1932 his Majesty's Government presented their decision which has been wrongly designated as the Communal Award. This decision can be substituted by any other alternative scheme if the parties concerned find it possible to arrive at a mutual settlement.

In September 1932, Gandhi undertook a fast unto death for modifying the 'award' in respect of the representation of the depressed classes. The Poona Pact which was signed on Sept 1932, provided for a special electorate in the primary stage and a joint electorate in the final stage emanating from—

Thirty seats for depressed classes in Madras, 15 seats for depressed classes in Bombay; 30 seats for depressed classes in Bengal, 20 seats for depressed classes in U. P.; 8 seats for depressed classes in the Punjab, 15 seats for depressed classes in Behar; 20 seats for depressed classes in C. P.; 7 seats for depressed classes in Assam; 7 seats for depressed classes in Orissa.

The communal decision as modified by the Poona Pact forms the basis of representation for communities in the legislatures by the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms. The Marquess of Zetland brought an amendment to the effect that the Moslems or Hindus, whichever is the minority community in any particular province, shall have the right to decide whether election in the case of the general territorial constituencies shall be by separate or by joint electorate; and whether the general territorial seats between Moslems and Hindus are to be allotted on a population basis in Bengal, if the representation given to the depressed classes in all provinces before the Poona Pact was to be. This amendment was however lost by 9 to 14 votes.

#### PRINCIPLE OF FAVOURITISM

Such in brief is the history of communal representation which had taken root in the soil of this country, caste and sect ridden as it is, and grew till it permeated the entire administration and poisoned the public life of India. If the separatist policy fostered by enemies of Indian nationalism is not immediately checked an Indian nationality cannot ever be built up and men here will continue to be grouped according to race; religion or territorial distribution, and not according to those affinities which unite people and enable men of each community to cooperate with those of others in the common interests of the whole community.

The communal decision apart from being unjust to the Hindus in general and to the Hindus provincial minorities in particular is most inequitable and unjust to such minorities as the Sikhs in the Punjab. Although numbering 13 per cent. of the population the Sikhs are responsible for a contribution of 40 per cent. of revenues to the state. The natural majority in members of Moslems in the Punjab has been unalterably fixed by statute at 52 per cent. of the total strength of the legislature. The representation therefore to respective communities has not been granted on any general and acceptable principle, but the principle of favouritism, convenience and accommodation. Besides a minority status has been conceded for the same purpose to groups which normally do not constitute political minorities in the accepted sense.

Bengal fares worse than the Punjab as a result of the communal 'award'. The caste Hindus number 44.8 per cent. of the population contribute 75 per cent. of the total revenue and get 7.8 per cent. less than their due share. The Moslems, on the other hand, form 54.8 per cent. of the population, contribute 25 per cent. of the total revenue and get 55.1 per cent. of representation in the legislature.

Christians form 36 per cent. of the population, get 31 seats in place of one seat to which they are entitled on a population basis.

The system of representation and protection of a minority as followed in the communal 'award' as will be seen is vitiated by a lack of uniformity of principles; is unjust; is most unscientific and is calculated to convert India into a permanent battleground for inter-communal strifes. In the constitutions of the world a political or social minority (e. g. Communist, Brahmins, depressed classes etc.) is not recognised and protection is provided to a minority in language, religion, race, special laws, customs etc. and which takes its stand on its particular cultural characteristics.

Separate communal representation is non-existent in the other parts of the world and in India has intensified inter-communal warfare.

Joint electorate is an unifying agency which required the leaders of different communities to meet each other and discuss various problems affecting national life.

Members of communities in a mixed electorate feel the need of adjusting themselves for the common good.

## A GREAT CANKER

Communalism is a great canker which is eating into the vitals of the body politic. It has been the perpetual stumbling block in the path of national progress, and is to be a sure menace to the working of any constitution based upon the principles of democracy and national unity.

I appeal to all the communities to sink all domestic differences, close up the ranks ; stand together as comrades determined to win freedom and realize our common destiny.

## The Presidential Address

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by the President, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani :—

I thank you for the honour you have done me and the confidence you have reposed in me by asking me to take the chair at this important Conference. I realize my responsibility in the difficult situation in which for no fault of ours we find ourselves placed. Nothing would have been more gratifying to our feelings than if there had been no necessity for such a conference. We all are for national unity and communal concord as ends in themselves not less than as means to the larger end of Swaraj for the Motherland. It would be a libel if any one alleged that we wantonly kept up strife, for we are neither idiots nor traitors. Unfortunately, however, we sometimes hear people talk as if any manifestation on the part of Hindus of a realization of the great position and the legitimate interests of the ancient community, to which it is their pride and then honour to belong, were an unpardonable crime, whereas a demonstration which the like object made by any non-Hindu community—excepting perhaps the Sikhs—was nothing but an intelligible and even commendable expression of patriotism. Among the Hindus an exception is sometimes made of the unfortunately numerous but artificially multiplied section who have come to be known as the depressed classes as thereby it is thought that they can be kept segregated from nationalist influences. The meaning and purpose of the attitude of impatience, suspicion and hostility which is our portion at the hands of persons in authority are not obscure. We know where we stand and what we stand for and mean to adhere to our convictions and our principles, say what ill-wishers will, and we shall carry on the work before us, as we see it, undeterred by the frowns of authority and undismayed by the antics of non-nationalists who vainly think to promote nationalism by declining to fight communalism. Let it not be thought that we hulk ourselves into the self-comforting belief that success is within easy reach of us. No, we are painfully aware of the many and serious obstacles which keep success distant from us and of the hard and weary and thankless effort that is the heavy price that has to be paid for its achievement. Our Conference to-day in this imperial metropolis—I have a prejudice against imperialism in every one of its aspects—is evidence of our determination not to accept settled facts when they remain unsettled questions and not to rest idly content when Duty calls us trumpet-tongued to employ every legitimate means in an unceasing effort to undo wrong and to vindicate justice and nationalism. It is certain that we shall not achieve immediate or easy success. It is probable that long, very long, and harder still will have to be the effort which will be crowned with success. I do not exclude the possibility of ultimate failure. But what is success? A beautiful and meaningful definition of the word is that it is but the name given to the last of a series of failures. Besides, does not success lie in the moral qualities that every effort in a righteous cause never fails to generate and to quicken into action? In any event our Duty is clear and plain, humbly and reverently to bear in mind and to follow the Divine teaching—

## 'COMMUNAL AWARD' A MISNOMER

Ladies and gentlemen, we who are assembled here are delegates to the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference. There is here a misnomer or a terminological inexactitude but the responsibility is not ours, we have loyally copied the error of our rulers! The decision of his Majesty's Government in England against which we protest and which we decline to accept as final is not an arbitral award and therefore does not deserve the name, while it is much more than merely communal.

How could the head of the British Government make an 'award' in his individual capacity? Suppose his colleagues in the Government did not approve of his 'award' how could it be carried into effect? Consultation by him with his colleagues and the approval of his 'award' by majority of them would in any case be a condition precedent of the announcement of his award. The Secretary of State for India is one of those colleagues and he only states his opinion after ascertaining the views of the

Government of India. In a correct view of the constitutional position, my submission is that the Prime Minister of England cannot be an arbitrator on his sole authority and detaching himself from the Government of which he is the head. It might be said that it was open to the other members of the British Government to delegate sole authority to their chief with a promise of unquestioning acceptance of his conclusion. It has not been stated, however, anywhere and by anybody, that this happened. On the contrary every known and ascertainable circumstance points to the probability—so strong as to amount to a certainty—of the 'award' being just a decision taken by the Government on their joint responsibility in the usual manner. In the circumstances, for people to talk as if an arbitrator had been appointed with a promise of unconditional acquiescence in his award and thereafter the engagement had not been kept honourably, is sheer absurdity. In the Minorities sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald used the following language in one of his speeches:—

... and then, if you cannot agree amongst yourselves as to a scheme, we shall have to take into consideration all that you have said and all your points and see how we are going to meet them as abundantly as we possibly can, and yet consistently with a self-governing constitution for India. And, do believe me, my friends, that that distinction is not a distinction merely of words, it is a distinction of substance, a very serious distinction of substance. You cannot have it, not only both ways but half-a-dozen ways.....

It was known to those who heard these words that what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was driving at was that complete separation of electorates for different communities was not consistent with a system of responsible government and that at the worst, at least a portion of the electorate must be joint and open to all electors to vote in and be elected by. And, ladies and gentlemen, you will not have failed to mark the word 'we' uttered three times in the space of less than a minute, meaning thereby the British Government and not himself as an individual arbitrator. It is true that in the Minorities sub-Committee of the Second Round table Conference, Mr. MacDonald offered to arbitrate on condition that representatives of all the communities at the Conference made a request in that behalf without reservation or qualification. But this condition was not fulfilled as was made clear at that very Conference and later, in the Consultative Committee presided over by his Excellency the Viceroy in Delhi. The conclusion of the matter, therefore, is that the part of the proposed constitution which consists of the so-called communal award is as much a decision of the Government as any other part and is fully open to discussion and criticism not less than any other subject comprehended by the White Paper, the Joint Select Committee's Report and the Government of India Bill.

#### WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY ?

There is another argument adduced against us, and not only by Englishmen, which may be answered at this point. Some of our own countrymen have said that having failed in all attempts at an agreed settlement, for which abundant opportunities were given to us, it does not become us to set up as intransigent critics of the decision forced upon the British Government by our mistakes. Let it be noted that these critics do not justify the contents of the decision. They agree with us that it is one-sided and unjust. But they think that agitation against it is useless and unfair at this stage. Some of them go farther and appear to think that it is unwise in addition; somewhat anti-national; something that will have the effect of antagonizing the Muslims: something that will prejudice the chances of the proposals of constitutional reform in England; and for these reasons unpatriotic. Ladies and gentlemen, I disagree with this view, or I should not be on this platform.

Are we so very guilty as is alleged against us? My view of the matter is the same as was put forcibly before the Prime Minister by my noble friend, Raja Narendra Nath, to whom the Hindu community is under a deep obligation for his consistent and courageous advocacy of the cause of justice. "We did not create this problem," said Raja Narendra Nath in effect, "it is of your creation. You brought separate electorates into being against our wishes. You have kept them up. You have extended them. Therefore it is your duty to solve the problem of your creation; to undo the evil you have wrought. Do not fix upon our shoulders the responsibility for what you did in spite of us." I entirely agree with this view of the subject and have no hesitation in inviting you to do likewise.

The literature on the genesis of separate communal electorates has lately received an important addition in the book *India, Minto and Morley*, compiled by the



Countess who was the consort of the Viceroy who was the author of the evil "The Mahomedans were the first to formulate and put forward their aspirations," wrote Lady Minto. In her diary of Oct 1, 1906, the fateful day of the historic deputation headed by his Highness the Aga Khan, she made a long entry from which I quote an extract. (See app I.) Whether the Deputation was spontaneous or suggested, cannot be positively affirmed by me; it should be said, however, that there is a general belief that its father was a high-placed officer of the Government of India. Who that marks the language of Lord Minto's speech can fail to see his lordship's evident satisfaction at receiving a request for a system of election effectually calculated to undo much of the good of the reforms then proposed? Mr. Buchan in his Life of Lord Minto quoted from a letter of Lord Morley's saying that the Muslims were as far as he could go in understanding orientals. The Indian National Congress never approved of the electoral arrangements brought into being under the Councils Act of 1909. The bad system was persisted in, and extended in some provinces to local bodies, and Congress itself so far lost hope of success in undoing the mischief that it compromised with evil in 1916 by giving its consent to the scheme of separate electorates. Mr. Montagu, who became Secretary of State six months later, and Lord Chelmsford did not approve of separate electorates, but did not think that they could go behind the agreement in that behalf between Congress and the Muslim League. Among British officials in India at the time there was no unanimous opinion in favour of the scheme. I myself heard one of them, who has since risen to a very eminent position and but lately retired, say to his colleagues of one of the Montagu committees of 1918, "How can you expect people to whom you give more than they ought to have, themselves to come forward and surrender it? It is not in human nature to do so." What Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford would have proposed, consistently with their published opinion, in the absence of the Congress-League agreement of 1916, is one of the unrecorded secrets of history about which it is useless for us to speculate at this distance of time. The consequences of the Lucknow Pact of that year are a warning which it is not prudence to disregard, of the unwisdom of hasty departures from principle for the sake of seeming and passing gain. Well did the poet and prophet of Indian nationalism say—

If something is sincerely believed to be wrong, to yield on that point for the sake of compromise does not in my opinion make for a lasting peace. Concession to unjust demand and undue advantage, whether personal or communal, is equally a mistaken policy. It only whets one's appetite and makes one clamour for more and in the end we are left just from where we started or the position becomes even worse. The Lucknow Pact was a mistake. No such short cut has the chance of achieving a better result to-day. *Dr. (Kobindranath Tagore)*

I am free to confess, ladies and gentlemen, that a smile, at once incredulous and irreverent, is forced to the lips when one hears solemn asseverations of complete British disinterestedness in the treatment of India's communal problem. Mr. Gokhal once said to me; "He makes a mistake who thinks that India's political struggle is a duel between the British and Indians. It is more of a triangular fight among the British, Hindus and Muslims." He added that Euclid's proposition was not less true in politics than in geometry, that any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. The natural thing would be for Hindus and Muslims to make common cause in the service of their common Motherland. Unfortunately this has not always happened: I will not pause to attempt an apportionment of blame for the regrettable result. And human nature being what it is, the third party, eager to remain their adverse possession, have acted as interest dictated. Every student of Indian politics knows what was said by writers like Sir John Strachey and Sir Lepel Griffin. Lord Elphinstone Governor of Bombay, said more than eighty years ago, "*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours." Mr. Mamsay MacDonald himself, in his unregenerate radical days of publicist—he was not then the nominal head of a tory cylept National Government—called attention, in his *Awakening of India* to the suspicion that sinister influences have been and are at work on the part of the Governments: that Mahomedan leaders have been and are inspired by certain British officials, and that these officials have pulled and will continue to pull wires at Simla and in London and of malice aforethought sow discord between the Mahomedan and Hindu communities by showing to the Mahomedans special favours.

Lord Olivier said after a term of office as Secretary of State:

No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in favour of the Mus-

him community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism.

And, fellow-delegates, how should one receive the following passages in Mr. Granam Wallas' *Human Nature in Politics* —

And if half of what is hinted at by some ultra-imperialist writers and talkers is true, racial and religious antipathy between Hindus and Mahomedans is sometimes welcomed, if not encouraged, by those who feel themselves bound at all costs to maintain our dominant position.

Hindus in particular are sometimes singled out for blame for the failure of the conversations which have been held off and for the several years between spokesmen of the two communities. As a Hindu I do not plead guilty to the charge. When I say this I am not to be understood to mean that never was there a Hindu who could not be more reasonable or temperate and more appreciative of the Muslim point of view than he actually was. It would be strange to the point of unnaturalness if every unit of a vast community were equally instructed and wise. But I venture to say that extreme communalists among Hindus are the exceptions which prove the rule and that on the whole the spokesmen of the Community have shown an appreciation of the larger national point of view in larger measure than some others not belonging to the Hindu community have done. Here you will permit me, ladies and gentlemen, to cite the remarkable vindication of Raja Narendra Nath, to whom I have referred earlier against the charge of being a communalist. Speaking in London in December 1930 under distinguished auspices at an informal committee meeting, our distinguished countryman said in spirited accents (I quote from memory, but I am sure I am correct)—

I am charged with being a communalist. Who am I? I am a minority in my province. And as a minority what do I want? Nothing. Do I want protection in any form? No. Do I want a separate electorate? No. Do I want reservation with or without weightage? I ask for no more than that such artificial aids should not be given to the majority against me. For myself, a minority as I am, I am ready to take my chance in free competition with the majority. It is the majority which has no confidence in itself and wants every manner of communal arrangement. And yet it is praised for its nationalism while I, a minority who wants no protection, am held up as a communalist!

A distinguished Muslim publicist now no more, alleged that it was easy for Hindus as the majority community to pose as nationalists and object to measures of minority protection on nationalist grounds. But I ask, first, whether the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab are the majority community in their respective provinces and whether they have asked for concessions such as minorities elsewhere and majorities in those very provinces have been insisting upon. I ask next whether Hindus where they are the majority have objected to the adequate representation of minorities in those provinces. They have only objected to the division of the electorate into watertight compartments. Have a common register, and reserve for minorities which are large enough and important enough seats in adequate number to ensure not only that they are elected but that may not be a mere negligible factor in the legislature. Let us have joint electorates and I am certain that I can say in the name of you all, fellow-delegates, that weightage to Muslim minorities in provinces shall have our support, as it has had since 1916. I emphasize the word minorities as it is absurd to talk of protection for majorities. On the latter point I have nowhere found the case stated with greater cogency or force than in the Nehru Committee's Report. I would ask you to read the relevant passage printed as app. II to this address.

It may be said that the majority of the Nehru Committee were after all Hindus. Very well. What did the Simon Commission say—the Simon Commission which included no single Hindu but consisted exclusively of Mr. Baldwin's 'God's own Englishmen', with whom some Muslims are fond of an alliance? What did they say?

It would be unfair (they wrote) that Mahomedans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six provinces, and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu and Sikh opposition, a definite Muslim majority in the Punjab and in Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate. We cannot go so far.

I do not speak as a member of the Hindu Mahasabha—rightly or wrongly I have not identified myself with it—and I did not always act with Dr. Moonje or Raja Narendra Nath in London. I speak as a Hindu, a Nationalist and a Liberal, when I say that while I am far from praising the Hindus as skilled negotiators or diplomats

Proceedings of

**The Anti-Communal Award**

and

**The Communal Award Conferences**

# The Anti-Communal Award Conference

## INTRODUCTION

The All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference which met at Delhi in the last week of February deserves more than a passing notice. Of course the Communalist Mussalmans also held their Conference, the proceedings (not quite orderly it will appear) and resolutions of which will be found in this Register. They speak for themselves. As to the Anti-Communalist Conference, we should especially like to refer to some portions of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's presidential speech. We do not excuse ourselves for quoting at some length from that extremely interesting document. Dr. A. C. Sen, the chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech gave a summing up of the Communal position dating from 1909. See page 315. Said Mr. Chintamani—

It is true that in the Minorities sub-Committee of the Second Round Table Conference, Mr MacDonal offered to arbitrate on condition that representatives of all communities at the Conference made a request in that behalf without reservation or qualification. But this condition was not fulfilled as was made clear at the very Conference and later, in the Consultative Committee presided over by his Excellency the Viceroy in Delhi. The conclusion of the matter, therefore, is that the part of the proposed constitution which consists of the so-called Communal Award is as much as decision of the Government as any other part and is fully open to discussion and criticism not less than any other subject comprehended by the White Paper, the Joint Select Committee's Report and the Government of India Bill.

There is another argument adduced against us, and not only by Englishmen, which may be answered at this point. Some of our own countrymen have said that having failed in all attempts at an agreed settlement, for which abundant opportunities were given to us, it does not become us to set up as intransigent critics of the decision forced upon the British Government by our mistakes. Let it be noted that those critics do not justify the contents of the decision. They agree with us that it is one-sided and unjust. But they think that agitation against it is useless and unfair at this stage. Some of them go further and appear to think that it is unwise in addition; somewhat anti-national; something that will have the effect of antagonizing the Muslims: something that will prejudice the chances of the proposals of constitutional reform in England; and for these reasons unpatriotic. Ladies and gentlemen, I disagree with this view, or I should not be on this platform.

Are we so very guilty as is alleged against us? My view of the matter is the same as was put forcibly before the Prime Minister by my noble friend, Raja Narendra Nath, to whom the Hindu community is under a deep obligation for his consistent and courageous advocacy of the cause of justice. "We did not create this problem," said Raja Narendra Nath in effect, "it is of your creation. You brought separate electorates into being against our wishes. You have kept them up. You have extended them. Therefore it is your duty to solve the problem of your creation; to undo the evil you have wrought. Do not fix upon our shoulders the responsibility for what you did in spite of us." I entirely agree with this view of the subject and have no hesitation in inviting you to do likewise.

The speech, also, makes some very interesting disclosures in respect of the process through which communal representation insinuated itself first stealthily and then openly and more and more aggressively, into the favour of the powers that be and practical Indian politics. The extract from Lady Minto's diary is both interesting and instructive reading. Then, we quote at length another passage:

We wish all communities well, we wish all to advance and to prosper, and we want Swaraj for the equal benefit, and the equal satisfaction of the self-respect of all the communities that together make up the great Indian nation. Was the late lamented

Hakim Ajmal Khan a Hindu? I was present when he repudiated with warmth if not scorn the suggestion of some fellow-Muslims that while retaining weightage in other provinces Muslims must have a majority fixed by statute in Bengal and the Punjab. He cried that a proposal so manifestly one-sided and so utterly unreasonable hurt his self-respect as a Muslim and he would openly dissociate himself from it. Why then are the poor Hindus singled out for blame?

The truth as I see it is that all attempts at a settlement failed because of the assurance in the Muslim mind that the British were behind them and they need not yield to the counsels of reason and justice. I ask you to tell me this. If in a suit before a court of law the plaintiff has foreknowledge that the trying judge for any reason is biased in his favour, would he ever come to terms with the defendant? The judge might declare from the bench in all solemnity that the subject matter of the dispute is one eminently fit for settlement out of court, but if the plaintiff has reason to expect a decree with costs in his favour, why on earth should he forego any part of his exaggerated claim? In the present case the British Government encouraged the Muslim deputation of 1906, the Viceroy committed himself against territorial and in favour of communal representation without waiting to hear a word on the other side,—in fact almost without the other party knowing what was happening,—agitation in favour of separate electorates was countenanced when the Secretary of State betrayed unreadiness to allow them, and the Government, in the face of strong adverse agitation committed themselves to the novel pledge that separate electorates would be kept up for as long as the Muslims wanted and would not be abolished except by their leave—as if no non-Muslims had a stake in the country,—and Muslims of Nationalist opinion were kept at arm's length in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference.

Another quotation from the speech of Raja Narendranath delivered in London in December 1930 is well worth reproduction here:

I am charged with being a communalist. Who am I? I am a minority in my province. And as a minority what do I want? Nothing. Do I want protection in any form? No. Do I want a separate electorate? No. Do I want reservation with or without weightage? I ask for no more than that such artificial aids should not be given to the majority against me. For myself, a minority as I am, I am ready to take my chance in free competition with the majority. It is the majority which has no confidence in itself and wants every manner of communal arrangement. And yet it is praised for its nationalism while I, a minority who wants no protection, am held up as a communalist!

The following contention by the President that the Hindu Community, being the majority community, can well afford to pose as nationalists is not justified by the facts, is deserving of note.

A distinguished Muslim publicist now no more, alleged that it was easy for Hindus as the majority community to pose as nationalists and object to measures of minority protection on nationalist grounds. But I ask, first, whether the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab are the majority community in their respective provinces and whether they have asked for concessions such as minorities elsewhere and majorities in those very provinces have been insisting upon. I ask next whether Hindus where they are the majority have objected to the adequate representation of minorities in those provinces. They have only objected to the division of the electorate into watertight compartments. Have a common register, and reserve for minorities which are large enough and important enough seats in adequate number to ensure not only that they are elected but that may not be a mere negligible factor in the legislature. Let us have joint electorates and I am certain that I can say in the name of you all, fellow-delegates, that weightage to Muslim minorities in provinces shall have our support, as it has had since 1916. I emphasize the word minorities as it is absurd to talk of protection for majorities.

The position of Bengal Congressmen re: the so-called Award was made clear by the following reply sent to Mr. Subhas Bose's communication from Genoa—

As regards the Communal Award we maintain there is practically no difference of opinion among the Congressmen in Bengal. Every Congressman considers it anti-national, inequitable and undemocratic and thinks that it should be rejected along with the J. P. C. Report."

Then the following closing observations of the President may be read with interest and profit—

While rejecting the Award none need feel any undue concern about the settlement of the communal problem here. Barring other provinces the solution of this question in Bengal is by no means difficult. The inter-communal difference among the local people is not at all marked. The Hindus, Mussalmans and Indian Christians here all belong to the same Bengali race differing only in religion, having community in language, dress, culture and traditions. Of course, there are communalists who thrive upon artificially creating difference to the denial of lesson of history.

Another word and I finish my observations regarding the Communal Award. It has been already mentioned that no agreed settlement is possible with the Award before us. The Congress also resents the intervention of a third party in what it considers a domestic question. But notwithstanding at the end of February last the Congress President S. Rajendra Prasad entered into an agreement with Mr. Jinnah on the basis of allocation of seats, as in Award. They, no doubt, agreed upon replacing the separate by the system of joint electorate. But the differential franchise that the Rajendra Prasad—Jinnah parleys suggested for the Hindus and Mussalmans with a view to bolster up the number of voters of the latter community, takes away much of the effects of the proposed joint electorate. It was, therefore, that we could not accept those terms. No good can come out of any settlement based on the Award unless it be on the lines of joint electorate, pure and simple, with modifications of other objectionable features of the Award. Consequently any settlement to be really equitable should be based on joint electorate with or without reservations for the minorities alone.

As regards Bengal, it is true that the Mohammedan Community, though in substantial majority, is much behind the Hindus in education, economic position, public spirit and service, and influence. Yet the former constitutes a preponderatingly agricultural and labouring class which fact possesses an importance all its own. It forms a politically and educationally backward community. The Hindus are longer in the "field" and have long been accustomed to dominate it. An well thought-out plan of just and reasonable protection and encouragement should, therefore, be formulated with respect to the "majority" community. But mere members should not be the deciding factor. Other factors should also be taken adequately into consideration. And the minority community should not be sacrificed simply because it has possessed greater fitness and has greater influence so far. Have reservation of seats for the "backward" Community; but separate electorates will produce only harm. The Award has punished the Hindus for the very fact that they are more alive and progressive politically. They have been denied even what is justly their due. (*P. N. Mukhopadhyaya*).

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(or diplomacies, if you will), I utter the deliberate conviction that the Hindus have been and are summed against much more than sinning and that it was not their sinister object at any time to keep down non-Hindus and grab at everything for their sole benefit. If there is a Hindu here or there who harbours such an unneighbourly and antinational thought we do not owe him, we do not apologize for him. Our policy is 'Live and let live.' We wish all communities well, we wish all to advance and to prosper, and we want Swaraj for the equal benefit, and the equal satisfaction of the self-respect of all the communities that together make up the great Indian nation. Was the late lamented Hakim Ajmal Khan a Hindu? I was present when he repudiated with warmth if not scorn the suggestion of some fellow-Muslims that while retaining weightage in other provinces Muslims must have a majority fixed by statute in Bengal and the Punjab. He cried that a proposal so manifestly one-sided and so utterly unreasonable hurt his self-respect as a Muslim and he would openly dissociate himself from it. Why then are the poor Hindus singled out for blame?

The truth as I see it is that all attempts of a settlement failed because of the assurance in the Muslim mind that the British were behind them and they need not yield to the counsels of reason and justice. I ask you to tell me this. If in a suit before a court of law the plaintiff has foreknowledge that the trying judge for any reason is biased in his favour would he ever come to terms with the defendant? The judge might declare from the bench in all solemnity that the subject-matter of the dispute is one eminently fit for settlement out of court, but if the plaintiff has reason to expect a decree with costs in his favour, why on earth should he forego any part of his exaggerated claim? In the present case the British Government encouraged the Muslim deputation of 1906, the Viceroy committed himself against territorial and in favour of communal representation without waiting to hear a word on the other side,—in fact almost without the other party knowing what was happening,—agitation in favour of separate electorates was countenanced when the Secretary of State betrayed unreadiness to allow them, and the Government, in the face of strong adverse agitation committed themselves to the novel pledge that separate electorates would be kept up for as long as the Muslims wanted and would not be abolished except by their leave—as if no non-Muslims had a stake in the country,—and Muslims of Nationalist opinions were kept at arm's length in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. That at least some members of the British Delegation to the Round Table Conference were not completely taken by surprise by the singing of the so-called Minorities Pact at the second Round Table Conference, and in what light it was viewed by their sympathetic selves, was revealed in an extraordinary document that unexpectedly saw the light of day in March 1932, much to the embarrassment of Sir Edward Benthall and equally to the disgust of Sir Samuel Hoare. No, gentlemen, whatever mistakes of tactics some Hindu members of the Round Table Conference might have made, it is idle to blame the spokesmen of the community, as a whole of the absence of a agreed settlement.

One more proof is here of the injustice of making a scapegoat of Hindu leaders for the misfortune. Our great and revered leader Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya dedicated the best part of two whole months at Allahabad to an Unity Conference where it was hoped to reach a settlement which might replace the so-called award. As I happened to be among those who took a small part in the deliberations, I can testify to the extreme—yes, extreme, no smaller word will be an exact characterization—anxiety shown by Malaviyaji and the venerable President, the octogenarian Vijayaraghavachariar—to accommodate Muslims in every possible manner and to the furthest possible extent. An agreement was all but reached, the only unsettled point left being the quantum of representation of the communities in Bengal. Two of the points settled were that Muslims should be allowed 32 per cent. of British Indian representation in the Central legislature and that Sind should be made a Governor's Province on certain terms to which the Hindu minority agreed and without a subsidy from central revenues. Forthwith the Secretary of State announced at the third Round Table Conference—a feeble caricature of the first two Conferences that his Majesty's Government had decided that Muslims would be allowed 33 and one third of British Indian seats in the central legislature and that Sind would be a separate Governor's Province financed by central revenues to the extent that might be necessary. The effect of the publication of this in India was instantaneous and in its way miraculous. The Unity Conference immediately broke up, as the beneficiary had no use left for it. I hold, ladies and gentlemen, tenaciously to two convictions on this subject.

1. The Hindu community should, and as a Hindu I do decline to accept the responsibility for the settlement of the communal problem, for as long as there is a third party in the field in a position of authority.

11. I do not accept the settlement of the communal problem as a condition precedent to Self-Government for India.

It may indeed be, as was said by Swami Sraddhanand, that Hindu-Muslim unity will be the result and not the cause of Swaraj.

That minorities have rights as majorities have duties is indisputable. Majorities ought to be not merely strictly just, they should be generous; and not in a patronizing spirit of charity but in the spirit of fellowship, of patriotism, yes, out of an enlightened sense of self-interest. They should leave nothing undone to win the confidence of minorities and to produce in their minds a sense of security. The self-respect and the susceptibilities of minorities ought to be regarded not less than their material interests. The minorities on their part, including the Hindus and Sikhs of Bengal and the Punjab, should make up their minds that they are minorities and ought not to aspire to dominate over the majority, sometimes with powerful aid from third parties. Mr. Augustine Birrell wrote that while it was hard to be oppressed by a majority it was worse to be oppressed by a minority. In the United Provinces, the heart of Hindustan which has given India the revered Malaviya, the Hindus are 86 per cent. of the population and yet, during fourteen years they have been allowed to supply one Home Member for two years while the Muslim minority of 14 per cent. have been privileged to supply three Home Members for twelve years and an Acting Governor. Have the much larger Hindu minorities been accorded a comparable position in Bengal or the Punjab? How have the Hindus of my province, notably of the Kshetra of Prayag (the city of Allahabad) fared—how have they been treated by the Government and the Muslims—during the whole of the last decade in respect of the celebrated Ramkila of that place? We never can be parties to an *imperium in imperio*, a state within a state, a subordinate domination. What have and what have not been recognized as legitimate rights of minorities in the post-war states of Europe? From a few passages relevant to this, which I affix to this address (app. III), you will see that nowhere has the wit of statesman or diplomat or politician conceived the many and very ingenious devices which have been pitchforked into our unconstitutional constitution on the plea of protection of minority interests.

On this same point I may further invite your attention to the observations of Prof. Sidgwick on class and minority representation (see app. IV). You will not see in his suggestions even a distant approach to our separate electorates.

Before leaving this I will once more mention Raja Narendra Nath and recite for your information a question put by him to the Prime Minister in December 1930. "Prime Minister," he said, "please for my sake study again the minority clauses of the post-war constitutions of Europe and tell me if anywhere the form which minority protection has taken is to reduce it to a smaller minority in the legislature. If you can find an instance I shall be ready to reconsider my attitude on the representation to be allowed to the Hindu minority of the Punjab". My noble friend will tell us if his request was acceded to and if he has since heard from his right hon. friend.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE "AWARD"

I will now state, although not by any means for the first time (you will pardon repetition, which you will recognize is inevitable at this time of day), categorically, my objections to the communal 'award'.

1. While the problem that had to be solved was that of minorities, the 'award' concerned itself with the protection of majorities in Bengal, the Punjab, the Frontier Province and Sind. As stated before, the Hindu and Sikh minorities did not ask for 'protection' provided the majority was not artificially propped up. Thus in its strictly communal aspect the 'award' was less for minorities as such than for Muslims whether a minority or a majority, and, for Europeans in several provinces, notably Bengal.

2. It is christened communal award, but it is in fact an award to women, and to interests and functions as well—to commerce, trade, industries, planters, labour, landlords, universities. Aye, to British and to Indian commercial bodies separately and with sub-divisions, as well as to women Muslim and women Hindu in separate compartments.

3. The question of second chambers in provinces—which by the way, are my pet abomination in a constitution such as is going to be imposed upon our unwanted and unoffending selves—was prejudged for the sake of a nicely calculated assignment of seats to favoured communities.

4. The Government's apology for the continued maintenance of separate electorates is that they are under a pledge, which as honourable men they must respect in all



circumstances I quite understand, fellow-delegates, that not only Caesar's wife but Caesar himself ought to be above suspicion. And of course a pledge given in suspicious circumstances and without previous sanction of higher authority by a Viceroy on his own responsibility is more sacrosanct than repeated declarations of Viceroys and Secretaries of State and Prime Ministers and the Sovereign himself that India shall have Dominion Status. But where was the pledge that separate electorates would be extended to provinces and communities and sexes and interests from time to time? Are they an evil to be got rid of as best as may be or a blessing to be extended and perpetuated? The Prime Minister's speeches indicated that they were the former, his 'award' points in the opposite direction. Doubtless, that is the reason for their extension to women, and to Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians where they are not at present.

5. The plea of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in 1918 for acting against their better judgment and maintaining separate electorates which they condemned as being incompatible with responsible government, was that they were bound to respect a solemn agreement between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. There has since been no agreement between them or between the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha or among the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh delegates to any of the Round Table Conferences, that the Pact of 1916 should be varied. Nor were Hindus and Sikhs parties to the Minorities Pact of the second Round Table Conference. Their own exclusively British Statutory Commission recommended that the agreement should not be disturbed except by consent. The Government of India in their dispatch on the Commission's Report took a similar view. Why then has a different line been taken in the arbitral 'award'? Indeed it is the apotheosis of impartiality!

6. Hindus have been compensated for the enforced sacrifice of substance by being complimented—if only by implication—for their non-communal nationalism by their electorates being classed as 'general'. This has been done both where they are a majority and where they are a minority. But in this world of sordid materialism a price has to be paid for even a doubtful compliment, and it has been exacted from them. It is that non-Hindus who cannot be dovetailed into a separate electorate with weightage thrown in are included in the general electorates and to that extent Hindus as such are the losers. The Parsi community in Bombay are large enough as well as important enough to be ignored. But they are too enlightened and too patriotic to care for separate electorates and they had not the worldly wisdom to put their signatures to the London Minorities Pact of 1931. Therefore they are with Hindus in the so-called general or what may more correctly be described as the miscellaneous or the odds and ends or the *et cetera* electorate.

7. In view of the Poona Pact concluded in haste and under the shadow of an imminent national calamity of the first magnitude I tread on delicate ground when I speak of the arrangements for the representation of the so-called depressed classes. But I am uncommitted and am free to repeat what I have said elsewhere, that it aggravates the unfairness of the Premier's award. I have always been in favour of reservation of seats for them in the general electorates and still am. But no more. The Hindus of Bengal in particular have been hit hard by the double injustice, I deeply sympathize with them.

8. I can hardly speak with patience of the reservation of seats in separate electorates for majority communities as in Bengal, the Punjab, the Frontier Province and Sind. I condemn the arrangement without reservation or qualification and with emphasis.

9. The treatment accorded to the Hindus of the Punjab is a very peculiar form of protection of minorities which is the ostensible and avowed object of the 'award'. Proportionately they will be a smaller minority in the legislature than in the province. I have not yet come across a serious defence of this grave injustice.

10. With very few individual exceptions women throughout India and every one of their organisations pressed hard and prayed earnestly to be saved from communal electorates. Their prayer has been chivalrously rejected and in spite of themselves they are to be drawn into the muddy whirlpool of communal controversies. Poor as I am I shall beg or borrow—I would not go so far as to steal—and award a prize to the research student who will discover what pledge of the past has had to be honoured in this manner.

11. With one accord of heart and mind Indian India has cried out against the ridiculously excessive representation accorded to Europeans in Bengal. I have merely to say ditto.

## PRIME MINISTER'S HOPE AND APPEAL

In commending this unprecedented 'award' to Indians, the arbitrator uttered a hope and addressed an appeal. To his right hon mind the scheme is "a fair and honest attempt to hold the balance between conflicting claims". For the best part of two and half years India has demonstrated how 'fair it is' I will say nothing about its honesty. And speaking in his capacity not of arbitrator but of head of his Majesty's Government in England and on their behalf, the Prime Minister uttered this hope :

...but we believe that in the end consideration of Indian needs will prevail and all communities will see that their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

My double comment on this hope is brief. (1) John Bright said in the House of Commons that England accorded to Indians complete equality with Britons on one condition, that the Indian must be at least 8 ft 6 in. in height. (2) The Communal 'award' is worthy of the new constitution as the new constitution is worthy of the communal award. We can do without them. We pray to be saved from both. Well may we exclaim, You may dissemble your love but why do you kick us downstairs ?

Fellow-delegates, I have concluded my observations on the 'communal award'. I regret more than I can tell that a scheme of constitution as unsatisfactory as the Joint Select Committee's Report embodies, is being forced upon a people who are utterly dissatisfied with it and at the present inauspicious moment, ask for no more than to be left alone. I am equally sorry that that constitution includes this 'communal award' for which I for one have no good word to say. As things are we are powerless to make our will prevail. We are even subject to such vicissitudes as the members of a great organisation which calls itself national abstaining from voting in the principal legislative body of the country on the merits of the 'award'. Verily, gentlemen, nations get the government they deserve. This was Mr. Hume's constant refrain. Perhaps, too, they get the Congress they deserve.

One thing is certain. However anybody may shape his conduct, our duty is plain. It calls insistently and I hope you will prove that it does not call us in vain. Even in circumstances the most depressing inaction must be condemned. I have referred to the great founder of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Hume did me the honour of writing to me in his last years and he gave me as a young man this advice: "Honest work unselfishly done never fails in the long run." I profoundly believe in this. Let the run be as long as it may, righteousness alone will triumph. Therefore, our duty is to work, work, work. It was the gospel of work which the Grand Old Man of India was never weary of preaching. "Work here, rest elsewhere" was his own motto, the great Dadabhai Naoroji's. To be daunted by fear of defeat and to retreat from the scene of action is indeed to betray a lack of faith in the teachings of our religion. And shall we, fellow-delegates, we who meet under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, dishonour him and show ourselves unworthy of him by hesitating instead of rendering active service ? I pray God, No. Assembled in the vicinity of Dharmakshetra called Kurukshetra, let us resolve to be reverently obedient, honestly to the best of our poor capacities, to the immortal teaching of God Sri Krishna, and always try to do our Duty without hate and without desire, and always seek for opportunities to serve with love.

## Resolutions—Second Day—24th. February 1935

## CONDEMNATION OF COMMUNAL AWARD

Fighting speeches marked the proceedings of the second day's session of the Conference when resolutions were discussed. The pandal unlike yesterday was packed to suffocation and many prominent persons were also present.

*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya* moved the first resolution condemning the Communal 'Award', which was as follows :—

"Resolved that this second session of the All-India Anti-Communal 'Award' Conference condemns without reservation or qualification the so-called Communal 'Award' as being grossly unjust (to the Hindus and the Sikhs particularly) as making for increased communal discord, as being anti-national and undemocratic, and as rendering it very difficult for the legislature to function on non-communal lines for the amelioration of the condition of the people as a whole as well as because it will have the effect of strengthening British domination over India."

*Pandit Malaviya* said that the 'award' would not help any community except Europeans and would not allow the tree of true self-government, catching roots.

They must, therefore, make a grim determination of forcing it into the same fate as the Rowlatt Act. Their efforts, which had been crowned with success at Allahabad, were frustrated by the Secretary of State. The speaker declared that if only Indians were allowed to govern India under a joint electorate system, there would not remain a single member of the depressed classes and the economic condition of everybody would improve by leaps and bounds. He emotionally contrasted the conditions of India with foreign powers, especially Japan, and said that while during the last 25 years Japan had built up a huge trade and industry and ships, India had gone down under foreign domination.

Twenty-four persons spoke condemning the 'award' in the strongest terms and some of them urging Pandit Malaviya to lead a strong movement for getting the 'award' annulled.

*Ghyana Sher Singh* said that the Punjab was the home of the Sikhs and they were determined to get an effective voice for themselves in the Government of the Punjab at any sacrifice.

*Maulvi Abhus Samad*, (Bengal) supporting the resolution, said that by the 'award' the British Government had now secured a division in the Hindu and Muslim communities and the day was not far off when even the Mussulman community would be thus divided in several sections.

*Mr. Abdul Ajid Khan* (Lahore) declared that the communal electorates would not help the Muslim community economically in the least. They had created in the community a body who were exploiting Mussulmans and were helping the bureaucracy and themselves.

*Pandit Nanak Chand* was shouted down by the audience when he attacked the Congress for keeping silent on the question of the communal 'award'.

After nearly three and a half hours' discussion the resolution was passed unanimously.

#### WITHDRAWAL OF INDIA BILL URGED

*Dr. R. K. Mukherjee* moved the second resolution urging the withdrawal of the Government of India Bill which is as follows :—

"Resolved that this Conference is firmly of opinion that the Government of India Bill is full of provisions, including the so-called communal 'award', injurious to Indian interests and obnoxious to Indian opinion and should, therefore, be withdrawn."

*Dr. Mukherjee* said that this monster stood on three legs—Federation, adulterated responsibility and safeguards and was bound to fall sooner or later.

*Mr. Amar Singh* said that if this Bill was not withdrawn they would be compelled to do that which they did for stopping the separation of Bengal and for putting the Rowlatt Act in the waste basket.

*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai* said that the Bill was most mischievous as it contained a provision for the separation of Sind which was being done for placating certain individuals and bringing disruption among the Hindus and the Muslims.

Supporting the resolution, *Mr. K. S. Subramanyam* said that he was himself a Congress man and remarked that the Congressmen had not done their duty in not rejecting the 'award' in the Assembly. He asked whether the Congress men had not had a difference of opinion on other vital matters and whether they had not expressed their definite opinion thereon and then why they were neutral on this point.

A few others spoke and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The Conference then passed the third and last resolution.

#### AGITATION AGAINST AWARD

This Conference appoints a committee consisting of the following persons (with power to add to their number) to take steps in cooperation with other associations with similar objects to carry on an active agitation against the communal 'award' as well as the Government of India Bill as a whole.

The names of *Mr. C. Y. Chintamani*, President, *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*, chairman, *Mr. M. S. Anand*, secretary, *Dr. Tagore*, *Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee*, *Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee*, *Raja Narendranath*, *Dr. Moonje*, *Bhai Paramanand*, *Mr. Abdus Samad*, *Mr. Abdul Majid*, *Giani Sher Singh*, *Sardar Tara Singh*, *Sardar Sant Singh*, *Sardar Mangal Singh*, *Mr. A. C. Sen*, *Mr. K. K. Malaviya*, *Mr. Brijendra Sarup*, *Mr. Navalrai*, *Kumar Gangadad Singh*, *Mr. Jagatnaran Lal*, *Mr. Mathumal*, *Mr. Hitesh Chandra Chakravarty*, *Mr. J. C. Gupta*, *Sardar Amar Singh*, *Mr. Govind Pradhan*, *Mr. S. B. Tambo*, *Mr. N. C. Kelkar*, *Raja Sir Rampal Singh*, *Pandit Thakurdas*, *Mr. Narasinghmarain Singh*, *Mr. B. K. Bari*, *Mr. V. Naidu*, *Mr. J. N. Basu*, *Mr. Surendranath Malik*, *Pandit Gauri Shankar Misra*, *Srimati Shanodevi* and *Mr. Faqr Chand*.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. Aney and seconded by Mathumal.

Mr. *Beharilal*, supporting it, thought that it was the most important resolution. The work of the foundation which was laid by Pandit Malaviya was strengthened by Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee and Mr. Chintamani, but a building still remained to be erected for which an agitation should be continued.

Mr. *Harihar Swarup* said that the Mahabharat was fought and won under Madan Mohan (Lord Krishna) and now they also would fight and win under Madan Mohan (Malaviya).

Pandit Malaviya remarked : "Do not preach war but preach peace"

In conclusion Dr. A. C. Sen, chairman of the reception committee, thanking the president and the delegates said that the gathering had been unprecedented, momentous and unique and the president dissected the 'award' very skillfully. As for Pandit Malaviya, he said that he had been a beaconlight in showing the way to his countrymen. He bade a regretful farewell.

Declaring the conference closed, Mr. *Chintamani* paid grateful thanks to the revered leader, Malaviya, on whom the success of the conference was mainly due. He took for granted that the Conference was a great success and believed that its meaning would not be lost on the British Government of India and England that the 'award' had the support of no community in India which, he described, was not a blessing but a curse, and which should either be withdrawn or the Government would have to regret. Mr. Chintamani assumed that the anti-communal 'award' leagues would cooperate with the above committee. The speaker believed that an agreed settlement would be the best solution, but if an agreement was not arrived at the 'award' was no corollary to be thrust down their throats. The Hindus were ever ready to discuss the terms of a settlement, which, if not reached, responsibility would be not theirs.

## The Communal Award Conference

### Opening Day—New Delhi—24th. March 1935

Pandemonium prevailed in the All-India Communal Award Conference held on the 24th. March 1935 in the Arabic College Hall, New Delhi under the presidency of the *Nawab of Dacca*, when a section of Muslims took strong objection to the words of Sir Mahomed Yakub who, while supporting the first resolution of the day referred to the speech of one of his predecessors wherein he had wanted the total rejection of the Communal Award and said that it was unfortunate that, whenever Muslims held such vital conferences, certain hirelings attempted to create trouble just to show that there existed vast differences amongst Muslims.

The situation became worse, when an official of the Conference warned the same person and after exchange of words attempted to turn him out. Chairs were hurled in the subsequent melee and some persons were turned out bodily. Better counsels prevailed in the end and those concerned cleared their respective positions and expressed regret and embraced each other.

#### President's Address

The President in his address said :

"The Communal Award is not the making of Machiavellian foreign Government, but is the direct outcome of aggressive communalism of a section the majority of which have engendered deep distrust and acute apprehensions in the minds of minorities".

Continuing, he said that the Conference had not been of their own seeking. It had been rather thrust upon them by such friends as Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and others. Muslims had become thoroughly self-conscious. They were ready to make any sacrifice for justice and would not accept the position of serfdom and subjection in self-governing India, lying down. They could not allow the freedom and the unity of India to mean in practice political subjection, economic exploitation and cultural submersion of eighty million Indian Mussalmans. The position of Muslims under the Award, he said, was not at all what they had been demanding. The Award fell far short of their just rights. But they were no dreamers of dreams. They were ready to work the reforms based on the Award with the best of intentions and commended the same policy to the Hindus.

The President criticised at length the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha which group he described as very unsympathetic, unreasonable and uncompromising, holding them responsible for the failure of the Rajendra Prasad Jinnah peace parleys and the Unity plans both in India and England. He outlined a programme of work for national unity and pleaded for the education of the masses and organisation of inter-communal leagues for the betterment and social uplift of the masses.

Referring to the proposed Hindu Sikh deputation to England for fighting against the Award, the Nawab warned that the move would further alienate the minorities and make an agreement next to impossible.

*Khan Sahib Mahomed Siddiq Multani*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, asserted that the Award could not be repealed by either pilgrimage to London or by agitation in India. It could only be unsettled by mutual agreement. He said that during the last twenty years, the majority had resisted to the utmost the just rights of the minorities and when the latter secured a portion of their just demands, the former were holding Conferences and leading deputations.

### Discussion of Resolutions

Proposing the Nawab of Dacca to the chair, *Maulana Shaukat Ali* regretted that Pandit Malaviya, who should have made efforts for unity, had arranged the Anti-Award Conference. On the one hand, he wanted freedom, while, on the other, he was going to London to beg. The speaker held that Dr. Moonje was responsible for to-day's Conference.

*Mr. Shafi Daudi* proposed the following resolution: "This Conference, which is representative of the Mussalmans in the whole of India, declares its considered opinion that the Award so far as it goes is a corner-stone of gigantic constitutional machinery upon which any future Government of India may be based without which no genuine representative Government can be safely established in India".

*Mr. Shafi Daudi* congratulated the Congress for rightly understanding the communal position and passing a resolution at Patna not interfering with the communal question, unless it was mutually settled. The Congress now realised that they must do constructive work and it was an auspicious augury that they were working side by side with Mussalmans. *Mr. Fazal Haq* seconded the resolution.

*Mahomed Samiullah* pleaded for the complete rejection of the Award, since justice was not done to the Punjab and Bengal Muslims, while Baluchistan was not constituted into a separate province. It neither contained Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points, nor the decision of the Muslim Conference held under the presidency of the Aga Khan.

*Mr. Yamin Khan* tried to remove the previous speaker's misapprehensions by saying that it was a matter of reciprocity. While they got less proportionate representation in the Punjab and Bengal, they had more than their due in other provinces. He wondered, when Mr. Gandhi fasted for the settlement of the Depressed Class question why should he not do so for the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity which was a more vital question.

*Mr. Abdul Wahab* opposed the Award since it neither removed unemployment, nor ameliorated the peasants' plight.

*Sir Mahomed Yakub* who, while supporting resolution, attacked his predecessors who pleaded for the rejection of the Award and said that some hirelings always attempted to create trouble to show that vast differences existed amongst the Muslims.

A loud uproar was raised and hot words were exchanged. There was pandemonium for over a quarter of an hour and subsequent speakers were continually heckled.

*Mr. Azmatullah*, opposing the resolution, said that they with a small group of Muslims sitting in the Arabic Hall thought that the entire Muslim community was with them.

The President warned the speakers that they had to keep in view the issue under consideration and not indulge in attacks and counter-attacks. *Mr. Azmatullah* was continuing his speech, when *Haji Rashid Ahmed*, Secretary of the Conference went to *Abdul Wahab Usman* and warned him not to cause a disturbance. This resulted in an uproar, when *Mr. Rashid Ahmed* attempted to remove *Mr. Abdul Wahab* from the chair. Great confusion prevailed in which chairs were hurled and two or three persons were removed bodily from the hall.

Closing the debate *Mr. Shafi Daudi* said that the unemployment and the sad plight of the masses were due to the Hindu-Muslim disunity and the acceptance of the Award was laying the foundation-stone of unity.

One from the audience wanted to move an amendment, but it was objected to on the ground that it was unconstitutional to move it when the debate was being closed.

On his treat that if the amendment was disallowed, his party would walk out, he was allowed to speak and ultimately Mr *Shafi Daud* withdrew his resolution and the amendment was adopted unanimously.

Mr. *A. H. Ghaznavi*, moving the second resolution, said that some communal-minded Hindus were carrying on agitation against the Muslims in England which was unfair. Muslims always advocated mutual settlement. In December 1930, a settlement was practically reached, but a Sikh leader would not affix his signature on that fateful night for one seat. He (the Sikh leader) would not accept one seat offered by the Premier from the Depressed Classes' quota. He wanted "a pound of flesh from the Muslims".

Mr. *Ahamed Abdulla Haroon Jaffer* supported the resolution which was carried unanimously.

Mr. *Mirza Abdula Qadir Beg* proposing the third resolution appealed to the Muslims to carry such propaganda as would sink down Pandit Malaviya's and the Maha Sabhaites' voices. "When dogs run mad, you shoot them. You should at least choke the threats of these so-called Hindu leaders by your counter-agitation."

Mr. *Ghulam Nizamuddin* seconded and Mr. *Azmatullah* who had been turned out earlier in the day also supported the resolution which was unanimously carried.

Mr. *Samiullah* also re-entered the Hall and apologised. He embraced Haji Rashid Ahmed and thus everything terminated amicably.

### Text of Resolutions

The following resolutions were adopted :—

(1) This Conference is of opinion that the opinion that the Award falls short of legitimate demands of Indian Muslims but in view of the fact that there is no better agreed scheme before the country the Muslim community is determined to accept and work it as far as it goes and so long as there is no other agreed settlement of communal problem.

(2) This Conference strongly protests against the unjust hostile and unreasonable attitude of a section of British politicians, fortunately small towards the legitimate political safeguards demanded by Indian Muslims. It further opines that such expressions of anti-Muslim feelings will exasperate the Muslims, impair the trust of Muslims in British statesmanship and hamper the growth of genuine Indian unity and political settlement.

(3) (a) The Conference condemns in strongest terms the activities of the sponsors of anti-Award movement, a movement which is calculated to create bitterness among the communities and would result in a set back of the political progress of the country. (b) This Conference particularly deplores the holding of Anti-Award Conference in Delhi and the decision to send a deputation to London headed by Pandit Malaviya to agitate against the Award and hereby requests Messrs Jinnah, K. I. Ganba and other responsible Muslim leaders of India who happen to be in England this summer to do all in their power to counteract and expose the mischievous propaganda.

**Proceedings of**  
**The-All India Hindu Mahasabha**  
**The Bengal Hindu Conference**  
**The Depressed Classes Conferences**  
**The National Sikh Conference**  
**and the**  
**Provincial Political Confererces**

# The All-India Hindu Mahasabha

## Introduction

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha held its sixth session at Cawnpore. The most vital issue was, of course, the so-called Communal Award. Both the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Rev. Ottama, who presided over the session, were very outspoken on the mischievous nature of the Award, the sinister motives which are generally believed to be behind this "Machiavelian policy" (as the *Times of India* puts it), and the need of an united and persistent effort being made by the whole of Hindu India to get the Award buried, decently if possible. On page 333, will be found the Resolution of the Mahasabha on the Communal Award. It condemns the Congress official attitude of neutrality.

The contention that Mr. MacDonald's decision on the Communal problem in India is sacrosanct being in the nature of an arbitral Award has been rebutted in the most effective manner by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir N. N. Sircar, Dr B. S. Moonje, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Bhai Paramanand and Sri Ramananda Chatterjee by reference to relevant proceedings of the Round Table Conference in London and the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference at New Delhi.

As regards the right of the Parliament to frame a constitution for India, we should like to draw attention to the speech of Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, which while dismissing (there being "no earthly chance") the contemplated Constituent Assembly for evolving an agreed constitution for India as not being a practical proposition, would pin our faith down to the Queen's Proclamation—the Great Magna Charta of India, as the old stalwarts loved to say in season and out of season—and confront our august Sovereign with it on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee. "There was more in the heaven and earth of the Proclamation than many of us could dream of".....said Mr. Achariar in effect. He cited as witness an Englishman, who was for thirty years in India, that "Englishmen, both civil and military, cursed the proclamation and hated it in their heart of hearts." We shall say nothing on Mr. Achariar's articles of political faith. We shall only say this—that an agreed Indian constitution that shall not miscarry will not be born so long as an instrument on the lines of the Constituent Assembly cannot be forged into being. It is certainly not being nursed on the lap of the gods and shall not one day drop in our midst hailed as a boon from heaven. We ourselves shall have to evolve the instrument whatever the cost, and decide the issue whatever be the time required for it.

On the programme of the Mahasabha, we have to make the same observations as we made with reference to the Congress. Its organising and constructive programme must take the first place in its deliberations and plans. At present its contact with the vital batteries of Hindu India is but slightly and weakly established. It is not in living, effective touch with the 250 millions in the name of which it speaks and acts.



Our humble suggestions as to the programme to be followed with advantage are briefly these :—

(1) The Mahasabha has rightly laid stress on the truth that the great Hindu Community can best earn the respect and consideration and justice which are its due only by developing and showing its innate strength. But what are the real sources of its strength and how to utilise them to the best advantage? It should, therefore, bestow its most earnest thought to what really constitutes its *forte* and what its *foible*—what really made Hindu civilisation the great and beneficent power that it was during thousands of years; what makes it a power of wonderful vitality, resistance and adaptability still; and what factors have contributed to the weakening of this power, especially in the economic and political fields. Needless to say that this is not a mere academic enquiry which one may undertake after the day's work has been done. No vital and lastingly fruitful work is possible without the knowledge of the background of actual conditions as represented by our special history and the Genius of the people working through it. The *art* of the Hindu Mahasabha will require its *science*. Otherwise the so-called art or practice will only confound. The leaders and workers should, accordingly, initiate themselves into the science and master it. They will have to be like the Rishis, Sages and Bratacharins of old.

(2) Leaving aside their "superiority complex", they should try to establish a vital rapprochement, based on knowledge, understanding and sympathy, with the conservative and "Sanatanist" India—which is still, preponderatingly, the Reality that India is. The "progressive" elements should eschew the job of trying to rouse and brace up the "sleeping lion" by what we have elsewhere called nasal feeding. The relation should be one of mutual understanding and co-operation. The Mahasabha should not be, exclusively or preponderatingly, an organisation of the "progressive elements". Its scope should be as wide and catholic as possible. Its creed should be broad and catholic like true Hinduism itself.

(3) Which does not mean that it should pursue a "milk and water" or "neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring" policy. Any persuasion, within the fold, progressive or sanatanist, must be encouraged to show itself to its best advantage:

The Mahasabha edifice should not be based on the ignoring or suppressing of some elements, but upon the strength and unhampered growth of all.

(4) Political obsession is the bane of modern movements. Practically every move is so designed and managed as to suit political ends. Now, political ends may be good; but it does not follow that they are the only ends that are good or that they are the best or supreme. They have their rightful place in a scheme of human ends or values. Politics, apart from such broader values, may degenerate into special propaganda, exploitation, faction, oliguism and coercion. These have to be guarded against. There is a lurking suspicion in the mind of the vast and apparently unorganised conservative sections of the people that the Hindu Mahasabha, in some matters, may be speaking in the name of the people without earning the fullest right to speak on their behalf and as their accredited mouthpiece; that, in some cases, it may

be exploiting the seeming silence or apparent stolidity of the people for furthering their political, social or religious reform purposes. This suspicion may be well-grounded or not. But the basis for it, real or imagined, should be permitted to exist. The Hindu Mahasabha should not only be, but actually persuade the great Hindu Community, conservative or liberal, that it is its true friend in need and deed. It should not seek to foist or impose its own views or programmes on the Hindu Community. A common, forceful programme should be permitted to be evolved out of mutual understanding, sympathy, appreciation and trust. There is no short cut to Hindu solidarity and Hindu revival.

(5) The Mahasabha should evolve into being a truly national system of mass education—on national lines and under national control. It should have its own organs and instruments of mass enlightenment and mass appreciation.

(6) It should establish vital contact, through actual service, with the masses including the Harijans. The contact should be at every vital point. Which means that the Mahasabha must have its centres of work (mainly service) in every village. As regards untouchability, it should primarily try to establish heart-touch and soul-touch which is more than anything essential. The work should be less showy and more substantial. Cultural and economic uplift of the Harijans is *the* thing. But remember that the Harijans have still a sound and noble culture of their own fostered by generations of Nanak, Kavir, Tulsidas, Tukaram and Sri Chaitanya. This culture should be fostered by every means. Economic uplift, again, should mean a clean, decent and independent living and not an artificially inflated standard of living involving many outlandish inutilities and futilities, as in the middle and upper classes.

(7) With other communities its relation should be one of good-will based upon a feeling of its own strength and goodness.

(8) Its politics should not be of the weak-kneed kind. It should be self-reliant, though not discarding sincere outside help.

(9) It should preserve and promote the best and most vital features and factors involved in the Hindu Type.

(10) Generally, it should maintain its live wire connections with all the dynamism of the Indo-Aryan Being as Power. ( *P. N. Mukhopadhyaya* ).

# The All-India Hindu Mahasabha

16th. Session—Cawnpore—20th. to 22nd. April 1935

## THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The sixteenth annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held at Cawnpore on the 20th April 1935 under the presidency of *Rev. Ottama Bhikkhu*.

Welcome song by women volunteers from Baroda in picturesque uniforms and the chanting of Buddhist prayers formed the preliminary ceremony. The presence of a fairly large number of Burmese and Japanese Monks in yellow robes, added a distinct oriental touch to the meeting.

About 5,000 delegates including Raja Narendra Nath, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Bhai Paramanand, Messrs. C. V. Vaidya, Chatur, Ramchand Chatterjee, Sanat Kumar Chaudhuri, the Raja of Tuwa, Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das and Mr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee were present on the day. More than 5,000 people attended the session as visitors.

Mr. *Burjendra Swarup*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his address, strongly criticised the Government's policy in separating Burma from India and said that the two countries were bound by traditional ties, being inheritors of a common religious culture. Grievous injury would, therefore, be inflicted on the people both of Burma and India when the scheme of operation was effected.

Mr. Swarup next attacked the Communal Award and said that the Hindu opinion could never be reconciled to it. The negotiations that were being carried on between the President of the Congress and Mr. M. A. Jinnah had not yet borne fruit but if the negotiations were carried on in a bargaining spirit, he, for one, would not support them. The best solution of the communal problem lay in the Hindus properly organising themselves and raising a united voice to protect their rights. That organisation could only be possible when Hindu society purged itself of inherent impurity by dealing equal justice to all castes. Their treatment of the Depressed classes was far from satisfactory and the consolidation of Hindu society was not possible so long as Hindus did not revise their opinion about the rights of lower castes.

Referring to the vexed question of music before mosque, Mr. Swarup said that Hindus did not seek favored treatment at the expense of other communities. They only wanted that the Government should hold the scales even and meet the situation with fairness and justice. It was often found that Muslims engaged in prayers in mosques were not disturbed by any other kind of noise except by noise produced by Hindu music. Authorities were always in fear of wounding the religious feelings of Muslims but they never cared about hurting Hindu sentiment in stopping music before mosques. Emboldened by the Government's indulgence, Muslims had put forward a new demand that any person sitting or lying at a place close to the street through which a Mohurram procession passed should stand up in respect. This was a perverse demand and carried with it its own condemnation.

The speaker appealed to Hindus to remove the grievances of Jains in the matter of taking out processions. Hindus and Jains were members of the same community and they must be tolerant of each other's religious susceptibilities.

In conclusion, the speaker asked Hindus to sink their domestic differences and unify the divergent forces working in Hindu society, in order to protect their rights and win, in collaboration with other communities, freedom for Aryavartna.

Mr. Swarup then proposed *Rev. Ottama* to the chair.

## Presidential Address

*Rev. Ottama* took the chair and delivered his presidential address. In the course of his speech he said :—

The Hindu Mahasabha owed its origin to the far-seeing statesmanship and constructive genius of that illustrious son of Mother India, I mean Swami Sathyanand, and during the short period of its existence it has done a lot in the way of safeguarding the interests of the Hindus and retarding the forces of disintegration which had been eating into the vitals of the Hindu community. Yet we have noticed with dismay a growing tendency on the part of some of our political leaders to assume a superior pose and try to discredit this great institution before the world. Persistent attempts have been made directly and indirectly, of late, to brand the Hindu Mahasabha as a

narrow sectarian institution pursuing communal programme to the detriment of the Indian National movement I am not one of those who think that this attempt on their part to appropriate all the credit for broad-minded liberalism in politics to themselves is either justified or becoming. I do not see how to be vigilant about the legitimate interests of the great Hindu community which is threatened with disruption owing to the operation of various disintegrating factors from within and without, is to hinder the national movement in India. The aims and objects of the Hindu Mahasabha have been announced and reiterated on many occasions by so many responsible Hindu leaders that I do think it necessary to re-state them, although it is not unoften that we find persons, who should have known better, betraying ignorance about them and indulging in cheap sneers at this great institution. I will content myself by saying only this that the Hindu Mahasabha has never been actuated by any desire to encroach on the rights and privileges of other sister communities. Its sole concern has been to safeguard the legitimate interests of the members of the Hindu community and prevent these being adversely affected in any way. Friends, if the instinct of self-preservation is regarded as perfectly legitimate in the case of even the meanest creature on God's earth, I do not understand why it should be denied only to the Hindu community.

#### THE MISCHIEVOUS AWARD

This brings us to the colossal hoax, perpetrated on Hindu India by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald through what is miscalled the "Communal Award." Mr. MacDonald has during his chequered career been responsible for many acts of heresy and betrayal. He has not hesitated to let down his life-long colleagues of the British Labour Party in the up-building of which he himself had contributed not a little and to go back on the fundamental principles and programmes which he had himself championed most vigorously for nearly 50 years, just for the sake of keeping himself in the limo-light of international politics although it had to be on the sufferance of his erstwhile political opponents. I was therefore not in the least shocked like many of our distinguished countrymen that Mr. MacDonald should have first manoeuvred most of the British Indian delegates attending the Second Round Table Conference into reposing implicit faith in his sense of justice and fair-play and then giving something which is manifestly unfair and inequitable and which no person with a reputation to lose and with the duty of impartiality resting heavily on his shoulders should have made himself responsible for. As for the question that has arisen in connection with Mr. MacDonald's communal decision, namely, whether it is in the nature of an arbitral award, I do not think it necessary to take up your time by going into detailed discussions. The contention that Mr. MacDonald's decision on the Communal problem in India is sacrosanct being in the nature of an arbitral Award has been rebutted in the most effective manner by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir N. N. Sircar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Bhai Parmanand and Sri Ramananda Chatterjee by reference to relevant proceedings of the Round Table Conference in London and the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference at New Delhi.

As for the mischievous implications of the so-called Award in arresting the growth of nationalism in India, again, I do not propose to dwell at length because they have already been exposed threadbare and it is permissible to hope that there is none among the Hindus at least who is going to shed a tear to-day if the so-called Award is given a decent burial. I will only content myself with quoting a passage from the editorial article which appeared in the "Times of India" immediately after the publication of the provisions of the Communal Award. It runs as follows:—"The effect produced by the 'Award' has been very unhealthy. It has deepened distrust in British intentions and afforded an opportunity to Nationalists in India to impugn the good faith of the British Government which is being charged with following a Machiavellian policy of sowing seeds of discord among the different sections of people. The Award once again shows how much out of touch the British Government are with the realities of the Indian situation."

Hindu India and Nationalist India has condemned the "Award" with one voice and urged its modification in accordance with broad principles of democracy and nationalism but the British Government have persisted in ignoring the realities and accordingly been further and further away from a correct solution of the Indian problem. In this connection, we cannot but take notice of the attitude taken up by the Indian National Congress in regard to the Award. I know they have condemned the principle underlying the so-called Communal Award as strongly as possible but the fact that they did not urge its immediate and unconditional rejection which should have been the only

logical conclusion of their condemnation, has given rise to a lot of misinterpretation in interested quarters. Who can say that this non-committal attitude on the part of the Congress has not emboldened the Joint Parliamentary Committee to incorporate the provisions of the so-called Communal Award lock, stock and barrel into the scheme of constitutional reforms propounded by them, in the teeth of universal popular opposition here in India. Friends, the Hindu Mahasabha, if it is to be true to the aims and objects for the furtherance of which it had been started, cannot sit with folded hands trusting to the power of prayers to work miracles in regard to this grave menace to the growth of healthy nationalism in India. Its clear duty will be to continue to carry on a raging and burning campaign throughout the country in such as to convince our Muslim brethren how the provisions of the Communal Award are likely to prove detrimental to their best interests in the long run and how it would lead to increased inter-communal tension outside and inside the legislatures so that real power may continue to be in the hands, as Mr. C. Y. Chintamani so nicely put, of our inescapable trustees of the I. C. S. headed by a Governor-General and Governors with many and important powers centred in them as authorities external and superior to the Governments responsible to their respective legislatures.

#### DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

I understand there is a talk in some quarters of sending a strong deputation on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha to mobilise public opinion in England against the reform proposals envisaged in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, especially against the Premier's Communal Award, through the British Press and platform and also through pourparlers with the leaders of various parties there with a view to secure its modification or rejection.

Frankly speaking, I am not optimistic about the result of any such move. We have already seen what precious little has been achieved by our friends Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. K. Jayakar, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and others of their way of thinking who had tried all of those expedients to arouse public opinion in England about a much broader issue than the Communal Award, I mean the main constitutional question. These distinguished countrymen of ours were treated as the "pet boys" of Sir Samuel Hoare only so long as they did not try to disturb the fundamentals of the scheme drawn up by the British experts. But when these same and sober persons took the unusual step of drafting a joint memorandum suggesting modifications of the White Paper proposals, the Joint Parliamentary Committee lost no time in making them realise their proper limitations. I do not think the British Press and the British public would be more hospitable to our agitation at this stage over the Communal Award or the Joint Parliamentary Committee's proposals than they have been before. To speak the truth, the generality of the British public have neither the time nor the inclination to attend to what is going on about the affairs of 352 millions of their fellow subjects out here in India. They will remain content as ever before with the spoon-feeding in the matter of Indian affairs to which they are treated by Sir Samuel Hoare and their "men on the spot" by whom they have always set much store.

#### J. P. C. REROUT

The long-looked-for report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee has at last seen the light of the day and you would expect me to express some opinion on it. I am in the happy position of being able to extend a hearty welcome to this report because it reveals, as through a mirror, the real mind of the British Imperialists. In view of the fact that the report has throughout scrupulously omitted any reference even to "Dominion Status" for India, not to speak of "Purna Swaraj," I consider it a sheer waste of time to discuss the implications of the numerous safeguards which the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee have thought fit to tack on to every important proposal having the semblance of making the slightest concession to the Indians. That one omission is more eloquent in showing where we, Indians, stand really in our agitation for further constitutional reforms than all the special pleadings that the apologists of the "Great Mogul" at Whitehall may have been tutored to put forward. Indians asked for a Declaration of Rights under the constitution for the children of the soil. They have got instead a Declaration of Safeguards for the stranger on the soil. It is all very well to talk of safeguards but how are we going to safeguard the safeguards?—How are we going to ensure that the safeguards will guard safely;—will be servants of the people and not tyrants? The Report has proved beyond doubt as, I am sure, even the most sober-minded moderate amongst us will now admit that the Indian National Congress has been right in its cry that Swaraj is

not to be attained as a gift from Britain,—it has got to be earned by the sheer force of our "National Tapasya". If the present report serves to dispel the illusion about British generosity that had so long obsessed a large number of our countrymen,—I, for one, would not regard the time, money and energy spent during the last few years over its production as having been wasted.

#### NEED OF REFORMS

We have been living in an age which is witnessing the keenest competition in the race of life between different sections of people in different spheres of their activities. In this fierce struggle for existence, the Hindus if they are not sufficiently organised on a sound basis and fully equipped to stand the stress and strain that is inevitable under the circumstances, they will be elbowed out of the vantage ground and find themselves relegated into the background. I would urge the Hindu Mahasabha to adopt a comprehensive programme which would encourage all the competent elements of the great Hindu Community to join hands together for strengthening its position and influence throughout the world. Those who have so long suffered any injustice and disabilities under the prevailing rules and customs of the Hindu Society and nurse a feeling of grievance on that account should be given a message of hope. In this connection I would like, first of all, to plead for a change in the outlook of the Hindu Society towards the rights and status of its women-folk. Let the irrational rules and customs which might have answered the requirements of the society in the remote past but which have tended to make our women-folk a dead weight on the society thereby retarding its progress in every direction, be remodelled in the light of the requirements of the modern times.

Then there are our brethren of the so-called Depressed classes our conception in regard to whom has got to be placed on a more rational and humane basis. The Society has also got to be purged of the numerous social usages and customs which have so long tended to cramp the personality of its individual members directly and indirectly so that the Hindu Community may be rejuvenated and restored to its pristine glory and powers.

### Resolutions—Second Day—Cawnpore—20th. April 1935

The proceedings of the Mahasabha commenced to-day straightaway, after the usual entry in a ceremonial way of the president, the Rev. Oituma, followed by the Burmese, Japanese and Singalese delegates, with the consideration of the resolutions.

Most of the resolutions considered to-day related to occurrences in India, which were the outcome of communal controversies. The unusually large gathering and the consequent lack of complete silence in the *pandal* and the lack of practice on the part of the speakers to stick to the loud speaker microphone made it difficult for the speakers to be heard distinctly. So far as the speakers were concerned, they made as enthusiastic speeches as they could in giving support to the resolutions, irrespective of the consideration whether they were being heard or not on account of noise. All the resolutions considered to-day were recorded unanimously and without any amendments, they having been considered threadbare at the subjects committee meeting.

#### KARACHI FIRING

The first resolution related to the Karachi firing and it furnished a clear contrast to the resolutions that were being moved and had been moved on the subject at Muslim assemblies. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha recorded a resolution on the motion of Mr. Shanti Narain, which was supported by Messrs. Anand Mohan Dham and B. Banerji, appreciating the prompt action of the authorities which prevented a serious communal riot in Karachi, the Mahasabha being satisfied that the Government had no alternative other than to adopt the measures which it did in arresting its further development. The same resolution also recorded the view that such dangerous demonstrations and activities of the Muslims were ultimately due to the 'condemnable' mentality of the Muslim leaders in treating the fanatical murderers as religious martyrs and securing clemency for them. The resolution added that the Mahasabha was deeply mortified at the attitude taken by the Congress party in the recent debate in the Assembly on the Karachi incident, specially the association of the leader of the party with prayer for clemency.

There was a strong feeling in regard to the Karachi incident, and it is reported that when at the subjects committee some delegates sought to make the language of

the original draft stronger. Raja Narendra Nath had to appeal to the delegates not to import into discussions language which displayed a mob mentality while the Mahasabha was a very dignified body.

#### FEROZABAD OCCURRENCE

The second resolution expressed the feeling of horror over the Ferozabad occurrence and was moved by Mr. Dharmvir Vidyalkar and supported by Messrs. Ram Bharose Lal, Brahma Sarup and Sarda Prasad. It was passed, all standing.

#### MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES

On the motion of Raja Narendra Nath, supported by Messrs. Chand Kauri Sharda, Jagat Naram Lal, Dev Bat, Raj Nath Kunzru, Rahas Bihari Tewari and Shrimati Parm Lata, the Mahasabha recorded the following resolution.

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly protests against the unreasonable demand which has been made by Muslims within the last few years for stopping music before mosques even on public roads and Kings' highways in utter disregard of the legal rights of the Hindus."

The next resolution, moved by Mr. Ghisu Lal and supported by Mr. Narendra Nath Rai, Swami Lal Nath, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal and Shrimati Subhadra Kumari, recorded the view that communal troubles and riots were really due to the favoured treatment received by Muslims from the Government.

#### JAIN PROCESSIONS

The following resolution was considered and passed on the motion of Dr. Moonje and the support of Mr. C. Vijaraghavachariar and Babu Ajit Prasad Jain.

"This Mahasabha expresses its strong disapproval of the objections raised to and obstructions placed in the carrying of Jain images in public processions in some places and hopes that in future all Hindus will support and cooperate in such processions and religious functions and thereby strengthen the bond of amity between different religions comprising the Hindu community."

Resolved unanimously that a committee, consisting of the following members with power to coopt be formed for the purposes of giving effect to the above declaration and persuade the objectors to cooperate. Dr. B. S. Moonje, Babu Padam Raj Jain, Raja Durga Naram Singh of Tirwa and Rai Sahib Rup Chand Jain.

#### COMMUNAL "AWARD"

The most important resolution of the day was on the communal "award". It was as follows :—

"That the Hindu Mahasabha reiterates its complete condemnation of the communal "award" decision of his Majesty's Government, as it is anti-national and glaringly unjust, particularly to Hindus and Sikhs, and declares its determination to carry on a campaign against the said communal decision until it is replaced by more equitable solution."

"That this session of the Mahasabha deplores the action of the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly in not voting against the resolution in the Assembly accepting the so-called communal "award" and thus failing not only to reflect the true Hindu opinion on the subject but even to carry out their own election pledges with regard to it."

The resolution was moved by *Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya*, who in the course of a forceful speech reviewed the history of the circumstances which led to the communal decision and criticized it vehemently. The motion was passed unanimously and with applause after it was supported by Dr. Radhakumal Mukerji, Mr. Nanak Chaud of Lahore, Rai Bahadur Ram Suran Das and Miss Yashoda Kumari, a young girl of Baroda.

It is reported that in the subjects committee meeting *Mr. Vijaraghava chariur* doubted the propriety of passing a separate resolution on the communal "award" and that he wanted to include it in his resolution on the constitution. The general view, however, prevailed that the communal "award" would stand whether the proposed Reform bill came into force or not.

#### THANKS TO JAPANESE PEOPLE

The last resolution passed to-day was the following moved from the chair.—

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha records its cordial thanks to the organization of the Buddhist conference and the Japanese people in general for the generous reception accorded by them to the delegates sent by the Hindu Mahasabha to that conference which met last year in Tokio."

### Third Day—Cannore—22nd. April 1935

#### [PARLIAMENT'S RIGHT TO FRAME CONSTITUTION

At the resumed meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha, held this morning, an important constitutional issue questioning Parliament's right to frame a constitution for India was raised.

The resolution on the subject ran as follows: "In view of the fact that the British Parliament is so constituted that it is incapable of reflecting, much less representing, Indian opinion and interest in any way, further in view of the fact that the constitution-making now in progress for India by that Parliament, has not satisfied any section of opinion in India, this session of the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the situation calls for radical, different constitutional procedure, whereby the task of constitution-making for British India should be the concern of the Emperor of India and the Indian people on the lines of the Statute of Westminster and political conventions operating in the case of self-governing dominions. The view was fortified by the Royal Titles Act of 1876 as well as by the legal implications of the same Act."

Mr. *Vijayaraghavachariar*, in moving the resolution, said there was no earthly chance of an agreed constitution, being evolved by a Constituent Assembly. That being so, it was their duty to find ways and means by which they could avoid the danger which threatened them. The present constitution, if it were passed into law, would check India's constitutional progress for many years to come. Therefore, they owed it to themselves, their children and their children unborn to do everything in their power in order to stop Parliament passing the India Bill. He said that he must point out to the audience that Parliament had no power over India. Parliament in England was their Parliament and there was no such thing as hereditary Parliament. It was time, therefore, they should exercise their political rights and political sovereignty. The speaker then explained the constitutional meaning of the word "Emperor of India" as it was used in the statute of 1876. Wrong and unauthorised interpretation had been put on the expression "Queen Empress" by Lord Lytton which the Proclamation of 1858 did not vouch. He called that proclamation as the Magna Carta of India. The Queen in that proclamation said "My Indian subjects will be placed on a footing of equality with my other subjects." She said: "I shall treat my Indian subjects exactly as I treat my other subjects". That proclamation had remained a dead letter. There was more in the proclamation than many of them could dream of. It had been said by an eminent Englishman who was for thirty years in India that Englishmen, both civil and military, cursed the proclamation and hated it in their heart of hearts. Taking shelter under the proclamation, they must approach His Majesty on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee and say, "Place us all on a footing of equality as your grandmother said."

Dr. *Moonje*, supporting the motion, said that since Parliament was going to force the Bill on them, they should approach the Emperor of India and ask him that British Parliament had proved itself incapable and incompetent to undertake the task of framing a statutory constitution.

Dr. *Radhakumud Mukherjee* said that they must now be ready with their agreed constitutional scheme not only with regard to the Communal Award, but also with regard to the constitution itself.

The resolution was supported by a number of other speakers and unanimously passed.

#### INDIA BILL UNACCEPTABLE

The next resolution expressed the view that the Government of India Bill now before Parliament was totally unacceptable to every section of Indian opinion and could not be proceeded with any further as the constitution proposed was regarded on all hands as much worse than the existing one and was even reactionary and obstructive to the growth of nationalism and democracy, on account of its communal scheme intended to keep communities constantly estranged from each other.

The resolution which was moved by Mr. *Radhakumud Mukherjee* and supported by Mr. C. *Vijayaraghavachariar*, Mr. *Ramanand Chatterjee* and Dr. *Moonje* was carried unanimously.

#### COMMUNALISM IN SERVICES CONDEMNED

Another resolution condemning the Government fixing communal proportion in services ran as follows: "This session of the Hindu Mahasabha unreservedly condemns the recent announcement of the Government of India, fixing the communal



proportion in the All-India Services of the Government, as it was not only detrimental to the establishment of efficient administration, but is also anti-national and is sure to perpetuate communal friction." The resolution was carried unanimously.

The next resolution pleaded for making Hindi the *lingua franca* of India. It said that in the Postal Department in many provinces, notably in the Punjab, Hindi was not recognised. Such non-recognition caused serious inconvenience to the people. The resolution further pleaded that Hindi should be recognised as a court language in the Punjab and in all other provinces, where it was not so recognised.

#### SEPARATION OF BURMA

The resolution on the separation of Burma, which was moved from the Chair, protested against Parliament's decision and said that it would have the effect of breaking the political unity of Burma and India and disintegrate the cultural fellowship of the people.

Another resolution passed by the Mahasabha related to the question of preparing a suitable design for a Hindu flag and appointed a Committee of seven persons with Mr. Padamraj Jain as Chairman.

#### BODH-GAYA TEMPLE BILL

At this stage a resolution on the question of possession of Bodh-Gaya temple was moved. This gave offence to Sanatan Hindus who made angry demonstrations and rushed to the dais in order to prevent the passage of the resolution. Great confusion reigned for nearly a quarter of an hour. The president then left the meeting but was brought back in order to adjourn the session. The session was adjourned till afternoon.

The Bodh-Gaya temple question which caused so much confusion in the morning session was settled at last and the following resolution agreed by the Subjects Committee and the opposition was put from the chair in evening session and passed.

"The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that efforts should be made to arrive at an amicable settlement of the question which was arisen about the management of the Bodh-Gaya temple between Sanatanists and Buddhist Hindus and is therefore of opinion that the proposed bill for the management of the above temple be not proceeded with by its authors in the Assembly. This session therefore appoints a committee consisting of Bhai Perinunand as chairman, Babu Jagatnaram Lal Swami Dayanand, Pandit Dwarka Prasad Chaturvedi, Mr. Anandpriya Kamshtyan and Mr. Duvapriya Balisingh subject to the condition that the authors of the bill agree not to proceed with the same pending efforts for arriving at an amicable settlement till the end of this year and that the committee shall not commence work until this condition has been fulfilled and subject further to the condition that any settlement which might be arrived at by the committee appointed by His Holiness Jagadguru Shankaracharya will be acceptable to the Sanatanists".

The Mahasabha also passed in the evening a resolution laying down its programme of work during the current year. The session terminated after short speeches by some Japanese and Singhalese delegates, thanksgiving speeches by Babu Brijendra Swarup and Bhai Perinunand and concluding remarks by the president.

## The All-Bengal Hindu Conference

#### The Welcome Address

The All Bengal Hindu Conference met at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta, on the 2nd. February 1935 under the presidency of *Sri. Narendra Kumar Basu*.

Mr. *Tushar Kanti Ghosh*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, began by accord- ing a hearty welcome to the delegates, ladies and gentlemen.

The speaker referred to the India Bill published that morning which showed how shabbily the Government treated public opinion in India. He would request the President who was more competent than him to deal with it and to explain the implications of the Bill to them.

But an even greater danger was staring them in the face and that is the danger of the already much condemned Communal Award of the Prime Minister, which was made the foundation of the proposed constitution. To them, however, it was not a solid foundation, but a quick-stand of their fall. If in fear and delusion they placed their feet in this snare and once took their stand in that quick-stand then all their big hopes of national unity and all their political aspirations would crash under it like a house of cards. All their dream of inter-communal and Hindu-Muslim Unity would break once for all.

Referring to the attitude of the Congress towards Bengal, the speaker said he would now utter a few words of sorrow and pain. The educated Hindus of Bengal had built the Indian National Congress, they had always obeyed its mandate. The present position of the Congress was due in no small measure to the genius and the spirit of sacrifice of the Bengalees, who have suffered for its cause and have all along joined their voice with all India in the Congress agitation for the establishment of Purna Swaraj on a democratic basis. What a pity, that the very Congress failed to do anything for Bengal at this time of crisis, which could inspire any hope in them and help them out of this crisis. On the other hand, the Congress it was strange had asked them to keep silent over the Communal Award! Needless to say Bengal could not swallow this without demur.

Incidentally, the speaker referred to the Poona Pact and said that although the principle of Separate Electorate has been done away with, the distribution of seats according to the Pact had created a new problem in Bengal.

"Let, therefore, this Hindu Conference send forth this message of Indian unity. Let each one of them carry this message from town to town, village to village, district to district and from province to province, and let the Hindu Bengal be saturated with hope and faith. Let them also give the lead to the people of Bengal in the solution of vital problems affecting their political, social and economic life. Let their combined effort be directed towards the common good of the Bengalees and help them realise their desired objects.

#### Presidential Address

The utter hollowness and iniquity of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Communal Award was laid bare by *Sj. Narendra Kumar Basu* presiding over the Conference.

Ever since the report had seen the light of the day, observed Mr Basu, it had been subjected to merciless and well-deserved castigation at the hands of the Nationalist Indians. Confining his attention to only a few features of the report, *Sj. Basu* said that so far as the report was concerned the word 'dominion status' had been a taboo. The declaration of 1917 which promised responsible self-Government and which was interpreted by persons like the present English Premier and ex-Viceroy Lord Irwin as promising dominion status had been given a go-bye. That had surely been deliberately omitted from the preamble of the bill.

Dwelling on the relation between the Governor and the Ministers, *Sj. Basu* stated that responsible Government indicated that the executive ought to be responsible to the legislature and the legislature should have the right to dismiss the Ministers or refuse to vote for supplies when occasion would arise. But in the present case the Government was to select the ministers and dismiss them at pleasure. Once the question of salary was voted upon, the Minister would be able to snap his fingers at the legislature.

So far as Bengal was concerned, proceeded the speaker, the charge of law and order would not be in the hands of the Minister although he happened to be a nominee of the Governor. "There is much provincialism in the Report but very little of autonomy."

Giving a brief history of the Communal Award, *Sj. Basu* said that it was neither an award nor a decision but an ordinance issued by the British Prime Minister. There might be some justification in reserving certain seats for the Mahomedans but there was no sense in reservation for the majority in the legislative council. And no Mahomedan gentleman has said up till now that there has been no injustice done to the Bengali Hindus. The Communal Award was unalterable unless there was consensus of opinion among the members of the Central Legislature which was not at all possible.

The Poona Pact, the President went on, was meant to be a further wedge drive between the Hindus of Bengal. From the case of the present relation between the Hindus and the Mahomedans the speaker hoped that the so-called scheduled castes

would take heed. Twenty years ago who could have foreseen the present dissension between the two sister communities? He sounded a note of warning to the members of the scheduled castes that the wedge was to be between the 77 scheduled castes themselves. By neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award the Congress had taken a curious attitude. It was however refreshing to see that the President of the Congress in his letter to the "Manchester Guardian" had admitted at the fifty-ninth hour that the Communal Award was condemned universally by all Hindus and even by some Mahomedans. The President put forward three alternatives to substitute the Communal Award. He had no objection to the 119 seats being allotted to the Mahomedans provided they were returned on the basis of the joint electorate. Secondly all the Communities, Hindus, Mahomedans and Anglo-Indians, all should try in unison to reduce the number of ten seats reserved for the Europeans. The seats should be distributed according to the population of each community. Thirdly the question might be settled in accordance with the dissentient note submitted by the nine members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee headed by Marquess of Zetland which provided

"To give to Muslims or to Hindus whichever is the minority community the right to decide whether election in the case of general territorial constituency shall be by separate or joint electorates."

"In the case of Bengal to allot the general territorial seat between Moslems and Hindus on population basis, and to give depressed classes in all provinces the representation given to them by the Government under the original award before it was modified by the Poona Pact."

#### RESOLUTIONS—2nd. Day—3rd. February 1935

The Conference concluded its deliberations on the next day in the evening and unanimously expressed the opinion that "to insist upon legislation on the basis of the Communal Decision will seriously impede the growth of goodwill between Britain and India".

Following resolutions were adopted by the Conference :—

"That the President be authorised to send the following cable to Parliament :—

(1) "That this Conference of all sections of the Hindus of Bengal draws attention of Parliament to the fact that they have never acquiesced in any manner in the Communal Decision and the electorate in Bengal have emphatically rejected the Decision in the recent elections to the Legislative Assembly which were fought on that issue alone. This meeting further informs Parliament that Bengal Hindus will never accept the said Decision and that to insist upon legislation on that basis would create a situation of unusual difficulty and danger and will seriously impede the growth of goodwill between Britain and India."

(2) "That this conference of all sections of the Hindus of Bengal records its deliberate opinion that apart from the retrograde character and the defective provisions of the India Bill now before Parliament based on the joint Parliamentary Committee's Report (which defects have been exhaustively pointed out by nationalist Indians throughout India and do not require recapitulation) the Communal Decision and the Poona Pact as embodied in the Scheme of the Bill are wholly unacceptable to the Bengal Hindus as being anti-national and subversive of all principles of all democratic Government. The Bengal Hindus though a minority community do not want any reservation of seats but are willing that members of the Legislature be elected on the basis of joint electorates without reservation. If, however, the majority community in Bengal should be unprepared to accept such a scheme, the Bengal Hindus would then claim weightage, as the most important community in Bengal having regard to their advance in education, culture, wealth, public service, commercial interest and contribution to the public exchequer and that in no case should the number of seats to be allotted to them fall short of those allotted to the Muhammadan community in Bengal. Lastly, should the equitable arrangement above suggested fail to find acceptance, then the minimum that the Bengal Hindus would be prepared to accept and work with is the scheme formulated by Lord Zetland which was placed before the Joint Parliamentary Committee with the influential support of Lord Salisbury, Lord Derby and others."

(3) "That this meeting calls upon the country to observe the 16th February next as the Anti-Award Day and to carry on an intensive campaign against the Communal Decision by all legitimate means."

# The Andhra Provincial Depressed Classes Conference

Opening Day—Rajahmundry—15th. June, 1935

The eighth session of the Andhra Provincial Depressed Classes Conference was held at Rajahmundry on the 15th. June, 1935 under the Presidency of *Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah*. The following is the full text of presidential Address :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to express my grateful thanks to all of you for the honour you have done me in asking me to come over here, to this historic city of Rajahmundry, to take part in the deliberations of the Provincial Adi Andhra Conference. Rajahmundry is not only a city of historic importance but is also of great importance to the Hindus from a religious point of view. The sanctifying effect of a bath in the sacred river of Godavari at this place is considered so great that people come all the way from the city of Madras for this purpose. But to-day I have come for a different purpose. I appreciate this honour most keenly, the honour of being called on to come in direct contact with so many leading members of our community from all parts of Andhra Desa.

Having come to this place, I cannot forget to mention to you the signal services rendered to our community by the great and good hearted Maharaja of Pithapuram who loves all his subjects alike and very naturally bestows special consideration on the poorer of his children. I am full of admiration and gratitude for the Maharaja for his gracious favours. In this work of special justice he is ably supported by that white-robed saint, that illustrious son of Andhra Desa, Dr. Sir R. Venkatarathnam Naidu, whose name has become a household word for courage and humanity. I feel deeply grateful to him as well.

I wish to thank His Excellency Lord Willingdon the Viceroy and Governor General of India, who takes such genuine interest in the prosperity and progress of our people and who knows by the power of sympathy where exactly the shoe pinches the wearers thereof, for having re-nominated me for the third time to the Indian Legislative Assembly in spite of, I understand, from talks in social Clubs in Madras which are fast becoming haunts for political gossips, the recommendation of the Government of Madras to nominate a non-depressed class member to the only seat set apart for the Depressed Classes in the Legislative Assembly. I value the privilege, for the opportunity it gives me of taking part in what I may call, shaping the course of public opinion as expressed in the Assembly, which in no small measure influences the decisions of the Government of India in all important and vital issues.

I am particularly grateful for the continuity which this opportunity gives to my humble labours in this connection on behalf of both my people and the country at large. I say on behalf of both my people and the country at large advisedly because I wish to disabuse the minds of some people of the idea that we representatives of the minority or weak communities in trying to safeguard the interests of our particular community, ignore the interests of other communities or of the country at large. If we did this our task would be comparatively easy. It is because some of us at least do not do this, we find our task so difficult and so delicate. So far as I am concerned, you will admit that it was this spirit which prompted me to co-operate with Mahatma Gandhi in arriving at the Poona Pact.

I feel that we have arrived at a stage in which we should brush aside all considerations of personal consistency with our attitude in the past and concentrate our attention on the future. Political agitation is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. A time arrives when we should cry halt and take account of our gains and losses and gathering up the results settle down to the work of reconstruction in a constructive spirit. This is why I rejoice along with the Government in the incoming of the representatives of the Congress whose participation in the deliberations of the Indian Legislative Assembly augurs well for the future working of the Reforms. For what the country needs at this hour is not mere co-operation by one party and criticism by another. Its supreme need is a combination of both in one and the same party—critical co-operation on co-operative and constructive criticism; and this is what, I take it, the Congress leaders have come into the Assembly to offer. It is my firm conviction that it is only through co-operation in and with the Government and

in the administration of the country that co-operation and unity among the people themselves can be achieved. We cannot practise non-co-operation in a particular direction without expecting non-co-operation being practised against us from another quarter. Recent experience has shown that those who preach or practice non-co-operation towards one party are paid in their own coin by those whose support they need. I say this not in any belittling spirit but as a warning for the future and as an earnest plea for a co-operative and constructive spirit being brought to bear upon the consideration of the proposals embodied in the future Government of India Act.

Viewing the Government of India Bill that is before the Parliament, so far at least as our community is concerned, I am glad to observe that the interests of our community are advanced with out conflict with the interests of other communities and indeed as part of the general advancement. For instance, the enlargement of the Electorate from 3 per cent. of the population to 11 per cent. gives the franchise to a very large number of our people. And as a special protection, the franchise is so broadened as to give the vote to 10 per cent. out of 60 millions of our people. Surely this is a decided move in the direction of Democratic Government or in other words of *Swaraaj*. In this respect the special protection is shared by our community along with women and that the elevation and enfranchisement of women and of the Depressed Classes are two essential factors of social and political progress. I am sure that no body in India, however conservative and orthodox he may be, will grudge us this special attention.

I am glad also that the Poona Pact in which Hindu leaders like Mahatma Mohan Malaviya co-operated with Mahatma Gandhi has now become a part of the Government of India Act. Is this not a fact over which all classes should rejoice? The Poona Pact is the Magna Charta of our community. It is a well thought out arrangement.

It is of no use to ignore or minimise the importance of Autonomy being introduced in Provincial Governments immediately. The whole administrative machinery including Law and Order will be placed in the hands of Ministers responsible to the Legislative Councils and subject to popular control, and these Provincial Governments will become direct representatives of the Crown and empowered to deal directly with the Secretary of State. It is true that more power is vested in the Governor, but more power means more responsibility in using that power. And it is only in cases in which there is distinct need that the power is intended to be used and will, I am confident, be used. It is latent power rather than power in action. Normally the Governor should have very little to do and he becomes an active force only when the situation demands it.

In short, safeguards provided in the Report could all be made superfluous and inoperative if we bring a constructive co-operative spirit for working the Reforms. If there is lack of co-operation among the people and lack of co-operation in working the machinery set up, then and only then will the safeguards become operative. It lies with the elected representatives of the people to make the safeguards unnecessary. If obstruction throws the administrative machinery out of gear, the engineer from outside will have to intervene to set it right and to keep it going.

In considering this subject of safeguards, it will not do to be sentimental. A little self-examination, both personal and co-operative self-examination, will do us good. Are we all that we might be in the matter of mutual confidence, mutual respect and mutual co-operation? As a member of the Depressed Classes and as a Hindu, I think I have the right to ask this question. If we possessed all the moral and social qualities necessary for full Self-Government, what would be the necessity for Gandhi turning aside from his political activities and diverting his energies to the cause of the Harijans? And is not the feeling of Untouchability with its implications of distrust, contempt and boycott which is shown so flagrantly towards the Depressed Classes, characteristic, in smaller measure no doubt and in subtler form, of the mutual relation of the thousand communities which inhabit this land?

It is no good asking 'do not such things exist in other countries, and do the people there not govern themselves?' The fact that they govern themselves shows that there is a measure of mutual respect among them which makes co-operation possible.

I do not charge all the Hindus with lack of sympathy for the Depressed Classes or towards one another; all honour to those who lead the van in the campaign against that anti-national institution Caste, but I do say that the country as a whole and the Hindus as a whole are still unconvinced socially though they have voted politically for the Congress in the recent elections. The forces of the social

re-action are still strong in the country, and I shall not be surprised if as the result of the awakening self-consciousness and self-respect of the Depressed Classes, the tension between Caste-Hindus and Depressed Classes becomes worse. I have no doubt that finally the cause of Social Reform will triumph, and when that takes place, Political Reform will proceed apace and constitutional reconstruction will be complete. Then the changed attitude towards the Depressed Classes will react upon the relation between Hindus and Muslims, though in this case the difference is not merely social and economic but religious and cultural as well. In proportion as mutual tolerance and mutual co-operation advance, the safeguards will become defunct.

I do agree that the proposed constitution is not to the satisfaction of all, but at the same time I would conserve and appropriate powers and privileges provided for in the proposed constitution and prepare for a greater appropriation of powers in the course of development indicated in the Reforms. To talk of a wholesale condemnation of the constitution seems to me not only unwise and suicidal but unwarranted by facts. Wisdom seems to lie in recognising the facts of the situation and in putting the shoulder to the wheel and in advancing the interests of the people and the cause of India through the opportunities now opened to us for the first time in our history.

If the constitution is not to our entire satisfaction, it is our own fault. The country did not condemn it unanimously—all the people and all sections did not disapprove of it as a whole and not for the same reason either. If the dissatisfaction is based on the same grounds the opposition must command respect, but if what satisfies one party is the ground of the dissatisfaction of another then one should not be surprised if the general dissatisfaction is discounted and ignored.

Although I am thus in favour of the general tenour of the constitution as a whole there are some recommendations in it with which I do not agree. For instance, I regard Indirect Election to the Legislative Assembly as a retrograde step. There is, I understand, no precedent for such a change from direct to indirect elections. The change is always the other way. The members of the Provincial Legislative Councils are chosen in reference to local problems which demand solution at their hands and naturally their horizon is limited and their outlook narrow. To expect them to exercise their vote in returning members to the Legislative Assembly, to choose men with head and heart large enough to handle all India questions, is to saddle them with a responsibility which they cannot discharge with a single eye to the public good. All sorts of mutual compromises will creep in and thus the tone of the Legislative Assembly, in the matter of independent thought and utterance will greatly decline. I may mention that the communal movement of the Non-Brahmins started in South India in 1917 was largely prompted by the communal manipulation of votes in the Madras Legislative Council. Moreover, Indirect Elections deprive the people of the opportunity of acquainting themselves with, and expressing themselves on the large questions which are discussed in the Legislative Assembly. The educative value of direct election to the Legislative Assembly is great and its normal significance should not be lost sight of.

As regards the establishment of Upper Chambers in the Provincial Councils, nowhere our community supported the establishment of the Second Chambers in the Provinces. I have my doubts and fears about these Chambers. They are intended, no doubt, to give stability to the working of the constitution and provide a brake upon hasty legislation. If there is provision in these Chambers for the adequate and effective representation of Depressed and Minority Communities, these Chambers may prove useful. I would like the Government both in India and in Britain, as well as the Parliament to consider whether it is only the representatives of the landed aristocracy, and of the commercial magnates who will stem the tide of ill-considered legislation. Will not the depressed and minority communities be the worst sufferers in case of hasty measures being placed on the Statute book? I would therefore strongly urge the introduction into the Second Chamber of a strong contingent of Depressed Classes as the best safeguard against ill-considered measures being passed. I must point out that our community has been unjustly treated by the changes introduced by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the matter of our representation in the Provincial Second Chambers and in the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature. I would now advise you to agitate and agitate constitutionally until our community is given adequate representation in the Upper Chambers.

You are aware that for the purpose of Village Reconstruction in India the Government of India have set apart, for spending this year, a sum of 1 crore and 13 lakhs of rupees. This is a move in the right direction, a real nation-building scheme indeed,

all credit to my esteemed friend Sir James Gigg, the Finance Member. I hope he will make this a recurring grant India lives in villages. About 90 per cent of her population reside in 5,00,000 villages. The remaining 10 per cent only dwell in towns and cities. The welfare of the bulk of its population is a matter of vital importance. The first and the foremost charge on the exchequer of any civilized Government is the promotion of human happiness and of the widening of the opportunities for a good life for many crores of the people of the country. Out of this sum our Provincial Government will get a grant of 17 lakhs of rupees for the development of villages in our Province. It is a known fact that among the villages, the villages occupied by our people are most neglected and are in the worst possible condition—no roads, no water supply for human beings and for cattle, no schools, no sanitation no medical relief etc. These villages require the immediate attention of Government and it is the intention of Mahatma Gandhi to take up immediately the improvement of these plague-spots. So it is of utmost importance that an adequate sum from this 17 lakhs should be earmarked for spending in the villages inhabited by our people. We form one-fifth of the population and justice demands that one-fifth of the 17 lakhs should be set apart towards the uplift of these waiting millions, the real sons of the soil. This amount should be placed in the hands of the Labour Commissioner who is in charge of the work of the amelioration of the Depressed Classes or the Inspector of Local Boards who is in direct touch with the rural population. The whole amount should be spent through the District Collectors and not through the Local Bodies. I hope His Excellency Lord Erskine will give his considered thought to this. I know His Excellency. He is very sympathetic towards the Depressed Classes and is very much concerned in our upliftment. We rely with complete faith on Lord Erskine to redress our grievances and to help us in our struggles onwards and upwards.

I am glad the Government of Madras have set up a Delimitation Committee, but I really fail to understand the policy of our Government in not appointing on the Main Committee, a member of our community who is an advocate of the Poona Act which now forms a part of the Government of India Act. It is not just and fair to the community to nominate merely a member who is entirely opposed to the Poona Pact, on the Main Committee. I hope His Excellency Lord Erskine, who is a sound Parliamentarian, will consider this aspect of the question also and set right the inequity. After all is it not the work of this Committee to carve out electorates etc., for the Depressed Classes in accordance with the system of elections embodied in the Pact and for the successful working of the Poona Pact?

The Government of India will very soon appoint a delimitation Commission in connection with the coming Reforms. I need not tell you how essential it is that a member of the community should be on this important commission. I hope His Excellency the Viceroy will not overlook to appoint a member of our community on this Commission. This leads me on to the coming elections to the Provincial Councils. Next year by this time, I presume, election propaganda will be in full swing. We should not lag behind. We should set up proper candidates for the 30 seats reserved for us in the Local Council and get them elected as far as possible unopposed. You will be glad to hear that an Election Board called the South Indian Depressed Classes Election Board has been set up for the purpose of choosing and setting up suitable and proper Depressed Class candidates for the Central and Provincial Legislatures with the object of avoiding, as far as practicable, unnecessary contest in the elections and heavy expenditure, and for securing candidates of a truly representative character. The conveners of this Board are Rao Saheb L. C. Guruswamy, Ex. M. L. C., and Mr. P. K. Pushparaj, B. Sc. B. L. You would recognise an Election Board of this kind is very essential and I do hope you will co-operate with the Board and representatives from each and every territory—Tamil, Telugu—Malayalam and Kanarese, will be on this Board.

Before I conclude I wish to say a few words about the Harijan Sevak Sangh. This Association was started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1932 and has been carrying on splendid work on behalf of our community. It is directed and controlled by Mr. G. D. Birla, a man of unbounded sympathy for the Depressed Classes; and the whole work is supervised by that devoted worker Mr. A. V. Thakker, who is best fitted for this work. Mr. Thakker is ably assisted by Professor N. R. Malkani. I have nothing but praise for these self-less workers, who have dedicated their lives for this noble cause. The special feature of the work of the Sangh this year is the collection of one lakh of rupees to improve the water supply of Harijan bastis in villages. On behalf of our community I take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Sangh and its officers.

I have said so much and yet more remains to be said, but the time at my disposal is short. So let me conclude. Political sense, Political knowledge, Political training among our community is most appalling by its absence. But now-a-days we have leaders by legions. These self-advertisers, ignoring the real issues and the interests of the people dabble in politics and make abominable disgusting and blood-boiling speeches and create foul thought and ill-conceived vague sons in the minds of the open-hearted innocent people thus sowing seeds of dissatisfaction, distrust and class-hatred in their hearts. Looking back upon the many years of my political work, this is not strange and it is not my purpose here to deal with these mushroom politicians and rhetorical rubbish. But I appeal to you to put an end to this sort of mischievous and misleading propaganda. Only a few, a very few of our community are fully aware of the present day politics and the quick succession of changing events and their significance. To take opportunity by the forelock is a golden rule for success. Unless we risk no profit can be gained. Suspicion breeds suspicion, and when there is no vision the people perish. Every one of us has to live in our mother country. We are the ancient inhabitants of this land and the country is dear to us and we are not going to migrate from our country. My humble suggestion is that at this juncture to advise the community to mark time in political advancement, when others are going forward with rapid strides, will be to put a brake on the progress of the community itself. Let us put our shoulders together to bring the community almost in line with the other communities of India.

Those who are interested in the welfare of the Depressed Classes will recognise the lack of unity among the various leaders of the community who form different organisations. It must be acknowledged that this lack of unity has had adverse effects on the community and has seriously jeopardised the work on behalf of the community. The lack of unity has become an handicap to the amelioration work. It should be noted that without the unity, the interest of the people is bound to suffer. Attempts have been made in the past to bring about unity among the leaders. Virtually these attempts have been a failure. It is time that something must be done in this direction. If complete unity among these workers and an amalgamation of the different existing organisations be not immediately possible, it is essential that some machinery should be brought into existence so that joint action by the several organisations may be possible whenever the interests of the community are to be safeguarded. So let me conclude my address by asking you to unite among ourselves. United we stand, divided we fall.

I now thank you again for having invited me to open this August assembly. I declare the conference opened.

### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—16th June 1935

The Conference came to a successful close to-day after adopting the new constitution drafted by the sub-committee appointed by the conference on the 15th and a number of important resolutions.

The Conference requested the Government to convert the Higher Elementary School at Masulipatam into a high School and to increase the strength of the Depressed Classes' hostel located in Masulipatam. The conference was emphatically of opinion that the management of the Harijana Seva Sanghs in the land should be in the hands of the Harijans only. The Conference protested against the inclusion of the Andhra areas in Ganjam and Vizag districts, in the Orissa province.

With a view to liquidating illiteracy among the Harijans, the Conference requested the Government to introduce compulsory elementary Education among the Harijans. The Government was further requested to introduce a scheme of education which would give due importance to technical education and to give wide publicity to G. O. No. 2600 and other allied notifications. District Boards in Andhradesa were requested to give education free to the Harijans in all their educational institutions.

The Conference exhorted the Government and the members of the central legislature to support the Anti-Untouchability Bill introduced by Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja in the Assembly.

While thanking Mr. V. Ramjee Rao of Masulipatam for conducting a fortnightly paper in the interest of the Harijans for the last 18 years, the Conference resolved to start a Telugu weekly to be managed by the Andhra Provincial Depressed Classes' Central Board. The Conference exhorted the Harijans to discard the caste distinctions prevailing in their own community, such as Mala and Madiga.



The Conference expressed its sorrow at the demise of Mr. Naralasetti Devendrudu and Mr. Tobi Venkanna.

#### REPRESENTATION IN LEGISLATION

Out of the thirty seats reserved for the Depressed Classes in the Local Legislative Council under the new reform scheme the Conference requested the Government to allot 15 seats to the Andhra Depressed Classes.

The Conference protested against the creation of the upper chamber in the local provincial legislature. In defiance of public opinion the upper chamber was created; the Conference requested the Government to allot 7 seats to the depressed classes in the upper chamber.

Out of the 17 lakhs sanctioned by the Central Government for village reconstruction in the Madras presidency, the Conference requested the local Government to set apart 3 lakhs and odd for the Depressed Classes in the presidency. The Conference further requested the Government to spend out of those 3 lakhs of rupees Rs. 1 and a half lakhs in the Andhradesa.

The Conference exhorted the public to subscribe liberally to the Rayalaseema Relief Fund and the Quetta Earthquake Relief Fund.

The Conference paid its homage to Mahatma Gandhi for his selfless work in the cause of the Harijans. The delegates entered their loyalty to Their Majesties on the completion of their 25 years' reign.

The Andhra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Ganpan leaders were asked to provide adequate funds for Harijan work in the Ganpan district. The Conference congratulated the Harijan Sevak Sanghs in the Andhra Province on the good work turned out by them.

The Conference requested the Government and the local bodies to reserve at least one-fifth of the appointments under their control for the depressed classes. The Conference requested the Labour Department to give all the contracts under their control to the Harijans.

#### NEEDS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

The Conference requested the Government and the public to place all productive land by legislation in the hands of only people who had taken to a culture as profession. The Conference further requested the Government to set apart by legislation one-third of the annual produce for the agricultural labourer.

The Conference drew the attention of the public to the importance of forming the Andhra Provincial Agricultural Labour Association and appointed a committee of nine gentlemen including Messrs. V. V. Giri, S. Subba Rao, N. Satyanarayana, Musti Lakshminarayana, Kusuma Venkatesiah and Guburi Ramachandrudu to take active steps for the formation of the committee at an early date.

The Conference requested the public to hold the Andhra Provincial Agricultural Labour Conference at an early date.

The constitution drafted by the sub-committee was then adopted. The constitution provided for a Provincial Committee, Provincial Working Committee and District Committees. Messrs. Uridu Subbarao of East Godavari and Dr. Zeerwas of Guntur were elected Provincial Secretaries. Mr. Shammugham of Nellore was authorised to organise District Committees in the City of Madras, Chittoor, Anantapur, Chelapah, Kurnool and Bellary.

#### MR. PRAKASAM'S ADDRESS

Before the Conference terminated, Mr. T. Prakasam, President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, addressed the gathering. He stated that the Congress and the Congress Parliamentary Board had called upon the public to capture the Councils. The Congress had on its rolls Harijans, Muslims, Christians, landholders, labourers and women. Everyone in the country that joined hands with the Congress was a member of the Congress Party. Hereafter, there would be only two parties in this part of the country—the Congress Party and the Justice Party. It was left for them to join one of the two parties. He was confident that they would join the Congress Party ultimately. He congratulated them on accepting the Poona Pact and the system of joint electorates.

With the closing remarks of the President, the Conference came to a close.

# The All Bengal Depressed Classes Conference

Opening Day—Jhenidah—19th. & 20th. May 1935

The All-Bengal Depressed Classes Conference, that was held at Jhenidah (Jessore) on the 19th. & 20th. May, with Sj. Rajani Kanta Das of Dacca in the chair, unanimously rejected the scheme of Indian Constitutional Reforms, now before the Parliament, as disappointing and unacceptable and also the Communal Award being subversive of all principles of nationalism and democracy.

In this connection there prevailed for two days considerable enthusiasm in the small town of Jhenidah. The Conference met in a Pandal at the outskirts of the City tastefully decorated with national flags. Delegates belonging mostly to the Namasudra and the Rajbanshi Communities from different districts numbered nearly 300 and there was besides a very large attendance of visitors from among depressed as well as caste Hindus. Prominent among those present were Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sankar, Dr. Indra Narayan Sen Gupta, Sj. Birendra Chandra Majumdar, Nepal Chandra Roy, Chandra Kumar Banerjee, Dr. Jiban Ratan Dhar, Swami Satyananda, Sj. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Dhires Chakravarti, Dr. Mohini Mohan Das, Sj. Chaitanya Krishna Mondal, Sarat Chandra Majumdar, Rai Charan Sarkar, Gayanath Biswas, Laksmi Kanta Roy, Profulla Kumar Sen-Gupta, Sarat Kumar Sen, Bejoy Krishna Roy.

On the 19th morning the Presidents of the different sections of Conference were taken in procession to the pandal at the head of a large number of volunteers carrying national flags and shouting 'Bandomataram'. The Namasudra Conference met in the morning under the presidency of Sj. Chaitanya Krishna Mondal of Tangail. The proceedings began with an address of welcome by Sj. Rasik Lal Biswas, Chairman, Reception Committee. In the presidential address Sj. Mondal dwelt at length upon various problems facing his community with possible solutions thereof. There then began a lively discussion about the methods of bringing about the all-round improvement of the Namasudras and quite a large number of the delegates took part in the discussion.

In the afternoon, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee opened the social section of the All-Bengal Depressed Classes Conference. In the course of a short speech in his characteristic fashion he brought home to the audience by an array of facts and figures how the sin of untouchability is by no means so great in Bengal as in other parts of India. But he urged its total eradication for bringing about the much needed unity in the Hindu Society. The unnecessary barrier of caste as well as the senseless bar to temple-entry should go. But he laid great stress upon the need for carrying on the work of social reform among the depressed classes for the removal of such social evils, as early marriage, child widowhood, poverty, unclean and unhygienic ways of life. There should be above all the spread of mass education, which is the "sine qua non" of all progress.

With these words Sj. Chatterjee opened the Conference. The President Sj. Rajani Kanta Das read an illuminating address on the various social problems affecting the scheduled castes. At the very outset the president maintained that if Depressed Classes be characterised as in the Report of the Simon Commission, by their being untouchable and unapproachable, then there is no such class in Bengal. Sir William Prentice also stated in the Bengal Legislative Council that "Untouchability was not made the test in compiling the list of scheduled castes" in Bengal. Social and political backwardness is their only criterion.

The ineducation of the masses has thus largely contributed to their deplorable condition. The Government has yet failed to effectively tackle this problem. Compulsory Primary Education Act, the Speaker added, has, no doubt, been introduced only in 10 districts in Bengal. But the situation demands far greater interest and more energetic action. Then there is the chronic poverty of the masses. The resuscitation of village industries, as contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi, may at least be a palliative. In this pre-eminently agricultural province, improvement of agriculture alone offers a radical cure. Mere jute restriction and operation of Money Lenders' Act—measures no doubt good in themselves, cannot, however, go a long way. There must be the relief against agricultural indebtedness and the burden of taxation and effective measures adopted for increasing the productivity of soil. In this connection, the work of the Irrigation and Agricultural Departments leave much to be desired.

But the growth of munhood in the depressed classes, the speaker continued, irresistably calls for the abolition of castes and other social disabilities following therefor. Any conflict of interests between the caste Hindus and the untouchables cannot but tell upon the failure of the Hindu Society. Its much-needed solidarity urgently calls for the removal of the artificial bar to intercaste marriage and to temple entry.

The President having concluded, resolutions were unanimously adopted urging removal of castes, introduction of widow re-marriage and the like. Late at night the proceedings were brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the chair.

The political section of the Depressed classes Conference met the next morning at 9 A. M. In the absence of the President-elect S<sub>r</sub> Nigendra Narayan Roy, due to his illness, S<sub>r</sub> Rajam Kanta Das, was proposed to the chair. S<sub>r</sub> Nepal Chandra Roy in opening the Conference in a short speech made a survey of the growth of our freedom movement and pointedly drew the attention of the audience to the burning political topics of the day.

In his presidential address S<sub>r</sub> Das dwelt mainly on the inadequacy of the reforms proposals now before the Parliament, and the retrograde and the anti-national character of the Communal Award. The spirit of distrust and the unwillingness of transferring power pervades the entire scheme of constitutional reforms.

This sorry scheme cannot satisfy the growing political aspirations of the children of the soil, and as such has no chance of acceptance. The Communal Award, aiming at the emasculation of the nation by a process of vivisection of the body politic, constitutes the worst feature of the reforms that human ingenuity could ever devise.

Referring to the Poona Pact, the President stated how people were coerced into its acceptance by Mahatma's threat of fasting unto death, irrespective of any consideration of the merits of the Pact. At the time of the Premier's Award the depressed classes seemed quite contented with the reservation of no more than 10 seats. With that logic can they at present regard the 30 seats, given them under the Pact, as absolutely sacrosanct? The double system of election of the Poona Pact is by no means a desirable feature. For the sake of maintaining in tact the integrity of the Hindu Society, the depressed class, should be prepared to re-open the Poona Pact with a view to the readjustment of respective claims by mutual agreement between caste Hindus and the depressed classes.

### Resolutions

The following resolutions were unanimously accepted at the Conference:—

(1) "Whereas the constitutional reforms proposals now before the Parliament have denied our political aspiration; whereas these proposals are intended to maintain and perpetuate foreign exploitation and domination, and as such have been unanimously condemned as more retrograde, expensive and humiliating than the existing system, this Conference rejects these reforms proposals in their entirety and urges the people in general to launch an effective campaign for their rejection throughout the country.

(2) "This Conference is definitely of opinion that the British Premier's Communal Award is anti-national, undemocratic and fraught with dangerous consequences, being primarily intended to consolidate British Imperialism in India upon the vivisection of our body politic, this Conference, therefore, rejects the Communal Award in all its aspects, and urges the launching of a country-wide campaign against the Award, with a view to its replacement by a system of representation on the basis of joint electorate with adult franchise, which is the 'sine qua non' for the growth of a free and democratic India.

(3) "In view of the unnecessary cost involved in the double system of election inherent in the Poona Pact, this Conference proposes that a Committee consisting of the following persons, with power to co-opt, may reconsider the provisions of the Poona Pact with a view to arrive at a satisfactory agreed settlement between the parties concerned. The Committee is hereby desired to announce their decision within two months and take the necessary steps for its acceptance by the authorities."

# The All India Harijan Sewak Sangh

## Report for the Year 1933-34

The following is the second annual report of the All-India Harijan Sewak Sangh, 1933-34, which was adopted at a meeting of the Central Board of the Sangh held at New Delhi on the 5th. January 1935. —

"Special importance has been attached this year as during the last year, to educational advancement, but the emphasis on various items of work has been slightly changed. The David Educational Scholarships started for encouraging the higher collegiate education of Harijans and for preparing a group of educated men to serve their community, was the most significant feature of educational work during the year 1932-33. The number of scholarships awarded this year has even been increased from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 and the total monthly grant raised from Rs. 560 to Rs. 1,284-8. More important still is the emphasis put on scholarships awarded for vocational courses. Out of 99 scholarships 28 are for such courses and no more could be granted as no more such applications were forthcoming. Of the recipients there are three ladies, one of whom Miss. K. G. Jankibai is getting Rs. 30 p. m. for pursuing the Medical Course in the Medical College, Madras."

The report continues, "As the Central Board has this year taken upon itself the duty of granting scholarships and aid for collegiate studies so the Provincial Boards have this year concentrated on the award of school scholarships, specially for the Middle and High School stages. Almost all the Provincial Boards have spent substantial amounts under this head. Andhra, Gujarat, Orissa, Punjab and Tamilnad have between them spent about Rs. 12,347 and the total under this head reached the sum of Rs. 30,594-14-1 and a half. Considering the fact that the average value of such scholarships varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 4, one can have an approximate idea of the large number of pupils helped."

"The most important increase is in the number of preparatory schools running this year. Against the 497 schools of last year we have 909 working this year an increase of 83 per cent. The total attendance has swelled to 24,824 and the total annual expenditure was Rs. 75,814-12-4 and a half. The number of night schools is yet very large and out of 909 schools only 538 are day schools. It is difficult to state the number of girls but the number of girls' school reported to be studying in our schools was only 1,660."

"But the most significant feature of this year's work was neither the award of scholarships nor opening of schools, but the rapid increase of hostels and homes for Harijan children. Last year there were 41 such hostels including a number of those receiving grants-in-aid from the Sangh. This year the total number of hostels run by the Sangh alone was 60 and the total number of inmates was about 1,118—about 291 being girls. The amount spent was Rs. 28,877-4-7, the largest sum being spent by Andhra—Rs. 8054-6-9, Gujarat—Rs. 4,220-8, Kerala—Rs. 3,875-8-1, and Rajputana—Rs. 3,034-7-7. The grand total of expenditure on education work amounted to Rs. 1,63,945-12-1 and a half exclusive of the miscellaneous aid given and the David Scholarships awarded by the Central Board."

The report points out: "It is sad to remark that little has been done by our Sanghs for the education of Harijan girls. Three girls have secured the David Scholarships and seven have been awarded the Raghunath Scholarships. It is not known how many special schools for girls have been opened but these are not likely to be many. The number of girls in our boys' schools is inappreciable. The Girls' hostels are being run by Andhra Sangh, one by the Kerala, one by the Karnatak Sanghs—in all four. The total reported strength of their inmates is only 58. The Central Board has sanctioned a direct grant of Rs. 300 for the Shardo Raje Girls' Boarding, Indore and another grant of Rs. 100 for Pacham Girls' Hostel in Bellary (Karnatak). The neglect of half the Harijan population and that the most conservative part is a deficiency which we must lose no time in removing. For the removal of untouchability the education and care of girls is no less important than the education of boys."

"With regard to the encouragement of secondary education among Harijans all that our Sangh can do, besides awarding some necessary scholarships, is to put considerable pressure on District Boards to exempt Harijans from fees, partly or wholly. The Tamilnad and Kerala Secretaries report that all the District Boards have exempted Harijans from payment of fees. The Andhra Secretary has induced five District Boards to sanction such an exemption, but it is obvious that such an effort must be made on a much wider scale next year.

Referring to economic advancement, the report says: "The disease of poverty is an All-India ailment and by no means peculiar to Harijans, though sometimes observed in a virulent form among them. The economic field is vaster and far more complicated than the educational field. The evil of 'Beggar' (forced labour) stands partly for a social disability, but mostly represents an antiquated system of customary payments in kind. It can be really abolished only by the abolition of the present basis of payment which is an extremely intricate adjustment of mutual economic rights and duties. Nor is the evil peculiar to Harijans or the insuperable concomitant of untouchability. The Punjab alone has attempted some little propaganda on this score but the results are not commensurate with the efforts for the evil is more deep-rooted and requires more radical remedies than the Sangh can offer.

An attempt has been made to secure employment for Harijans in the offices and welfare centres of the Sangh. According to the incomplete figures available 108 persons have been so employed. This figure is likely to be raised in the future but can never reach considerable proportions for the Sangh cannot offer employment to many. A more serious effort should however be made in the future to secure the employment of Harijans in industrial concerns and factories, more specially because industrially organised labour is the surest solvent of social distinctions. The Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Madras and Sholapur Sanghs should pay due attention to this work. But the Sangh has this year taken another definite step in the right direction for ameliorating the economic condition of Harijans. Knowing that most Harijans are engaged in Agriculture, Tanning and Weaving, a number of "Industrial Homes" or Harijan Karmalayas have been started in some provinces. The most important of these is the Hariji Shila of Kurachi, started out of the munificent gift of Rs. 50,000 by the Mohatti family. Here about 20 Harijan boys are taught high class boot and shoe-making under an expert deputed from Dayalbagh. The course is for two years and the institution is expected to be self-supporting. A tailoring section is also attached. The Subarnuti Ashram has got a tanning and chapli-making section. The tanning department is run by a few Ashram boys who have the free use of buildings and tools and a loan of Rs. 1,200 to work on their account. The chapli department has admitted 21 boys so far, out of whom 6 have left after receiving full training and 3 have joined the Charnmalaya as dependent workers. The average monthly production is 800 pairs of chaplis and 300 pairs of shoes. The Harijan Colony at Allahabad, the College Research Institute of Calcutta and Harijan Karmalaya of Delhi are other institutions which will be starting work during the year 1934-35 and are expected to render a good account of themselves in the near future.

The report also dwells on the amelioration of social conditions and the removal of religious disabilities of Harijans. "The Bombay resolution of September 25, 1932, talks of abolishing untouchability by birth, of securing the same civic right for all Hindus and of removing the ban in respect of admission to temples. Such is the main purpose of that resolution and the success of the programme of the Sangh should be judged not merely by the number of schools opened or the number of Harijans employed essentially by the removal of socio-religious disabilities. It is believed that the Harijan masses are unalterable and unchangeable; that it will be difficult to rouse them from a state of deep somnolence. But in a couple of years the scene has changed and everywhere a consciousness of a new destiny seems to have vivified them. There is in all provinces a militant and a claimant section fighting for equal rights and privileges. The habit of personal cleanliness, the chief pride of the caste-Hindus and the chief ingredient of resulting untouchability will take more time and require greater exertions before it can be organised. And in this Harijans are as much sinned as sinners. In villages, they have little or no access to private or public wells. During the year 176 wells mostly in Andhra and Bihar are reported to have been thrown open for common use. Under J. K. Fund for water supply during the year 92 wells were sanctioned at an estimated cost of Rs. 18,690. The Central Board sanctioned a grant of Rs. 10,854-8-0 and the local donations raised were Rs. 7,030-8-0. Assam, Malabar, C.

P. Hundi, Berar and Hyderabad Dacean have not yet submitted any estimates. Considering the acute need for well construction in Harijan basties, the important of water in the scale of human needs, the social importance of water-supply in India, this delayed expenditure of Rs 25,000 on a item which can easily absorb a crore of rupees and leave the need unsatisfied is a sad commentary on this much neglected item of our work."

The report adds: "The event of the year was the All-India Harijan tour of Mahatma Gandhi which commenced on November 7, 1934 and came to an end in Benares at the end of July, 1934, with a month's break in North Bihar. This tour was successful in many ways. It was first of all a remarkable personal victory for the Mahatma. In town or village from the South East to the North West of India, and in Calcutta was witnessed the overflowing affection of the people. The tour was also a success looking to the collections. A sum of Rs. 8,21,179-15-11 excluding expenses was collected in about eight months, the largest collection in a city was Rs. 70,263-15-8 in Calcutta. But the quality of the collections matters more than the quantity, for if the rich have paid their hundreds the poor have also contributed in their thousands. There was a vague desire, an indefinite feeling, that untouchability must go. In Mahatma Gandhi the desire became a warning and the feeling a burning passion. Through his instrumentality a great thought is being crystallised into a big fact and a mere theory is being translated into a strong organisation. This whirlwind tour has lifted the depressed classes problem from the status of a social reform to the pedestal of the greatest sociological upheaval of modern Hinduism and perhaps the biggest humanitarian movement of the modern times.

The tour marks a great chronological frontier in the social history of the world.

## The National Sikh Conference

### Opening Day—Amritsar—16th. March 1935

The second National Sikh Conference opened at Amritsar on the 16th March 1935 in a large pandal in Guna Ramdas Niwas, (the rest house attached to the Golden Temple) in the presence of nearly 5,000 Akalis, including women Representative Akalis and their jathas had come from all districts. Sardar Kharak Singh presided.

Sardar Jaswant Singh Jhabalia, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address pointed out that the conference was being held as a protest against the Communal Award. The decision, he said, was wholly unjust as the same principle had not been applied to all the provinces. In the Punjab attempts were made to establish a Muslim Raj. Sikhs would make all possible sacrifices, but would never accept the Communal Award or any constitution based thereon. He announced that a deputation of Sikhs was going to England for the same purpose with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Sardar Kharak Singh in his presidential address to the Conference said that after giving up party strife he had devoted himself to opposition of the Communal Award. He declared that he would not hesitate to launch a campaign and lead the first Jatha in this cause and suffer the consequences. He opposed the idea of leading a deputation to England, but suggested the setting up of a campaign.

Speaking at the open session of the Conference Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said that he was pleased with the great success of the Sikh National Conference. He was sure that the Sikhs under the leadership of Sardar Kharak Singh were bound to attain success. The Pandit said the demand for freedom of their country was not at all an offence. English civilisation had taught them the lesson of freedom and to the world the system of democracy by forming parliament.

Proceeding, Panditji regretted the failure of Gandhi-Irwin Pact and observed that had the spirit of the said pact been carried out by the Government there would have been no trouble and many a difficult matter would have been simplified. The British Parliament came into the hands of the Conservatives and they turned the table and the White Paper, J. P. C. Report and the Government of India Bill were the direct outcome of the Conservative Policy.

Continuing, Malaviyaji said that the different communities in India had more than once come to a communal agreement but on all the occasions the British Government's interference spoiled the whole thing. At the Allahabad Unity Conference the Muslims agreed to accept 32 per cent representation at the Centre, separation of Sind provided the province meets its expenses. But four days after the settlement, the Secretary of State announced that the Muslims shall have 33-1-4 per cent direct representation in the Central legislature and Sind would be formed into a separate province unconditionally.

Panditji asserted that he was fully prepared to undertake the settlement of communal problem and was sure of his success provided the British Government takes a pledge of non-interference. No self-government could stand on the basis of separate electorates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs should come to a compromise of their own accord. Panditji did not object to a Muslim majority, if it was elected on joint electorate basis but strongly condemned a statutory one on the communal lines. He appreciated the spirit of the Sikhs, who in spite of their being rulers of the Punjab before the British advent, were prepared to share the administration of their province with others. There was no necessity of reservation of seats for a majority community while protection was needed by the minorities. There would be no swaraj in the Punjab under the Communal Award and it would merely be a Muslim Raj.

Malaviyaji then said that the British Government had done the greatest favour to the Europeans and second to them to the Muslims and the greatest injustice was done to the Hindus at the Centre. Both Muslims and Europeans had received much more than they deserved and the Hindus much less than their due share. The British Government did not adopt uniform principle of giving representation to the various communities. They adopted different principles for Muslims, Hindus and the Sikhs. It was the imperative duty of the Government to allot at least 26 per cent seats to the Sikhs in the Punjab on the same principle on which the Muslims of the United Provinces had been given representation. The Muslims were spread over several provinces, but the Sikhs had only one province where they did not demand class rule but merely a reasonable share of control.

Touching the Muslim representation at the Centre, Malaviyaji said that the Muslims were about 25 per cent of India's population but they had been given more than 38 per cent at the centre. Panditji strongly objected to the declaration of British Government to the effect that the Communal Award was a settled fact so long as the communities did not come to another settlement of their own. Had it not been so, a communal settlement was very easy. The speaker expressed his readiness for communal negotiations with the Muslims if they did not insist on the benefits of the Communal Award. Proceeding further Panditji questioned the right of British Parliament of placing one community of India at the mercy of the other. Indians had every right to ask for freedom. The time for a free fight was a thing of past and India had decided to attain its freedom by constitutional and peaceful means. The British nation were also proclaiming that the ultimate goal of their policy in India was to place the control of the country in the hands of its people, but it was being done with the intention of giving the control of a motor car by placing huge stones on the road.

Replying to the critics, Malaviyaji said that he was not prepared to disclose his plans in case the Communal Award and the India Bill were not altered. He would thoroughly examine the structure of the entire building and then decide about the course of action. It was just possible, said Panditji, that if they met with dismal failure in securing necessary changes both in the Award and the India Bill, they might resort to non-co-operation. The British Government had committed blunders after blunders and the time for a country-wide agitation against the Award had arrived. Panditji agreed with those who say that by the time the deputation would reach England the India Bill might have passed almost all critical stages, for the Conservative Government were bent upon getting the same through but it was necessary to place the view-point of Indian public before the members of both Houses of Parliament at this stage. He deprecated the contention that the Indians were unfit to manage their affairs. He said only a century ago Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs had ruled over their country and he failed to see any reason as to why they would fail in ruling their country with a combined force and goodwill. If the British government declared its policy of non-interference in the communal settlement it was a question of a day of attainment. Explaining his mission to England, he said that although he had been asked by numerous sincere friends not to go to England for being insulted, yet his reply to them was that there was no greater insult than being slaves of a foreign nation.

# The Bengal Provincial Conference

Opening Day—Dinajpur—19th. April 1935

The thirty-third session of the Bengal Provincial Political Conference commenced at Dinajpur on the 19th April 1935 in a profusely decorated pandal erected in the Golkuthi maidan. Over 300 delegates from different districts including a dozen Sonthal representatives from the interior of Balurghat subdivision and a fairly large number of visitors assembled in the pandal.

After the "Bande Mataram" song, *Sy. Jogindra Chandra Chakravarty*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a fairly lengthy speech which incidentally contained a masterly survey of the political situation in the country and also indicated the lines which according to him the Provincial Congress Committee should follow so that the stagnation in our national life which is evident in all directions might disappear.

## Presidential Address

This was followed by formal election of *Dr. Indira Narayan Sen-Gupta* as the President of the Conference. Dr. Sen-Gupta then rose to deliver his address amidst acclamations from all parts of the House. The following is the full text of the address :—

My heartfelt thanks to you all for having bestowed upon an ordinary worker like myself the signal honour by electing me the President, when there is in Bengal no dearth of men, who would have more worthily filled in this post—I accept this honour not as belonging in any way to my personal desert but to the high ideal that all of us have in view. I shall feel myself immensely gratified, in bringing the session to a successful close, as I hope to, with your kind sympathy and valued co-operation.

The Provincial Conference met for the last time at Berhampur in December, 1932 under the presidency of *Sy. Haradyal Nag*, who has been amongst us a constant source of inspiration and courage. The causes that stood in the way of meeting the Annual Session of the Conference during the last three years are too well-known historical facts. But the present situation is altogether different from that of 1931. There is no longer that glory of triumph and bright optimism for the future. The shadow of defeat and a gloom of despair envelope us to-day.

Yet this gloom will be the precursor of light. Though steps be faltering, the flag needs be held aloft, the ideal needs be proclaimed to drooping hearts. The encouraging message needs go forth "Though defeated the ideal we have not forsaken." The problem facing us to-day is how to attain that ideal.

But before proceeding further let us offer our sincerest regards to the sacred memory of those leaders and workers who gave up their lives during the last few years in pursuance of this ideal. During these period the nation has lost three ex-Presidents of the Congress viz, *Sir Sankaran Nair*, *Dr. Annie Besant*, *Hasan Imam*, and the Nationalist Muslim leaders, *Sir Ali Imam* and *Sherwani*. Then there have been the deaths of *Vithalbhai Patel*, *Abhyankar* and *Rangaswami Iyengar*. Two of the true disciples of *Deshbandhu* have given up their lives—*Deshapriya Jatindra Mohan Sen-Gupta* in internment and *Deshpran Birendranath* fighting the insidious poison of the Communal Award. Prominent among the other Congress workers, whose presence we unfortunately miss to-day are *Lalit Mohan Das*, *Ghulam Zilani* and *Oli Islamabadi*. Among the older Congressmen, the names of *Bepin Chandra Pal* and *Indu Bhushan Sen* need also come to our mind.

Before, however, we come to deal with the present situation, we should briefly trace the trend of events that led to it. You all remember *Mahatma Gandhi's* participation at the Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress in pursuance of the *Gandhi-Irwin Truce* in 1931. Being, however, foiled in his efforts due to the unholy machinations of the British Imperialists and Indian Communalists *Mahatmaj* returned unsuccessful by the end of the year. In the meantime the India Government promulgated various Ordinances in Bengal, the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Provinces. *Mahatmaj* sought an interview with the Viceroy to



discuss the situation. The interview was not granted and Mahatma was placed under arrest with his associates on the 31d January, 1932 for resumption of Civil Disobedience. This led to the promulgation of Ordinances, on the one hand and disobedience of the same on the other. This struggle went on through various phases till the All-India Congress Committee cried halt at the directions of Mahatma Gandhi. Bengal's contribution towards this Civil Disobedience movement is without a parallel in India. The fiery ordeal that it was for the people of Midnapur and the incarceration of ladies in Bikrampur deserve special mention in this connection. The people of Alambagh, Mahishbathan, Tehatta and Bhanuol also became conspicuous by their selfless sacrifice and suffering in the country's cause.

#### THE COMMUNAL AWARD

Apart from the repressive policy of the Government, the so-called "Communal Award" was also devised at that time to undo the movement and make its resumption impossible by vivisection of the Indian body politic. It is too well-known fact how Mahatma staked his life to undo the mischief of dividing the Hindu Society in twain, that the Award had contemplated. But the Poona Pact has hardly been an improvement, because it has in a way served to widen the gulf between the upper and depressed classes in the Hindu Society. Mahatma has himself admitted in the columns of the "Harijan" that people were coerced into the acceptance of the Pact as a result of the Poona Fast.

The subsequent events are Mahatma's release, the introduction of individual in place of Mass Civil Disobedience, his re-arrest and retirement from active politics for one year after release. This was in 1933 and it made people grow expectant about the future. But the terrible earthquake which devastated Bihar in January, 1934, altogether changed the course of events. Works of relief engaged everybody's attention; and in that humanitarian work there began an honourable and ungrudging co-operation between the Congress and the Government. Just at the time Bihar was engaging everybody's attention, Dr. Ansari came with his proposals of Council-entry and the revival of the Swarajya Party. As a result of this, on the 7th April Mahatma called off Civil Disobedience and gave his blessings towards the formation of the Swarajya Party. The controversy so long raging in the country in connection with the Communal Award at first originated with the formation of this Neo-Swarajya Party.

#### COUNCIL-ENTRY

Despite, however, Mahatma's blessings, the council-boycott decision of the Lahore Congress stood in the way of the party. The A. I. C. C., meeting at Patna in May, 1934 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi gave its approval to the Council programme. The autonomous Parliamentary Board was there formed and the Congress later came to share the Board's attitude towards the Communal Award. The Working Committee meeting at Bombay at the end of June endorsed the formula of neither "rejecting nor accepting the Award." Henceforth the record of political events in Bengal, in particular, is a record of revolt against the decision of the Congress. The history of the formation of the Congress Nationalist Party, the contest of Assembly elections on this issue and the triumph of the Nationalists in every constituency are too fresh in public memory.

The Council programme is essentially a method of constitutional nature; there is nothing like revolt. But the pity is that despite the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience, the Government has in no way relaxed the repressive measures, promulgated against that movement of defiance. Rather newer measures have been devised to stifle the expression of popular opinion. The muzzling of the press continues with unabated rigour. None of the presses have got back their security, at the time of Civil Disobedience. Nor have the ban as yet been withdrawn from all the public bodies declared illegal. In this connection the Khudai Khidmatgar, Hindustani Sovadai, two Students' Associations in Bengal, the Abhoj Ashram and the Midnapore District Congress Committee deserve special mention. The authorities seem determined not to allow these bodies to function. All the Civil Disobedience prisoners as well have not as yet been set free.

#### "STEAM-ROLLER" POLICY

The policy of repression naturally leads to the discussion of the present political situation in the province, because for several years together a particular community have been groaning under the steam-roller of repression. Route marches of soldiers,

omnibus searches, indiscriminate arrests, operation of sunset laws, collective fine and the like have made the life of Hindu public miserable. It cannot be gainsaid that within living memory Bengal has ever been reduced to such a helpless state. If this cannot be remedied and we cannot muster up courage to resist this repression, it can only mean the emasculation of the race and the disappearance of the noble patriotic impulse in the children of the soil.

But the worst feature of this policy of repression is the incarceration of no less than 2,500 youngmen without trial for an indefinite period. This has meant untold distress to thousands of families. If the youth of a society be repressed thus how long can the society possibly stand. How long will the society take to repair the ills? How long will these young men endure this detention at the far off Deoli and Duxa camps? There can be no peace in Bengal unless there be redress of this grave wrong.

None of these young men have been charged with any crime unless it be their association with the Congress. For it is my firm conviction they are kept in detention only because of that. It is extremely sad that the Congress has not a word of sympathy for these imprisoned souls; although there are among them such veteran Congress leaders as the Bose brothers. The Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee have got to take note of this fact. Bengal should as well with one voice demand their release, it is high time for the Provincial Congress Committee to move in the matter.

Though repression is noticeable everywhere in Bengal, it has assumed worst proportions in the districts of North and Eastern Bengal and in Mduapur. In areas where sun-set laws are in operation, nobody is allowed to stir out after sun-set without Identity Cards. This naturally causes interferences in social and religious functions. All the play grounds and public parks in Dacca are forbidden regions to the younger generation after dusk. Persons who have been served with notices, are roused up by the police at all hours of the night, as they are 'B' class criminals. In many places in mufussil the educational institutions have been brought under the thumb of the local executive; and teachers are employed to spy upon their wards. This is indeed a woefully terrible state of things.

#### THE AWARD—A GRAVE MENACE

Next to this policy of repression the Communal Award forms a grave menace to Bengal. I endorse every syllable of what Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose has said with regard to the non-possimus attitude of the Congress regarding the Award. Never did human ingenuity devise a more deadly weapon against the growing spirit of nationalism. If this fell Award cannot be undone, it would disintegrate our body politic into warring elements and to the negation of our political aspirations. The Punjab leader, Dr. Kitchlew, was so much alive to the gravity of the situation that he gave out that he would rather co-operate with the Government if they annul the Award.

Without recounting all the discussions with regard to the Communal Award I would like only to point out that the non-committal attitude of the Congress regarding the same is by no means an accident, but the result of a long continued policy of placating the communalists. All the pacts and the formula for settlement of communal problems suggested at different times by the Congress bear eloquent testimony to the fact.

#### LUCKNOW PACT EVILS

The evil of separate electorate that we agreed to as a result of the Lucknow Pact in 1916, has come to pervade our entire body politic to the negation of the growth of nationalism. On the plea of communal settlement at every step we have pandered to the communal claims even at the cost of nationalism. But this has only accelerated the demands of the reactionary forces. The system of separate electorate and reservation of seats characterised the Lucknow Pact. But these have now given place to the fourteen points of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Even acceding these demands Mahatmaji could not prevail upon the Mahomedans to join us in enforcing our National demands. If Communal Settlement on these lines be the condition precedent to our achieving Swaraj, that Swaraj is never to come.

Let, therefore, there be no illusion that the Communal Award would solve the communal problem or would facilitate our march ahead. This can only hamper our progress. True solution can evolve only out of the parties imbibing the true spirit of nationalism and democracy, in the place of communalism. It is, therefore, that we are determined to undo the anti-national and undemocratic Award. It is gratifying to

observe that there is no two opinion in the Congress circle in Bengal about the rejection of the Award. Because the B. P. C. C. authorities in their reply to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's communication from Genoa in this connection definitely stated :—

"As regard the Communal Award we maintain that there is practically no difference of opinion among the Congressmen in Bengal. Every Congressman considers it anti-national, inequitous and undemocratic and thinks that it should be rejected along with the J. P. C. Report."

This speaks for itself and any comment is needless. I appeal to you all to adhere to this observation of the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C.

To those who hold the view that the Communal Award should remain sacrosanct till an agreed settlement is arrived at, I would only point out that the author of the Award, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, also uses that specious plea against any attempt at reopening the Award. If it could come into existence irrespective of the wishes of the people, why should communal agreement be a condition precedent to its annulment. A little reflection would show that so long as the Award be there, there can be no agreed settlement. It can come only after undoing the Award, and not before it. The Nationalist Mussalmans in our midst also have taken this view. Because it is stated in a resolution, adopted by the Executive Committee of Nationalist Muhammadans in Bengal, that—'It (Award) had practically closed the door of settlement between the different communities, in so far as it has laid down that no settlement will be accepted unless it is made with the consent of all the communities concerned.'

The truth of this observation goes without saying.

While rejecting the Award none need feel any undue concern about the settlement of the communal problem here. Barring other provinces the solution of this question in Bengal is by no means difficult. The inter-communal difference among the local people is not at all marked. The Hindus, Mussalmans and Indian Christians here—all belong to the same Bengali race differing only in religion, having community in language, dress, culture and traditions. Of course, there are communalists who thrive upon artificially creating difference to the denial of lesson of history.

Another word and I finish my observations regarding the Communal Award. It has been already mentioned that no agreed settlement is possible with the Award before us. The Congress also resents the intervention of a third party in what it considers a domestic question. But nevertheless at the end of February last the Congress President Sj. Rajendra Prasad entered into an agreement with Mr. Jinnah on the basis of the allocation of seats, as in Award. They, no doubt, agreed upon replacing the separate by the system of joint electorate. But the differential franchise that the Rajendra Prasad—Jinnah parleys suggested for the Hindus and Mussalmans with a view to bolster up the number of voters of the latter community, takes away much of the effects of the proposed joint electorate. It was, therefore, that we could not accept those terms. No good can come out of any settlement based on the Award unless it be on the lines of joint electorate, pure and simple, with modifications of other objectionable features of the Award. Consequently any settlement to be really equitable should be based on joint electorate with or without reservations for the minorities alone.

#### REACTIONARY "REFORMS"

Being based on the Communal Award, its discussion naturally leads to the question of the proposed constitutional reforms. These cannot be wrecked without wrecking the foundation. In view of the emphasis laid upon the Communal Award let us not think that this is the only objectionable feature of the reform proposals. In fact, these proposals are of so reactionary a character, that these can never be acceptable even if the Communal Award be modified, unless shorn of other objectionable features. Nevertheless the Communal Award need be emphasised. Because the Congress attitude towards the same has lent colour to the view that the reforms may be rejected without rejecting the Award. But the two are really inseparable. The need for a separate campaign against the Award has arisen from the fact that the Congress, while rejecting the reforms, failed to urge the rejection of the Award. Rejection of the reforms, and indirect acquiescence in the Award go ill together. Although the Congress has urged the rejection of the reforms, it has not defined the means which consists either of complete non-co-operation or obstruction within the legislature. Although ideally the best under the present circumstance it may not be acceptable to the people. Then the other is the only alternative left open to us, without however, the acceptance of office. It is much

to be regretted that in the Legislative Assembly owing to the tactics of Mr. Jinnah the Congress resolution on the rejection of the reforms was defeated. There is, however, no reason for despair; we should agitate against the reforms and all the provinces working together, we are bound to succeed.

#### ECONOMIC DISTRESS

Having discussed the Government policy of repression, the reform proposal and the Communal Award, let us now turn our attention to the acute economic distress that prevails in the province. Causes more than one have combined to upset the economic structure and there are visible around all the signs of social disruption. The zamindars, middle class and the agriculturist—all are equally affected. In a primarily agricultural province, agricultural distress has a necessary repercussion upon the entire society. Fall in the agricultural income has created middle class unemployment and the impoverished zamindars. Then the top heavy system of administration has also its share. The incidence of taxation is constantly on the increase, so much so that even tobacco, the only solace of the semi-starved peasantry, cannot escape being taxed. Children of the soil have no place in the trade and commerce of the province. We are thus pressed by adverse economic forces on all hands. Some amount of relief may, no doubt, be brought about by the readjustment of existing relationship between the agricultural and other vested interests. But no permanent solution is possible without radical change in the present Government and the costly system of administration. Nevertheless, with a view to alleviate agricultural distress, we should strive hard for remedial measures, such as the restriction of jute cultivation. The Government has recently taken up the matter, but the Congress has long been working in this line. But it has become at present all the more necessary to checkmate the systematic propaganda that is being carried on, against the Congress alleging that the Congress is responsible for the present deplorable state of things. Besides repudiating such allegations it needs be brought home to the people that the removal of their distress urgently calls for drastic change in the present system of administration.

#### DUTY OF CONGRESS

To accomplish this purpose, the Congress should take lead in organising peasant movement, so that such movement may effectively safeguard the real interests of the peasantry without their further victimisation. Movements of the kind are fraught with immense possibilities; the Congress can never be indifferent to the same. The Fundamental Rights Resolution, adopted at the Karachi Session of the Congress, has similar objective, the Provincial and District Congress organisations can never be too careful in this regard.

As to the constructive work the Congress has set up three organisations, viz., the All-India Spinners' Associations, the Harijan Board, and the Village Industries' Association. Workers of these organisations cannot actively participate in politics. The consequent diversion of workers cannot help weakening the integrity of the Congress and adversely affecting the national interest. The Congress is essentially a political organisation and its political activities alone have contributed to its glory. If, however, Congress workers at present engage themselves exclusively in constructive activities of non-political character, it is sure to tell upon the prestige of the Congress, and bereft of political significance the constructive work as well may not assume its proper proportions. It is a matter of common experience that the political movement adds a filip to constructive work like the spread of charka and Khadi to the exclusion of foreign stuff. The phenomenal cigarette boycott is also a case in point.

But it is regrettable that the spirit of Swadeshi is not enduring enough. There should be constant propaganda for the use of Swadeshi. The establishment of the Village Industries Association is undoubtedly a move in the right direction. It would indeed be a great achievement if the Association succeeds in reviving the dead and dying industries and the self-sufficient village economy. But unless there develops sufficient love for Swadeshi, mere manufacture of village products cannot carry us far.

#### REORGANISATION NEED

As to the Congress organisation, after the repression of last three years, the one thing needed is to reorganise them. For this purpose it is essential that we get in touch with the workers throughout the province. They need be organised into a well-knit body. There is no doubt that there is the eternal want of pence, but that is not an insuperable barrier. Khadi, Harijan, and village industries work must be pushed through. Labour and Agricultural movements as well should have our full support. Congress workers may as well take up the noble work of imparting education to the village folk.

In conclusion my appeal goes to you for closing up of the Congress ranks. You are all aware of the fervent appeal of our exiled leader, *Sri Subhas Chandra Bose*, in this connection. The difference in our ranks has been the cause of Bengal's undoing. As at present there are no two honest opinions with regard to Bengal's peculiar problems and for the solution there can be no earthly reason why jointly we should not undertake the responsibility of furthering the Congress work and ideal to the full. Let the ideal of unity be the message of the Conference to the country. May Dinajpur earn the undying fame of composing up our differences—*Bande Mataram*!

### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—20th. April 1935.

The formal proceedings of the Conference commenced to-day, the chair moving a resolution condoling with the death of Congress workers and leaders all over the country during the last four years, including among others *V. J. Patal*, *J. M. Sengupta*, *Bepin Chandra Pal*, *B. N. Sasmal*, *Abhayankar*, *T. A. K. Sherwani* and *Rangaswami Iyenger*. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the whole house standing.

#### SUFFERINGS OF WORKERS

The next resolution was : "This Conference places on record its profound appreciation of the services rendered to the national cause by all those people of Bengal who have suffered in pursuance of the Civil Disobedience programme of voluntary offering and who in accordance with the Congress advice without suffering any defence or bail served and are serving various periods of imprisonment, and calls upon the people of Bengal to keep alive this spirit of sacrifice and to maintain unbroken the struggle for freedom."

#### FREE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

*Sri Panchanan Basu* next moved the following resolution : "As free elementary education is the primary and urgent need of the masses, this Conference urges on all Congress organisations of Bengal to introduce the same on national lines in their respective areas and requests the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to appoint a Committee to prepare a scheme for organising and financing national education in Bengal and for that purpose to raise funds, prepare a budget and submit proposals to the B. P. C. C. for their approval and sanction."

#### VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

*Sri Jatindra Nath Roy* of Bogra next moved the following resolution : "This Conference appeals to the people of Bengal to use articles produced in villages and further requests them, specially the Congressmen, to help the All-India Village Industries Association in their endeavour for the revival or improvement of the cottage industries."

#### REPRESSIVE POLICY

*Sri Birendra Nath Mazumdar* next move the following resolution : "This conference enters its protest against the Government policy of repression and calls upon the people of Bengal to demand release of detenus and the withdrawal of repressive laws."

#### CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

*Sri Amarendra Nath Chatterjee* moved as follows :

"Whereas it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine their own constitution and whereas only a constituent Assembly elected by the entire nation can be convened when the nation has acquired sufficient strength to achieve its object of complete independence and can frame such a constitution, this Conference is of opinion that the constitution which is sought to be forced upon this country, should be wrecked. To this end the Indian National Congress should make it its object to make the operation of that constitution impossible by capturing the legislatures set up under the new constitution and by refusing to accept the offices of ministers followed by persistent obstruction compelling the Government to suspend the sham constitution and by preparing the country for direct action through which alone can the nation realise its right to self-determination."

#### PEASANT'S CONDITION

*Sri Panchanan Basu* next moved the following resolution which also was carried unanimously :—"In view of the deplorable economic condition of the peasants of Bengal this Conference requests the B. P. C. C. to form a sub-committee to enquire into actual conditions, that is to say their indebtedness, rate of interest, productivity of soil, in-

come and expenditure and their capacity to pay etc with a view to devise ways and means to ameliorate their condition and further requests the Provincial Congress Committee to take all necessary steps to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee”.

#### COMMUNAL AWARD

Now came up for discussion the most important resolution by *Sj. Surendra Mohan Maitra* of Rajshahi relating to the Communal Award. The resolution ran as follows :—

“(a) This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the communal decision of the British Government is manifestly anti-national, iniquitous and undemocratic and should be rejected. The Conference urges the A. I. C. C. to revise the Congress attitude towards it accordingly and requests the A. I. C. C. to make attempts to solve the communal question.

“(b) This Conference is of opinion that the new Congress constitution adopted in Bombay is undemocratic and unworkable, particularly on account of the reduction in the number of delegates, members of the A. I. C. C. and of P. C. C.'s and because of the element of compulsion in the matter of manual labour and the like.

“(c) This Conference records its strong protest against the non-inclusion of any representative from Bengal in the Working Committee and urges the President of the Congress to include Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose in the Working Committee without further delay.

“(d) This Conference views with deep regret the long-standing difference in the ranks of Congressmen in the province and urges the B. P. C. C. to bring about unity amongst Congress workers as suggested by *Sj. Subhas Ch. Bose*.”

*Maulana Abdul Baki*, prominent North Bengal nationalist Muslim, said that the Bengal Hindu attitude towards the communal decision was as strong and bitter as that of the Muslims and he would join with them in urging the A. I. C. C. to evolve an agreed solution by all means. But circumstanced as they were it would be impossible for them to remain any longer with them if the resolution was carried. This, said the Maulana, was not to be regarded as a threat but in view of the present circumstances the nationalist Muslims would be compelled to withdraw from the conference most unwillingly, if the resolution was adopted.

In spite of the fervent appeal made by the Chairman of the Reception Committee the Nationalist Muslims withdrew from the Conference.

#### RESOLUTIONS—Third Day—21st April 1935.

When the Conference resumed its sitting at eight this morning *Sj. Jogindra Chandra Chakravarty* announced that the negotiations which were being carried on with the Moslem members over the resolution on Communal Award had not, unfortunately, resulted in any agreed formula being found which would be acceptable to all the parties. The Moslem delegates have intimated that though they would refrain from participating in the proceedings of the conference so far as they related to the resolution on Communal Award as a mark of protest against the resolution they would however not secede from the conference and might return to the conference after discussion on this resolution was over.

After *Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal* had spoken on the resolution it was put to vote and carried with only five delegates dissenting.

#### JINNAH-PRASAD UNITY TALKS

*Mr. Amar Chakrabarty* next moved the following resolution : “This Conference is of opinion that the terms of compromise proposed in connection with the Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad unity talks at Delhi regarding communal decision are altogether unsatisfactory and unacceptable and urges upon the Bengal members of the A. I. C. C. to oppose any resolution regarding settlement of communal problem on these terms.”

*Mr. Mahitosh Roy Choudhury* moved the following amendment to *Mr. Chakravarty's* resolution : “This Conference further requests the A. I. C. C. and the Congress Working Committee not to make any settlement of the communal problem so far as Bengal is concerned without previous consultation with the representative public opinion of this province.”

*Mr. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee* moved another amendment to *Mr. Chakravarty's* resolution which was in these terms :—

“This Conference is also of opinion that a Sub-Committee consisting of twelve members, six from each community in Bengal, be formed within a month with the

object of devising all possible means for an agreed solution of the question in this province."

Mr Chakravarti accepted both the amendments and the amended resolution was carried with only four delegates dissenting.

#### UPLIFT OF HARIJANS

Mr *Charu Roy* of Tatal next moved the following resolution :

"This Conference considers that untouchability is a curse eating into the vitals of the nation, and so appeals to all specially Congressmen, not to observe untouchability personally and to help the Harijan Sevak Sangha in its endeavours for the uplift of Harijans."

#### DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

"While not opposing any propaganda tour in England or elsewhere to enlighten public opinion against the Communal Award, this Conference is strongly of opinion that any attempt to alter or maintain the Communal Award by sending a deputation to British Government is futile and derogatory to India's self respect and respectfully requests Congressmen who might be thinking of leading such a deputation in England to give up that idea."

## The Punjab Political Conference

### Opening Day—Lahore—6th. April 1935

The twentieth session of the Punjab Political Conference commenced at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore on the 6th. April 1935 under the presidentship of Mrs. *Sarajini Naidu*. Prominent among those present were Babu Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. K. Sanatnam and Dr. Gopichand Bhargava.

After *Lala Dunichand* of Lahore, Chairman of the Reception Committee, had welcomed the delegates, *Mrs. Naidu* delivered her address in Urdu. She said that it saddened her heart to see such a poor attendance (barely 500 present) contrasted to the dense crowds who had flocked on the banks of the Ravi to hear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru raise the cry of Swaraj not so many years ago.

The Congress was still lively in Bombay, Madras, Bihar, U. P., Central Provinces, etc., but "the darwan of India, the watchdog on India's kismet" was sleeping. It was here, she said, that Punjab's martyrs kindled the national life anew 16 years ago, but now it seemed as though fear had chilled their soul or selfishness damped their ardour.

She said that it was the Punjab with its manly races who had given the attributes of nationhood to India to raise her head among the free nations, but to-day when the Sikhs were acting as anything but a brave people, they and the Hindus were wrangling like the meanest banias for a seat here and a seat there; they presented a spectacle which filled every Indian heart with shame.

She asked Congressmen to go to villages to propagate the ideas of nationalism and Swaraj among villagers and teach them that Swaraj meant more bread and raiment for them. Workers should approach the poor, she added, not in a spirit of touch-and-go, but mix with them as one of them and teach them self-respect and the essential equality of spirit. She also mentioned that the Hindu Sabha, the Muslim League and the Sikh organisations had to-day raised their voice against the Congress. She held that but for their divisions among themselves, the Communal Award would never have come into existence. Proceeding, the speaker referred to Gandhiji's programme of village uplift, and said that the constructive work like that would advance the cause of freedom and country. She did not think that much could be achieved by work in the Assembly and Councils so long as there was the power of certification of the Viceroy and the Governors, except exposing before the bar of the world the real nature of India's subjection.

She appealed to the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Moslems to close up their ranks and concentrate their attention on attaining freedom as one united nation.

She concluded with an appeal to the youth of the Punjab to regain their life even as Savitri regained the life of her husband by sheer soul force and infuse that life in the villages for which the way had been shown by Mr. Gandhi.

**RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—7th. April 1935**

The Conference concluded this evening, after passing a number of resolutions. A resolution was passed condoling the deaths of national workers such as Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, Mrs Besant, Mr Abhyankar, Mr. Sen-Gupta and Mr T. A. K. Sherwani and appreciating the services of Dr Satyapal, President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, who is at present in prison.

A resolution called on the Congress members in the province to give full effect to the Working Committee's resolution and for enforcing strict discipline wherever disobedience thereof was noticed on the part of any committee or office-bearer or member.

Another resolution recorded the Conference's indignation and protest at the detention without trial of more than 4,000 Bengalcees under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and Regulation 1818.

The Conference by another resolution expressed sympathy with State prisoners, martial law prisoners of 1914-15 and the Punjab Conspiracy case prisoners and opining that the detention of State prisoners without trial and the further imprisonment of martial law prisoners was unjustifiable.

The Conference strongly supported the Punjab Zemindars' demand for the reduction of land revenue by 50 per cent and for the application of the principle of minimum income-tax exemption, so that upto the minimum income, no land revenue should be levied.

The Conference congratulated the Congress Party in the Assembly on its infliction of a record number of defeats on the Government, and by another resolution, called on all Congress workers to carry out the constructive programme, regardless of opposition or repression.

The Conference rejected the Government's reform proposals as they were demonstrably against the interests of India and maintaining that the Congress was the only all-India organisation consistently carrying on the struggle for Swaraj and appealed to the people of the Punjab to give unstinted help and support to it in every possible way.

As regards the Communal Award, the Conference characterised it as wholly unsatisfactory and a source of growing inter-communal bitterness and dissensions and considered it imperative that the leaders of the various communities should take immediate steps to find an equitable and adequate substitute. It also approved the efforts of Babu Rajendra Prasad to bring about a compromise based on joint electorates.

The Conference recommended the appointment of a political sufferers' employment board to help and find employment for those who suffered in national movements.

The Conference passed a resolution, strongly condemning the Government for allowing the situation at Karachi to take a serious turn and for indiscriminate firing on the crowd and further condemned the Government for not conceding the general demand for inquiry and offering its sincere sympathies to the sufferers.

## The Kerala Provincial Conference

The Kerala Provincial Conference opened its session at Calicut on the 28th. May 1935 under the presidency of Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor, Bombay Chronicle. In the course of his speech the President said :—

"The question is not seldom asked whether Conferences, such as the one we are holding to-day, serve any useful purpose. I have no hesitation in declaring that they do. We wish to establish democracy in our country. Constant consultation, mobilisation of collective commonsense and eternal vigilance are the very breath of a true and growing democracy. In common with the rest of India, Kerala had given a good account of itself during the Satyagraha campaign of 1930.

For nearly four years we strove for freedom. We had a cause that was just. We had a beloved leader, who will rank among the greatest men history has known, we carried on, against the mightiest Government of modern times, a non-violent struggle the like of which the world had never witnessed before. What have we gained? To all appearances, the labour, the sacrifices and the wounds have been vain. The new



constitution, which the British Government is bent upon foisting on the country, in the teeth of almost universal opposition, is a cruel mockery of the independence, of which we fought The Hindustani Seva Dal, the "Khudai Khudmatgar", and many other similar Congress organizations, youth leagues, ashrams and other national educational institutions, are still under a ban. The Congress cannot function in the North-West Frontier Province. We are not strong enough to secure the release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and several other Congressmen who are in jail. Nor have we the power to see that the hundreds of youths of Bengal, who are detained, are either released or tried in a court of law. While there is no shame in acknowledging the failure of our struggle so far as the attainment of our main objective, namely, freedom, is concerned, we have, however, no cause for despair. There is ample compensation in the fact that the struggle has revealed to us our own inherent strength and the almost illimitable resources of service and sacrifice that we possess.

In the moving speech that he made in the Congress House, Bombay, last week, Mahatma Gandhi declared that there was no disappointment in his heart and that the happenings in the country gave him no cause for despair. To those, who know Gandhiji, this is no mere expression of facile optimism but the statement of a simple truth. Gandhiji, in the course of the speech, said that the portals of Swaraj were always open for us provided we faithfully carried out the constructive programme of the Congress. I regard these two statements of Gandhiji as constituting a message of hope—hope that if we do not give way to despair but, realizing our strength, faithfully and earnestly carry out the programme the Congress has placed before us, it will not be long before Gandhiji resumes his active leadership and together we enter the portals of Swaraj. Gandhiji has made a special appeal for support to the work of the All-India Village Industries Association. We may not accept the programme of that Association as a complete solution of our economic problem. But India is pre-eminently the land of villages. The work of the All-India Village Industries Association offers him a ray of hope and it is the duty of all of us to do all we can to support the Association until having attained political power we are able so to reconstruct and regenerate rural life as to afford the villager the fullest opportunity for self-realization.

The new constitution is, as I stated above, a mockery of the independence that we are determined to win.

There are many of our fellow-countrymen who think that it is due to our defeat that the governing classes in Britain have whittled down their own original scheme of "reforms." I do not think this is the true explanation of the undoubted domination of reactionary forces in the counsels of Britain so far as the policy towards India is concerned.

We may deplore this desire of the British governing classes to continue the domination of India, but we cannot quarrel with it. They are themselves in the grip of incalculable forces of Capitalism and Imperialism which blunt their sense of justice and fairplay. Perhaps, if a miracle happens within the next few years and a genuinely Socialist Government comes into effective power in Britain and is willing to carry out British Labour's oft-repeated pledges to India of complete self-determination, we may expect to have a honourable settlement with Britain. But we cannot bank on a miracle happening. We have to be masters of our own destiny. We have realised that freedom is not a gift that can be given by one nation to another but is an inalienable right that can be won only by our own unaided but organised effort.

The phenomenal success of Congress candidates at the last Assembly elections demonstrated the immense hold which our national organisation has over the hearts of the people,—a hold which no amount of repression can affect as Lord Willingdon has, we hope, realised. Parliamentary work by itself will not carry us to our goal. But it can contribute a great deal towards helping forward Congress propaganda and creating new allies for the Congress. The Congress Party in the Assembly, under the leadership of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, has already made a very good beginning in this direction and has received the appreciation of the All-India Congress Committee at its Jubbulpore meeting. There are many Congressmen, and I am one of them, who regret that the Party has as yet taken no step to carry out one of its pledges to the electorate by formulating a demand for a Constituent Assembly. I am fully aware that a genuine and effective Constituent Assembly can only be held when we have developed the necessary sanction to enable its decisions to be implemented. But the business of the Parliamentary Party is not to forge the sanction; that sanction can only be forged by work outside the legislatures. It is its function to formulate the

demand for a Constituent Assembly with a view to mobilising public opinion in its favour and thus helping to develop a sanction strong enough for the country to determine the form and nature of its constitution. The Constituent Assembly being the organ for the expression of national will must be elected on adult franchise or a franchise as near it as possible. In view of the misconceptions in regard to its nature and composition that exist in some quarters, it is necessary for the Working Committee of the Congress to issue an authoritative statement on the subject and to take steps to popularise the scheme of a Constituent Assembly.

#### THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress is fighting for Swaraj. But it realizes only too well that Swaraj is not an end in itself but a means to a higher end of ushering in an era of economic freedom and social justice in our country. At its Karachi session it indicated this end by declaring that in order to end exploitation of the masses political freedom must include real "economic freedom." The resolution was symptomatic of the revolutionary spirit that is abroad in our country as well as in the rest of the world. Though rich in material resources, the appalling poverty of India's millions is unparalleled; and the poor will always be with us so long as capitalism lasts. Socialism is the only antidote to the poison of communalism which corrodes our body-politic. There are many superficial critics who say India has no need for such an exotic movement as Socialism. Those who say so, do not know what socialism is. Like feudalism and the caste system, capitalism had its day in the evolution of human society. But it has outlived its utility and has become a dangerous anachronism—with its cycles of world depression, the perpetual rounds of worries to which it subjects ninety-nine per cent of the world's population, depriving them of the most fundamental human needs of security and leisure, poisoning the springs of life for them, and robbing them of their right to enjoy the fruits of science, learning and art.

#### NEED FOR SOCIALISM

The need for Socialism being established, how are we to achieve it? In this connection, I cannot too strongly emphasize what I consider to be the most vital consideration. As Congressmen we are pledged to non-violence and if our struggle of the last few years has demonstrated one thing more prominently than any other, it is that it is possible successfully to carry on a mass movement without violence. We must achieve Socialism through non-violence. Our determination to win political freedom through non-violence is a challenge to history. There is no reason why we should not make history by bringing about a peaceful economic revolution. It is a happy augury for Socialism that a Socialist Party has been organised within the Congress. The Congress, as I stated above, has, by its Karachi resolution, committed itself to a programme which, if it does not satisfy the ardent aspirations of many of us, is such as with due amplifications, can constitute a basis for any constructive effort to realize Socialism in our time.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood by my Socialist friends if I place before them some considerations for their earnest attention. They have, of course, to be unremitting in their endeavour to carry on vigorous propaganda supported by organisational work among the people. But within the Congress itself, they will, I trust, be in not too great a hurry to seek to commit that great national organisation to policies or programmes which it cannot immediately carry out. It should be their endeavour to enhance the national character of the Congress and add to its strength by inducing an ever-increasing number of workers—and by workers I mean all those who work, whether by brain or by hand, in the fields, factories and offices—to join the Congress and carry on the common fight for economic as well as political freedom.

May I also plead with those of my fellow-Congressmen, who are apt to regard the demands of the Socialists as premature and inopportune, that those demands are merely the expression of a crying wrong of humanity all the world over, the redress of which cannot brook delay and that the task of statesmanship consists, in a constant re-adjustment of policies and programmes to meet the progressive requirements of time? The supreme issue before every Indian is that of freedom from political slavery—a freedom that alone will enable us to play our due part as collaborators with other nations in the common endeavour to extend the bounds of human happiness and progress.

#### NEED FOR UNDERSTANDING

The work of achieving freedom can be carried out successfully only if there is perfect harmony and mutual confidence between Socialists and other Congressmen. It is idle to

pretend that here is no difference of views between them. But the things which unite them are infinitely more numerous than those which divide them. Even the differences between them are such as are capable of adjustment by constant and frank consultation prompted by a spirit of compromise. I have not the least doubt that if such a consultation takes place between the spokesmen of the two sections of the Congress a programme can be evolved which all Congressmen will carry out with zeal and devotion. I have laid special emphasis on the need for an understanding between the two sections of the Congress because I feel that it constitutes the paramount issue before the country to-day apart, of course, from increasing the membership of the Congress and carrying out its constructive programme. I trust the conference, by its works, will make a helpful contribution to this urgent national task of creating the maximum of unanimity of action with the minimum of diversity of views among Congressmen.

### RESOLUTIONS—Second day—29th. May 1935

The Conference resumed its session this morning and passed the following resolutions. Condolence resolutions on the death of V. J. Patel, J. M. Sen-Gupta, Dr. Besant, Abhyankar, Sherwani, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, K. Madhavan Nair, T. R. Krishnaswami Aiyar and others who have died in the cause of India's freedom were moved from the chair and passed.

### THE CONGRESS AND INDIAN STATES

Mr. A. Ramachandran then moved: "Inasmuch as the Indian States constitute a political and military support to British Imperialism, and a source of feudal backwardness and reaction, this Conference declares that in the interests of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of Indian States, the abolition of the rule of the Indian Princes can alone assure complete independence for the whole of India and invites the people of the Indian States to fight side by side with the people of British India in the struggle for independence.

"This Conference further feels that the Indian National Congress should actively engage itself in organising the State's subjects on the basis of their immediate democratic demands side by side with developing and intensifying the economic struggle of workers and peasants in the States. The immediate democratic demands should include the following:—(1) A single Chamber legislature elected on adult franchise; (2) A Ministry elected by and completely responsible to, the legislature; (3) the Royal family to have access as privy purse, to not more than 5 per cent of the State's revenue, (4) the religion of the Royal families to have no influence on the administration of the State and (5) freedom of speech, press and association."

Mr. P. Krishna Pannikar (Pennani) moved a resolution to the effect that India should not participate in any war in Europe even though Britain was involved in it.

Mr. P. Narayanan Nair then moved: "Whereas it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine their own constitution and whereas only a constituent Assembly, elected by the entire nation and convened when the nation has acquired sufficient strength to achieve its object of complete independence can frame such a constitution, this Conference is of opinion that the constitution which is sought to be forced upon the country should be wrecked."

He also moved as part of the resolution that Congressmen should not accept office. Their object after entering the legislatures, said the mover, should be only to wreck the constitution.

The Conference also passed a resolution moved from the Chair demanding the immediate release or trial in courts of the Bengal detainees and appealing to the public to render financial aid to their distressed families.

### CHANGE OF CONGRESS CREED DEMANDED

Mr. A. K. Pillai, of Coimbatore, moved the following resolution: "This Conference recommends to the Indian National Congress to change its creed so that the goal of complete independence must mean the establishment of an independent state in which power is transferred to the producing masses and that such an objective involves the refusal to compromise at any stage with British Imperialism."

### ORGANISATION OF LABOUR PEASANTRY

Mr. K. Kumar of Travancore moved a resolution calling upon the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee to organise the labour and the peasantry of the province on the basis of some labour demands such as freedom of labour and from serfdom, the right to form unions, strike and picket, compulsory recognition by the employers of the worker's unions, a living wage, etc.

## OTHER RESOLUTIONS

Mr. V. M. Vishnu Bharateyan of Tellichery moved a resolution to start a countrywide campaign to educate the masses in villages as to their present condition and needs.

Mr. P. Krishna Pillai then moved: "This Conference recommends to the Indian National Conference that Clause II of Article 5 of the constitution of the Congress should be deleted so as to remove the manual labour qualification for election to Congress office or executive committee."

Mr. Sridhar (Travancore) then moved: "Whilst this Conference stands for unification of all Kerala into one administrative unit, it is definitely of opinion that such unification can become possible only after the elimination of the Princedom in Travancore and Cochin."

## The Karnataka Provincial Conference

### Opening Day—Mangalore—10th. May 1935

Presiding over the eighth Karnatak Provincial Political Conference held at Mangalore on the 10th. May 1935, Mr. Sri Prakasa, delivered an excellent address, reviewing the political situation of the country. The conference was opened by Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President.

At the outset, Mr. Sri Prakasa paid tributes of the sufferings of the people in the country's cause, and referring to the Government's refusal to withdraw the ban on the Hindustani Seva Dal said:—

"Then when with a show of generosity, Government has withdrawn its ban from so many national institutions, we are bound to wonder why some others still continue under it. Among these, the most prominent, not only for you who have given it birth, but for us all, is the Hindustani Seva Dal that has done so much to show us the value of discipline and has taught us the very necessary lesson of self-reliance.

"No wonder the Government hates it, for which we need not care; but we are bound to utter a strong and indignant word of protest against the Home Member's repeated statement that a rifle was discovered for the purpose of practice by the Seva Dal.

"Entrenched in irresponsible power, these good men who form Government can libel any person or institution with impunity, but the world is not going to be deceived when the Home Member is unable to explain despite repeated queries and the challenge thrown out by our intrepid brother Dr. Hardikar, the founder and soul of that body—as to where the rifle is and what became of the person who was discovered with it!

"We must however warmly congratulate the Seva Dal, which though a part of the Congress, has come to be regarded by our opponents as more powerful than the Congress itself and continues to suffer from their evil attentions even when the Congress may be said to be comparatively safe."

Turning to the problem of villages, the speaker said:—"With the new orientation given by Mahatma Gandhi to our political work, town and country have come in closer contact, otherwise we, public workers of the town, had even less idea than the foreign official that there was anything like a village with its toil and suffering, the existence of which alone makes life possible for us all.

"Even so I must confess we are not yet as persistently careful of villages and its humble dwellers as we ought to be. The pity is that even a country like Russia that is shaking to their foundations the age-long prejudices of class-superiority and is showing to the world how a whole country can be turned into a veritable physical and moral garden with every single individual in it, as a happy gardener thereof, has not given to the "muzhik" the village peasant, what it claims for the proletariat, the workers of the town. We in India must guard ourselves against our own blunders of the past, and take lessons from the shortcomings of others; and neglect the village which is the pivot of our political and economic system and the villager who is the centre of our social and national well-being.

"The whole weight of our social, political, economic and theological life falls on the villager; and priest and politico official and merchant, banker and landlord alike exploit him. It is he who has to work hardest, it is he who is most useful, and it is he who suffers the most and pays the most. It must be the endeavour of everyone of us to do the best we can to alleviate the sorrows and raise the spirits of our humble brethren. Mahatma Gandhi's work in this, as in many directions, can not be under-estimated. It is he who has taught us self-respect and self-esteem and showed us that the way to win them is by identifying ourselves with the poorest and the most down-trodden in the remotest village. His new schemes for reviving village industries deserve our active support, and I may only hope that the beautiful surroundings in which you live, you would be able to make still more beautiful by making all men and women and children living in town and country therein happy and contented with an equitable distribution of work, wages and leisure among them and with proper food, clothing, housing and education for all.

"But I dare not proceed without sounding a note of warning which is the outcome of my own little experience during a large number of years. We should not be too optimistic, because the villager unhappily is his own worst enemy. We need not discuss the causes that have resulted in this mentality in him. The fact remains that he will not be organised, he will not look to his own interests, he will fight his neighbour and distrust his friend.

"Every village is an epitome of a world at war, and from the earliest years of childhood every village man and woman grows up in much traditional hatreds and family feuds, that common village life and organisation for common ends have become impossible.

"His intense attachments to his small little plots of land complicates the program of his life much more than can possibly be imagined by those who do not know him. I cannot but feel that conditions here must be the same as else-where and you will have to tackle this psychological problem in a spirit of sympathy and understanding. I only pray that you may succeed where many have failed.

"It would serve useful purpose to the history of our recent past; to talk of the high hopes of the great endeavours of successes and failures during the last few years. I cannot deny that we are passing through a period of intense depression. It is in such periods alone that nations and individuals alike are tested. There is no need for despair, for not the worst pessimist amongst us can imagine that the depression is going to last for ever. My own feeling is that that is just the time when we should be able to make clear to ourselves as well as to the world at large what exactly we stand for.

Without doubt we want a reconstruction of society. We are tired of the present inequalities of life; and in this connection we must welcome the Congress Socialist Party, which is trying to formulate the national demands in clear and precise language. I should respectfully suggest that, viewed even from a selfish standpoint, socialism will give them something that is of real gain even for themselves. Men of position and power, of wealth and of leisure, cannot fail to realise that the things they prize are themselves endangered when the many around them live in dirt and poverty without the light that knowledge and comfort gives. The poverty of the neighbour inexorably reacts on the wealthy; and disease and death come unsuspected within sheltered walls because men outside are unhappy and unclean.

It is time that we placed before the country our exact ideas about the society we are seeking to build. That will help all to know what we want and will eliminate all doubts and suspicions and, may be, false hopes and ambitions as well—that so unnecessarily clog us at every step.

"I am sure you will not want me to speak of communal differences. That is not a subject happily that troubles you very much in this part of the world. I come fresh from a province which is full of it, and recently we have witnessed some of the worst horrors that these senseless squabbles can perpetrate. The Cawnpore Riots enquiry Committee appointed by the Karachi Congress has, to my mind, said the last word on the subject. We can only hope that we may still learn wisdom from the terrible happenings of the past and not make ourselves willing victims of scheming men and their calculated policies. It is for us to cultivate a purely nationalistic and humanistic outlook against all odds, free from all heart-narrowing encumbrances of class, caste or communal bias. We can do this if we will and the longer we delay in this the worse will be our position and the wider will get the chasm that separates us from our hope and ideal of Purna Swaraj.

"Nobody, having an idea of understanding, can pretend that the existing legislatures, mere handmaidens of an irresponsible executive as they are, can lead us anywhere near Swaraj. What is wanted is work in the country. Legislative work at best can be wanted of value when it is backed by work outside and legislatures even in free countries are not able to do anything unless public opinion outside supports them. Therefore, for us it is essential, while giving moral support to the programme of Congress inside the legislature, to concentrate on work outside. Even if legislature work were valuable, only a very few of our workers, in the very nature of things, can be there. We must form a programme for the rest of our workers whose ceaseless activity among the masses of the people alone can lead to tangible and desirable results.

"The first requisite is to set ourselves to strengthen the Congress organisation. My appeal to you all is to help in putting our House thoroughly in order. Unless that is done we can accomplish nothing. It is more necessary than ever that along with a strong outward frame work, a fine spirit of comradeship should exist among us. That alone can obviate the lamentable and perfectly unnecessary mutual jealousies and suspicions that poison public life.

"I lay great stress on the continuance of our organisation in peace and war alike ; and I earnestly call upon all Congressmen to see that their organisation never fails or falters. People will tell me that there is lack of money. I fear I cannot accept this excuse. How simple is the specific, how within reach of all is the means to help. The small four anna bit once a year is all the financial contribution that an individual need make and thus not only raise himself to the dignity of being a living part of our great organisation, but also feel just pride in the noble thought that he is doing his bit in helping to free this country.

"Four crores of men and women paying four annas each gives you one crore a year. I love small contributions that come from the many. I have no such love for large contributions that come from the very few and are invariably given after flattery and with a great show of obligation. If the Congress is for all, all must share its burdens as all will share the fruits of its labours.

"Brethren, do not forget that hundreds of thousands of poor men, well-organised, well-determined, and righteous-minded, will always be stronger not only in number but even in actual total wealth, however poverty-stricken individually, than the few who are supposed to be wealthy to-day. We must see that our Congress organisation is constantly and vigorously functioning in every nook and corner of the land, and that all the expenses incident thereto, as well as all the labour necessary for it, are borne by us, Congressmen. Let us have hope and confidence in ourselves, as we have courage and sacrifice ; and the field will be ours.

Let us not forget that among other things the Congress has also to be a sort of mutual insurance society, so that when our comrades fall or are disabled, the organisation could take care of them and their families. So many want to come but are deterred by circumstances, some come with great enthusiasm, but fall back because of the utter uncertainty of the welfare of their dependents, if they should chance to depute out of action in the fight ; some unfortunately—and I confess this with sorrow—even retire in wrath and bitterness after doing much good work and undergoing suffering, feeling that there is no one to care for them or look after their dear ones when they are not themselves available.

"These friends have to be assured ; it is but fair that they should be. All this can only be done by the humble and regular contributions from themselves in the nature of a fixed tax, not by raising subscriptions from others by fits and starts. Let the history and the working of the great trade unions of the world teach us a lesson both in methods and in results.

"And will you also permit me to plead with you to avoid, as far as is humanly possible, the most unfortunate and unnecessary mutual bickering that so often ruin fine work ? We are all striving for a society whence we want to eliminate the very causes that divide man from man ? Shall we, Congressmen, in our own lives, show that we cannot rise superior to the lower element in our nature, that we are pursuing only a phantom ? I have been more distressed than I can say, at the sight of our best workers ruining themselves by their self-sacrifice, and then jeopardising the cause for which they underwent that sacrifice by mutual recriminations and imputation of motives to one another.

We are not fighting against any class or any race. We are honestly fighting against a bad system ; we are no enemies of any individual or any group. We wish ill to none ; we desire the well-being of all ; and so in our hearts there is really no

place either for anger or for hatred. The great struggle for India's freedom is unique in the annals of mankind because there is no feeling of ill-will even against the very people who in other circumstances, and in a fight of another sort, would have been regarded as enemies.

"Let it be known by those who may be frightened by the activities of Congressmen that Congress stands for all, and that we do not and cannot countenance violence of any sort, for we are not thirsting for the blood or the wealth of any one. We are definitely out to establish a state of Society wherein, so far as is humanly possible, all persons will be dealt with equitably. Our methods must always be peaceful and legitimate; and if there must be suffering in the process, it must be inflicted only upon ourselves."

## The Andhra Provincial Nationalist Conference

### Opening Day—Guntur—20th. February 1935.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Nationalist Conference was held at Guntur on the **20th February 1935** under the presidency of *Dr B. S. Moonje*. In the course of his address *Dr. B. S. Moonje* referred to the circumstances that led to the formation of the Congress Nationalist Party, the Congress attitude towards the Communal Award and the Nationalists' opposition to it. "It is often said by British statesmen that the communal problem of India is not of British make but it is inherent in the traditional inter-communal relations of the different religious communities inhabiting India. But those of us, who will not fail to keep green in mind the well-known history of the manufacture and growth of the communal problem in India, will not be easily duped."

Proceeding he said, "The communal problem of India is entirely a product of British diplomacy purposely manufactured for perpetuating their hold on India by creating and maintaining circumstances under which the communities will be at logger-heads with each other and ever needing the help of the British for their protection and safety." He then analysed the Communal Award and pointed out that it is "disruptive, anti-national and grossly unjust to the Hindus."

#### CONGRESS ATTITUDE CRITICISED

He described at length the discussions over the communal question at the Round Table Conference and stated that the "Award was not an award of an arbitrator but purely an arbitrary decision of the British bureaucracy."

Criticising the Congress attitude towards the Award, he said that not only was it self-contradictory, but was of dubious expediency. If it was intended to obtain Muslim support, it had proved futile. "What did the Congress gain", he asked, "at the cost of nationalism and over the ruin of the Hindu interests? Did the Muslim support them in rejecting the Report summarily? Did the Congress Party in the Assembly, at least keep its promise to the Congress and to the voters? The Congress Party was pledged for two things—first to reject and vote against the entire Report and second to oppose both acceptance or rejection of the Award. Let us, from this point of view, analyse the strategy of the Congress Party and the result of voting and see how the trust was managed. The Congress has not been able to placate the Moslems and to win them over to join them for rejecting the Report. Their resolution was thrown out because the Moslems went against them actively and with deliberate determination. We cannot however blame the Congress Party for their inability to get through their resolution of entire rejection. The Assembly is so constituted that they could never command a majority in it, but we blame them for having deliberately ignored all warnings both by the Congressmen and their sympathisers and well-wishers and for their colossal ignorance of human nature as it is." The two vital points of the Moslems, according to *Dr. Moonje*, were the Communal Award and Provincial Autonomy and *Mr. Jinnah* had cleverly manoeuvred to win their points.

*Dr. Moonje* bitterly criticised the Congress Party's resolution for the acceptance of the Communal Award. He said: "The Congress admits that the Award is anti-national and grossly unjust to the Hindus" but it will neither reject it nor accept it for the sake of the amicable settlement of the communal question by agreement between the Hindus and the Moslems."

"BREAKING OF ELECTORAL PROMISES"

"One may also legitimately ask—Have the Congress Party in the Assembly kept their promises to their electors and respected the mandate of the Congress ?

"Their mandate was : (1) to reject the entire scheme of the constitution as planned in the Parliamentary Report (2) to make a demand for the Constituent Assembly to draw up a constitution of their own ; and (3) neither to accept nor to reject the Award.

"In connection with the first mandate, it is worthwhile noting that, though the Congress Party is never afraid of mercilessly criticising the Government, it dare not offend the Moslem susceptibilities and thus true to its instinct, it took good care entirely to omit the word 'reject' and satisfied their conscience by merely 'recommending to the Governor-General to advise His Majesty's Government not to proceed with any legislation based on the said scheme.' Of course in this mentality it would have been nothing short of a miracle to expect even a trace of a mention of the mandate of the Constituent Assembly. But the most glaring dereliction of the sacred duty and the wilful and deliberate flouting of the Congress mandate and the breaking of promises to their electors lay in their keeping mum and quiet when the first clause of Mr. Jinnah's amendment, providing for direct and straightforward acceptance of the award, which was according to the mandate neither to be accepted nor to be rejected, was being debated on and put to the vote. And again one may ask—what has the Congress gained after having committed all these sins ?"

Continuing, he said it is the responsibility and the happy privilege of the majority community (the Hindus) to fight for Swaraj, with the co-operation of the minority communities, if possible, without it, if not. "I agreed with Mr. Jinnah that 'religion, race or language should not enter into politics.' This is exactly what the Hindu Mahasabha and I have been saying all along. This is exactly the line which the League of Nations has adopted in solving the minority problem as a result of the combined wisdom of the experienced statesmanship of England, Europe and America. This is why I have been pressing for the solution of our minority problem on the lines evolved by the League of Nations.

"The time for argumentation and quarrelling with the Moslems is gone. Let us gird up our loins and set to work ourselves for the establishment of Swaraj in which 'religion, language and race' will have no place, every person being free to profess and propagate, subject always to public law and order, any religion he may choose and to speak any language he may like. Let us set our face uncompromisingly against all proposals for discrimination of our nationals on the basis of religion, race, culture or language.

Dr. Moonje then referred to the fundamental question of Indian defence and the need for giving military training to every Indian youth. He related at length a dialogue that took place between him and an English Colonel on board ship, the lesson of which was that unless the majority of the people of India developed the capacity to defend themselves against foreign aggression, Indian independence would not be permanent, even if it were achieved. He, therefore, stressed the need for military training of the youth, and contrasted in this respect, measures for military training adopted by Germany, Italy, Russia and other countries.

"Some 10 years ago, when I was leading a majority Party of the Swarajists in my Provincial Legislative Council of Nagpur, I wanted to introduce a bill for making physical and Elementary Military Training compulsory for the school-going boys of our Province. I was told that as the Bill deals with a Central Subject, it requires previous sanction of the Government of India. When such sanction was sought for, it was refused. Next in 1926, I was elected to the Legislative Assembly. Here again I made a similar attempt which of course now applied to the whole of British India. But permission was again refused to me for the introduction of an all-India Bill on the ground that Education being a transferred subject the subject-matter of the Bill pertains to Provincial Legislatures.

"Thus I was shuttled from the Provincial Legislature to the Central Legislature and back again from the Central to the Provincial Legislature. But still not daunted, I got a friend of mine to give notice of a similar Bill in my Provincial Legislative Council but before the formalities to ascertain whether we are more fortunate this time to secure previous sanction of the Government of India for the introduction of the Bill, could be completed, Mahatmaji began his Dandi march and we all came out of our Legislatures."



Turning to the task before the peoples, he said —“Poor though we are as a nation, men of means of our community, individually and collectively, must find money for similar training of our youths, by establishing Gymnasiums, Rifle shooting ranges, and organisation games, boxing, wrestling, drilling, swimming, fath and sword plays etc., Andhra is as big as Maharashtra, though richer in means of living. As I have been telling the Maharashtra, so I appeal to the Hindus of Andhra to raise and train under one organised command a Volunteer Corps—Rundandias - of one lakh of young men. If some of you have time and interest, I would request you to go one day to Nagpur and see with your own eyes, the organisation of my friend, Dr. Hedjwar—the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh—and the training that is given there.”

#### SEPARATE ANDHRA PROVINCE

Referring to the demand of the Andhras for a separate province, he said :

“I am personally, on principle, opposed to it. I want India to evolve as a united nation as it was in the past when we were the masters in our own country. I do not want India to be divided first into Moslem India, and Hindu India, as the Moslems want and are dreaming and then into so many different and separate nationalities on the basis of their provincial languages, such as Europe has been. These nationalities of Europe, though they profess the same religion—Christianity—and are practically of the same white race and can and do sometimes intermarry among themselves are running at each other's throats, simply because they have been founded on the basis not of their common religion and race but of their different provincial languages. That is why I have been constantly opposing the Moslem proposal of separation of Sind and discouraging the thought of organising an agitation for the formation of one province of all Marathi-speaking people of the entire Maharashtra. In short, I feel that we must do our best to avoid imitating Europe in this respect, if possible.

“But the Congress, the one leading organisation of Indian politics, has, since Mahatma Gandhi assumed its dictatorship accepted this principle of division and actually divided India into so many different and separate provinces according to their provincial languages. But the point would not have gained importance and the poison of communalism would not have spread far and wide and infected every phase of life, if the Moslems had not conceived and developed what we may call Islamic patriotism with its distinguishing characteristic of separation and isolation from non-Islamic politics.

“Though the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi was the first to agree to the Moslem proposal of separation of Sind in its desire to keep up a show of Moslem association and its claim of representing Moslems also equally with the Hindus in the politics of India, the Hindu Mahasabha true to its ideal of pure, unalloyed Nationalism, has alone been the consistent and determined opponent of such highly disruptive communalism.” However, he wished the Andhras success in their efforts to get a separate province for themselves.

Concluding his long address, Dr. *Donje* pleaded for the development of Hindu nationalism which would make every Hindu come to the help of another Hindu in any other part of India, even as Muslim rallied to Muslim to-day. “Hindus must cultivate an equally strong communal sense and be prepared to run to the help of the Hindus in frontier provinces, like Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Assam. As the Islamic politics concerns and is organised for the interests of the entire Moslem community of India, so also the Hindus must rise and combine in the Hindu Mahasabha to look after and protect the interests of the entire Hindu community of India. Nationalism is thus the amalgam of these two communal politics of India.”

## The Andhra Provincial Socialist Conference

Opening Day—Guntur—19th. February 1935

The first session of the Andhra Provincial Congress Socialists' Conference was held at Guntur on the 19th. February 1935 under the presidency of Mr. T. Viswanatham,

The Conference was opened by *Mr. Masani*, one of the Joint-Secretaries of the All-India Congress Socialist Party. The Conference was held at the Ratna Hall. More than 20 delegates took part in the deliberations.

#### WELCOME ADDRESS

*Mr. B. Subba Rao*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, speaking in Telugu welcoming the delegates and the other comrades, said that it was a pleasure to him to note that Andhras who had made great sacrifices in the cause of the nation hitherto, did not lag behind any other Province in the advocacy of Socialism. Unlike other movements, Socialism was not confined to one country, race or religion but was a world movement. All along the Congress had fought British Imperialism only, attributing to it all the ills the country was heir to. After 14 years of struggle, the Congress instead of achieving its ideal, which was varying from time to time, had taken up Council-entry and revival of village industries, which he thought would lead the country nowhere. It was, therefore, the duty of Congress Socialists to bring about fundamental changes in the tactics of the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal expounded the lines of that change when he was out of the jail, by saying that the Congress should aim at divesting vested interests, foreign and indigenous, in the interests of the ninety-nine per cent of the population who are workers.

He then described the various definitions of Socialism and pointed out the essential characteristics of true Socialism. Referring to the growth of Socialist ideas in India, he said that the Government were suppressing the radical movement of the workers by declaring their organisations illegal and by imprisoning their leaders.

He said that the agrarian situation in India demanded radical solutions and contended that no-tax campaigns of the type of the Bardoli campaign were futile. He urged the need for Congress Socialists organising the peasants and workers. As Congressmen they should spread Socialism in the country only by legitimate and peaceful means. They should join hands with the Indian trade union movement and organise the labourers and help them in their fight against the vested interests.

#### OPENING ADDRESS

Opening the Conference, *Mr. Masani* said: "Our fight is not a racial one nor even a purely national one but rather against an economic system which we know as Imperialism. Having come to realise this and the fact that the junior partners in the Imperial concern are no other than the Indian Princes, landlords and capitalists, the Congress Socialists are suggesting to the Congress a change in the objective and modification of the method."

*Mr. Masani* then proceeded to analyse Congress tactics in the Assembly, which he characterised as futile attempts to obtain support from doubtful allies for securing a paper majority.

"The antithesis between nationalism and socialism is entirely a false one", he concluded: "We are all the better nationalists for being socialists. Independence can come quicker if both these revolutionary forces of Nationalism and Socialism are harnessed together."

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The President, *Mr. T. Viswanatham*, speaking next said that it was not possible to give a precise definition of Socialism but Socialism generally meant the struggle of the working classes and peasants to free themselves from the domination of Capitalism. Socialism aimed at collective control of all the vital aspects of the life of society, the object of the collective control being the abolition of poverty and the inequality of classes, and the increase of production.

Tracing the growth, decline and downfall of the various forms of society that existed in our country, *Mr. Viswanatham* said that no form of society could exist for all times and human wisdom lay in adjusting society to the circumstances that arose from time to time and to-day Socialism aimed at such an adjustment.

Replying to the charge that Socialism encouraged the struggle between classes, he said that this class-struggle already existed in one form or another and it was the natural product of an unequal society.

It was asked why a separate socialist organisation should be founded in the Indian National Congress, when the Congress itself was a Socialistic body, the Karachi resolution on the fundamental rights being trotted out as proof of Socialism. But the Karachi resolution, he said, was neither Socialism nor Capitalism but an ill-digested, although genuine, attempt to reconcile several forces which were present and which could not be controlled. The socialists had a definite role to play now in order to infuse real socialism in the Indian National Congress.

**Resolution Passed**

The conference lent its unanimous support to the resolution already passed at the All-India Congress Socialist Party defining the meaning of 'complete Independence' as 'the establishment of an Independent State in which power is transferred to the producing masses', implying a 'refusal to compromise at any stage with British Imperialism'.

Another resolution of the All-India Party reiterated at this conference expressed that it was necessary for the conference to declare its opposition to the participation by India in any war in which the British Government might be involved and to undertake forthwith the preparation of the entire Indian nation to resist actively the utilisation of Indian men, money and resources for the purpose of such a war and to utilise such a crisis for securing Swaraj.

The conference called upon the Indian National Congress to adopt a policy of wrecking the new constitution which was going to be imposed on India.

The Conference sent greetings to the textile workers of Calicut in their struggle against wage-cuts.

Inviting the people of the Indian States to fight side by side with the people of British India in the struggle for Independence, the conference opined that inasmuch as the Indian States constituted a political and military ally of British Imperialism and a source of feudal backwardness and reaction, the conference declared that the interests of the people of the Indian States were as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of British India.

Among other resolutions passed one denounced in emphatic terms the continued incarceration without trial of thousand of Bengal detainees and called for the observance of March 3rd. as 'Detenu Day' as a protest against their detention.

The policy of the Congress Party in the Assembly in watering down the Congress demand in order to obtain a paper majority through the support of non-Congress parties was deplored. Particular protests were levelled against the lack of any reference to the right of self-determination, the demand for a Constituent Assembly and the rejection of the coming constitution of the Congress resolution on the J. P. C. Report.

The Conference was of the opinion that the attitude of the Congress M. L. A's. in supporting Mr. Jinnah's compromising amendment amounted to admission of the insolent claim of the British Parliament to dictate a constitution for this country.

After passing several other resolutions for the future working of the party in Andhradesa, the conference terminated.

## **The Kerala Provincial Socialists' Conference**

### **Opening Day—Calicut—27th. May 1935**

The second session of the Kerala Provincial Congress Socialists' Conference was held at Calicut on the 27th. May 1935 under the presidency of Mr. *M. R. Masani*. In the course of his speech, Mr. Masani said that the Congress Socialist Party was proud of the Congress and desired to be loyal to it and to its highest traditions. They should be careful not to create any misunderstandings between themselves and those Congressmen who did not see eye to eye with them, but who were as keen as they were to carry on the movement for National Independence.

What was it that the Indian National Congress and the movement for the Independence were fighting for? Was it a Government, or a nation or a system that they were struggling against? Was the Indian freedom movement a struggle of one country against another? Was it merely a racial fight? It was obvious that such was not the case.

"The Indian struggle for independence is not a struggle of one nation against another," he continued "or of a people against a particular administration, but of the toiling masses in this country against a system, political and economic, which is known as Imperialism. In order, therefore, to arrive at correct decisions it is necessary for every participant in this struggle for independence, for every Congressman, indeed for every politically conscious Indian to try and understand what this system of Im-

perialism means, for as Professor Parker T Moon says, 'India is not only the greatest example of imperialism but one of the greatest problems of imperialism'.

"British Imperialism is attempting to widen its social basis, through economic concessions to the Indian upper classes. Forced by the exigencies of the situation created by the crisis it has to draw in the Indian upper class as its junior partners in the exploitation of the people.

"The Ottawa agreement marked a stage in the development of that policy. That the inevitable effect of that policy on India will be to perpetuate India's position as the heaver of wood and drawer of water of the Empire can be seen by those who care to scrutinise the terms of the agreement between the Tata Steel Concern and the British Steel masters of the Mody-Clares Pact and the agreement between the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., and the British India Steam Navigation Co.

"Now what had been the reaction shown by India to this process of imperialist exploitation? The history of the Indian national movement was the answer to that question."

Mr Masani then traced the history of the birth and growth of the Indian National Congress from the days of the Mutiny of 1857 and said that though it had temporarily failed, it was a glorious failure. But in the movement one could see the economic forces which played a great part and the Fundamental Rights resolution adopted by the Karachi Session of the Congress was the direct outcome of these economic forces.

It was to this economic aspect of the question that the thoughts of young men were turned during their jail life in 1932 and the result was the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, first as a Provincial Party and subsequently as an All India Organisation within the Congress. On the one hand, the Congress Socialist Party, the speaker continued, desired the Congress to make clear that Swaraj would mean transfer of power from the classes to the masses, and on the other, to take up the organisation of the classes on the basis of their economic demands. The Party was, however, not prepared to hold aloof from the nationalist movement, as it had been convinced that the Congress was the only organised body which could fight for freedom.

The party had been attacked from two sides by Congressmen who did not see eye to eye with the Socialists and the Leftists, namely labour leaders, who accuse the Party for remaining within the Congress. In reply to the latter, he would only point out the failure of the communist movement during the last fifteen years. He therefore urged them to come within the nationalist movement to fight from within to get their ideology adopted by the Congress, as the Socialists were doing.

Speaking on the coming Constitution, Mr. Masani defined the Socialist attitude towards it and drew attention to the resolution on the subject. He described how their attempt at Jubbulpore to get that resolution adopted by the All India Congress Committee failed and how certain forces within the Congress had been preparing for acceptance of offices under the new constitution. That being the case, he felt there could never possibly be a free and frank discussion on the subject. But the rank and file of the Congress to-day would not stand for a policy of working the new constitution for what it was worth and if the issue was to be fairly and squarely placed before the country, he had no doubt about the answer. The danger however lay in the fact that open discussion of such an important question might be shirked till such a late stage as would make it impossible for the rank and file to express an opinion on the matter; but would be stamped into a decision made by the leaders on their behalf. He feared that the Bombay experience might be repeated, that is, that the open session of the Congress would be forced with a settled fact and would be forced to either vote for it or vote for a censure of the entire Congress leadership. If such a situation again arose, it might become necessary for those who wanted internal democracy in the Congress to demand a special session of the Congress.

Explaining the Socialist attitude on the question, the speaker said, there was a common impression, which was of course wrong, that the Congress Socialist Party was committed to a policy of boycotting the legislatures and that it had now abandoned that position. This was not so, as theirs had never been a no-change attitude. This had been made clear from time to time and if they opposed the Parliamentary programme of the Congress at the Bombay session of the Congress, it was not because of their opposition to Council-entry but because of the constitution and personnel of the Parliamentary Board. Their fears had been justified by subsequent events.

Socialists believed in using all legitimate weapons to intensify the struggle for Swaraj and they certainly saw no harm in making use of the electorate and the electoral platform for that purpose. The policy suggested by the Party was one of wrecking the new constitution and making its working impossible by refusal to accept

Ministerial offices and getting it suspended and then of going to the country to forge sanctions which would make the demand for the constituent assembly possible and the decisions of the assembly effective.

In the Congress on the other hand there were people who believed that the constitution should be worked for what it was worth; but he could not agree with that view, as there was not the slightest chance of getting any relief by working the constitution. On the contrary he thought the working of the constitution would lead to demoralisation and disruption of the national movement.

Whatever decision the Congress might ultimately take on this issue, the task of the Party was clear. There was ample room for division of labour in the Congress. Their Party's plan of action stressed the need for influencing the Congress ideology by the spread of socialist ideas and organising the peasants and workers so as to harness all forces together when the time for action came.

He then dealt at great length with the world situation and explained the significance of the anti-war resolution adopted by the Party. He felt that India should be greatly interested in the world situation, because it might prove either a disaster for India or a saviour or blessing in disguise. If instead of sitting and waiting for what was coming, they took advantage of the situation and turned it to their advantage, it might as well prove a good opportunity to secure Swaraj.

### Resolutions

Resolutions on the continued incarceration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the illness of Mr. M. N. Roy and on the detenus of Bengal were passed. The conference requested the Research Committee of the Kerala Congress Socialist Party to investigate into the problem of the Indian States with particular reference to the condition of the labourers in the States in Kerala and to submit its report. Mr. H. Manjunatha Rao then moved a resolution that India should not participate in any European war. This was duly seconded by Mr. Sridhar of Travancore. Mr. K. Madhavanar moved an amendment that the country should utilise the crisis of any European war to the country's own advantage and Mr. A. K. Pillai opposed the amendment which was put to vote and lost, only Mr. Madhavanar voting for it. The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. K. P. Gopalan of Cannanore moved a resolution regarding the attitude of the Socialists towards the reforms on the anvil, similar to the one passed at the meeting of the All-India Socialist Party at Bombay (i.e. to wreck the constitution and for non-acceptance of office). This was duly seconded by Mr. Vishnu Bharateeyan. Mr. K. Madhavanar moved an amendment to delete the portion regarding the non-acceptance of office by Congressmen. In moving the amendment, Mr. Madhavanar said that they must either utilise the coming reforms for betterment or wreck it. In his opinion it would be better if Congressmen accepted Ministerships and fought from within the Cabinet. In this connection he referred to the services rendered by the late Mr. V. J. Patel, when he was the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. The amendment was opposed by Messrs. K. Krishna Bhat, of Wynad and Keralaeyam of Cannanore. When it was put to vote it was declared lost, only Mr. Madhavanar voting for it. The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

The Conference then passed resolutions, accepting the resolution of the Bombay Conference of the All-India Congress Socialist Party on the Indian States and resolving to organise the Indian States' subjects to put forth democratic demands and side by side, developing and intensifying the economic struggle of workers and peasants in the States, requesting the All-India Congress Committee to redress the grievances of peasants by forming them into strong union and calling upon the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee to organise them to put forth certain demands, such as abolition of the land revenue system and income-tax on incomes on land, and transfer of land to the actual cultivator, etc.

With a few remarks from the chair and with a vote of thanks the Conference came to a close.

# The Surma Valley Congress Socialist Conference

Opening Day—Sylhet—27th. May 1935

The Surma Valley Congress Socialist Conference commenced at Sylhet on the 27th. May 1935. In the absence of the President-elect Sannati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Sj. Upendra Nath Deb—who acted as President, read out the presidential address of Mrs. Kamaladevi.

Sj. *Basanta Kumar Das* M. L. A. welcomed the delegates and visitors in a vigorous speech in the course of which it was stated that the president-elect of the Conference had been wrongly informed by a wire purporting to have been sent from the Office of the Reception Committee that the Conference session had been postponed, and so she had not started from Mangalore for Assam. As a matter of fact, the Reception Committee had not sent any such telegram which must have been the work of some designing persons whose interest it was to see that the Conference does not take place.

Amongst those present were Sj. Shibendra Chandra Biswas, Sj. Harendra Mohan Majumdar, Sj. Kamini Deb, Sjts. Surendra Das, Nabam Gupta, Binode Behari Chakrabarty, Dwijendra Nath Chakrabarty, Khirode Deb, Sm. Saralabala Dev, besides 200 delegates and visitors.

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED

Important resolutions were passed at the conference (1) endorsing the All-India Socialist Party's constitution and programme, (2) demanding the release of Mr. Manabendra Roy, and the abolition of permanent settlement, (3) congratulating the Bhannbil peasants on their sacrifice in the agrarian movement launched by them last year.

The Surma Valley Socialist Party was formed with Sj. Upendra Nath Dev as President and Sj. Suresh Deb as Secretary.

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# The Gujarat Congress Socialist Conference

Opening Day—Ahmedabad—22nd. June 1935

In his presidential address at the first Gujarat Congress Socialist Conference, held at Ahmedabad on the 22nd. June 1935, *Acharya Narendra Dev* explained at length the reasons which had led to the formation of the Congress Socialist Party. He criticised the Communist Party of India for the destructive role they had played for the last seven years and for their unintelligent subservience on Russian guidance.

The Congress, he held, was the only broad platform of anti-Imperialists struggle in India, and the only centre to-day from which such a struggle can be conducted.

The general mentality of the Parliamentary Board and the inability of the representatives in the Assembly to remain faithful to their election pledges—*Acharya Narendra Dev* was emphatic on this point—and their eagerness to obtain easy though empty victories over the Government by agreeing to give up their professions and principles in order to secure the co-operation of the other parties in the Assembly—all these combined made the speaker afraid that the Board had been silently creating a favourable atmosphere for the working of the Reforms.

**Presidential Address**

Following are extracts from his address :—

Criticisms coming from the right are generally of a two-fold nature. One criticism is that the Congress Socialists are first and foremost inter-nationalists and as such cannot be wholly depended upon in the fight for independence. It is said that situations may arise in which we may be persuaded to sacrifice the freedom of our country for the sake of socialism. Let me at once disarm the suspicion by stating emphatically that there is no antagonism between independence and socialism. As a matter of fact, socialism cannot be built without the conquest of power and in the present conditions of India the anti-imperialist struggle is only a prelude to socialism. We are not lacking in national pride either. Of course we hate chauvinism and do not subscribe to the dictum "my country, right or wrong." Nor do we want to deprive other peoples of their inheritance but rather wish to cultivate friendly relations with them and build in co-operation a world society that is free from exploitation and oppression and is founded on free association of mankind.

The other criticism is that we are disrupting the struggle for independence by raising the issue of class struggle at this stage. We may be forgiven for pointing out that under present conditions it is impossible to win independence without mobilising the workers and peasants for the political struggle. Unfortunately, the Congress has hitherto not paid adequate attention to the question of reaching the masses with a correct approach. We do not accuse the Congress of any wilful neglect in the matter. On the contrary, it is the only political body which has tried to establish contacts with the broad masses in the country. Yet its method of approach has not been correct and therefore its efforts have not been as fruitful as they would have been otherwise. A new orientation of policy is much needed in the Congress at the present juncture and it must be preceded by a recognition of the fact that there are definite classes to whom an economic appeal has to be made before they can be mobilised for political action and that they have to be organised on a class basis before they can be effectually used for an anti-imperialist struggle.

It is sad to reflect that the Congress has persistently neglected industrial labour with the result that Labour has been estranged from the Congress. Unfortunately, there is to be seen to-day not only indifference but positive antipathy towards the Congress in organised labour unions. The result is that the Congress is not in a position to-day to call to its aid political strikes of workers. There have been powerful labour strikes in the country but they have been generally of an economic character. The economic struggle of the workers has not yet passed into the political struggle. This is why labour is so weak to-day as a political force and weighs so little in the political scale.

Howsoever one may criticise and denounce the Congress, it is the only broad platform of anti-imperialist struggle in India, and it is the only centre to-day from which such a struggle can be conducted. It is the broad arena of mass struggle where workers and peasants can receive political education and enlarge their influence and prestige.

Unfortunately some of the working class leaders do not seem to accept this point of view. Ever since 1928 they have followed a policy of isolation and it is this suicidal policy which has isolated them not only from the working masses but also from the national struggle; and yet the wonder of wonders is that they claim to be the vanguard of the Indian revolution. Whenever the Congress has conducted an anti-imperialist struggle these leaders have been found not only keeping themselves aloof but also preventing the workers from joining in the struggle. Was it not a communist leader who pulled down the national flag at Bombay and thus unconsciously acted as an "agent of imperialism?"

If communism is unity of theory and practice, have not the communists of India played a destructive role during the last six years? Even in the trade union field they have tried to break unity of workers by following the policy of dual unionism. I do not like to rake up an old matter because happily trade union unity has lately been restored with the communists though it is doubtful how long this unity is going to last. For I believe that the slogans of trade union unity and united front are given out in order to fight the growing menace of fascism and to secure the sympathy of workers of the world for Soviet Russia in the case of an outbreak of war. The Third International now-a-days formulates policies which seem to be simply an extension of the domestic policy of Russia. Russia is anxious to postpone war and so the

former exponent of world revolution has been compelled by the exigencies of her domestic situation to work for world peace. I do not blame Russia for suddenly becoming an instrument of peace. I do not blame Russia for entering the League nor do I blame it for entering into non-aggression and mutual assistance pacts with Imperialist Nations. I think the diplomatic needs of Russia justify such a course. But what I do not understand is the tying of the Third International to the chariot wheel of Soviet Russia. Should it not free itself from the undue domination exercised to-day by Russian communists? Let it think independently for itself unswayed by the domestic policy of Russia; let it cease to dictate from above, and let it give freedom to its national branches to develop their own political strategy and tactics appropriate to conditions prevailing in each country. But to-day we find that independent thinking is discouraged; and everywhere they follow the facile line of mechanically applying tactics transported from Russia to their own country.

It was a part of the general policy of isolation that the communists were instructed in 1928 to withdraw themselves from all bourgeois organisations. I admit the experience of China has made them cautious; but if the revolution failed in China the failure was due again to the rigidity of the tactics that had been prescribed for their use. The initial entry into the Kuomintang was not wrong. The Communist Party of China itself will be the first to admit that if it had not close organisational connections with the national movement it would not have obtained wide possibilities of influencing the movement, and if it had followed a policy of isolation in the earlier days it would not have been able to-day to bring under its control about one-sixth of China. The necessary result of a policy of isolation is that a party gets itself isolated from the masses and soon becomes transformed into a narrow fossilised sect. A party that wants to establish its hegemony over the national movement must sent its members to all the classes; and it is only in this way that its political influence can grow. Socialists must be found wherever the masses are; and they must be in the forefront of every anti-imperialist action and every battle that is waged in the interests of the masses.

The Congress also should enlarge its influence by changing its attitude towards labour from one of indifference to that of active sympathy. It should organise trade unions under the aegis of the Trade Union Congress and should take steps to develop the peasantry into a gigantic anti-imperialist force. The foundation of the movement should be broadened and the classes that are the mainstay of the revolution should be properly organised for participating in the national struggle.

The reasons why the Party is within the Congress are not far to seek. The Party has come into existence as a result of radicalisation of a group of Congressmen in the course of the struggle. They came under the impact of the socialist thought of the world. They saw that a crisis had come over democracy in the West and that parliamentary institutions were crumbling on all sides. Having studied the history of revolutions in other countries they came to the conclusion that the programme of the Congress should be fundamentally altered in order to achieve complete independence. The dire necessity of the anti-Imperialist struggle led to their conversion and they quite rightly desired to develop the Congress platform for an anti-Imperialist struggle.

The role of the Congress Socialist Party has been recently discussed in a Bombay paper. The writer discusses the question with sympathy and welcomes the Party but suggests that the Party can be effective only if it liquidates itself and merely functions as the left wing of the Congress. It is stated that the Congress cannot be expected to accept socialism as its objective and that therefore the talk of socialism within the Congress would render a positive disservice to the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle. I personally agree that the Congress is not a platform for socialism and its main task is to develop the anti-imperialist struggle. But we should not forget that under present conditions such a struggle can only develop if we succeed in linking it up with the economic demands of the masses and this object can only be achieved if there is a party within the Congress that persistently agitates for the acceptance of an economic programme. I also hold that there is an urgent necessity for carrying on an incessant propaganda for socialism amongst Congress workers, for the more we succeed in this direction the better are the chances for the acceptance by the Congress of an effective programme of anti-imperialist struggle. And for this reason, if for no other, the Party must continue to function. This urgent and much needed task cannot be performed by a diffused group and I think our experience of the last twelve months amply justifies the course that we have followed. There remains the further question of our reconsidering the policy we have so far followed within the Congress. I



have already expressed my opinion that it does require a slight though an important modification and I have also pointed the direction in which this change should be introduced. I am aware that the matter is receiving the attention of the Party and I hope that if the Party is convinced that a change in its policy is demanded by circumstances it will surely take the necessary steps in that connection.

It was but natural for the Congress to signify its intention to reject this sham constitution which is only a device to perpetuate British domination in India. It would have been much better if reasons for its rejection had been fully and well stated and the real character of the White Paper proposals had been brought out in Congress resolutions. The Congress also stated its considered opinion that the only satisfactory alternative was a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage. But the thing that really matters is to see how this policy of rejection is to be carried out. In our opinion the only possible, honourable and consistent course open to rejectionists after this declaration is to follow a policy of determined resistance and obstruction and to make it impossible for the new constitution to work. A policy of rejection necessarily implies refusal to accept ministerial and other offices in the gift of the Government. It is only in this way that we can expose the hollowness of the constitution and compel its suspension. We must realise that the new constitution impedes our progress towards our goal and the sooner the obstacle is removed from our path the speedier would be our progress.

If would not have been necessary for me to dilate on this subject if the Parliamentary Board had followed in the Assembly the old traditions of the Swaraj Party and if an insidious propaganda had not been started by certain responsible individuals in favour of working the reforms.

When the Swaraj Party was revived at Ranchi in 1934 the policy and programme, which it adopted, was significantly silent on the question of acceptance of office and the whole programme was conceived in a spirit of working the Reforms. It clearly demonstrated the great change that had come over the mentality of our parliamentarians after the liquidation of the Civil Disobedience movement. Perhaps the defeat the country had sustained in the struggle and the absence of an atmosphere of civil resistance in the country had emboldened them to give up the old tactics of obstruction. The general mentality of the Parliamentary Board and the inability of its representatives in the Assembly to remain faithful to their election pledges and their eagerness to obtain easy though empty victories over the Government by agreeing to give up their professions and principles in order to enable them to secure the co-operation of the other parties in the Assembly—all these combined do not encourage us to hope that there will be any determined effect to secure the rejection of the reforms.

On the other hand, a favourable atmosphere is being silently created for the working of the reforms and the mind of the nation is being steadily prepared step by step for the acceptance of such a policy. The silence that is being maintained on all sides is certainly strengthening the hands of those who advocated such a policy.

The question is one of great importance and its decision should not be left in the hands of the Parliamentary Board. The Congress should give a clear mandate without any equivocation.

A special pleading for a wrecking policy should not be needed in the case of a party pledged to complete independence. A party working for complete independence can at no stage enter into a compromise with imperialism. It has to carry on the struggle relentlessly until the goal is reached. It should in no case take upon itself the responsibility of working a constitution imposed by the British Parliament whose authority to frame a constitution for India has been challenged by the Congress.

Last but not the least, the acceptance of ministerial offices, whether for working the reforms or for wrecking them, will certainly sow an illusion in the minds of the people that the new constitution has some intrinsic worth and it will thus unconsciously change the psychology of the whole nation in favour of a constitutional struggle.

#### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—23rd. June 1935

The Conference concluded to-day. By a resolution, the Conference condemned the attempts of the constitutionalist wing of the Congress to drag the Congress to

Liberal methods and policies of constitutionalism and urged all anti-Imperialist forces in the country to make concerted attempts with a view to make the working of the new constitution impossible."

Another resolution condemned the apathetic attitude of the Congress regarding Indian States.

Another condemned the policy of the Government in prohibiting relief parties from proceeding to Quetta.

Another resolution demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners and detenus and appealed to the public to afford relief to their families.

The Conference demanded the release of Mr. M. N. Roy and Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, who are reported to be ill in jail.

It also urged the National Congress to protest against India participating in any possible war in future, in which the Empire might be involved.

Heated discussion took place over a resolution stating that the programme of the All-India Village Industries Association would not solve the problem of farmers. It was pointed out that the condition of farmers would improve by the abolition of the system of landlordism.

A resolution was also passed condemning the speech delivered by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai at Mysore about Indian Princes.

One speaker urged the Congress to take disciplinary action against Mr. Bhulabhai Desai.

The Conference then terminated.

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*Indigenous Industries* :—Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Khambhatta Hall, Altmont Rd. Bombay.

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*All-India Sarda Act* :—Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, 1, Badsha Bagh, Lucknow.

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# ALL-INDIA WOMEN MOVEMENT

## INTRODUCTION

Under this head, we should like to draw the attention of our readers to the Report published in this Section giving a full and systematic account not only of the Origin of the All-India Women Movement and its History as spread over eight successive sessions, but also of the detailed work, educational and social service and so forth, carried on with such commendable zeal by our Womanhood in the various Indian provinces and States and also abroad, especially in connection with the Round Table Conference and the labours of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It will be seen from a careful, and we may add, appreciative, perusal of the Report that the Women Movement in India in recent times has not confined itself to the work of women amelioration and uplift in their educational and social aspects alone, but that it has gradually been waking up to a clear recognition that its best endeavours are likely to make little headway unless and until its labours in educational, social and economic spheres are adequately backed and supplemented by efficient political work. Though the Women Movement has so far eschewed, and we think rightly, party politics, it was time it took its full share, in keeping with the noblest instincts and traditions of the fair sex, in the struggle for Indian political emancipation. This struggle cannot be to any purpose carried on by the Manhood of India irrespectively of her Womanhood. In this there must be partnership and comradeship between the two, though, of course, one need think that the political and other work to be undertaken by the one must be, in all respects, the same in kind, expression and method as that undertaken by the other. Perhaps the best plan will be to evolve a natural and reasonable division and co-ordination of labour outdoors as indoors. That is not to say that their respective fields of work are in every case to be fenced round and our womenfolk are to walk and march along the highways of public activity in their *borqa*. Women franchise and the equal status of women are points which will have to be steadily and valiantly scored. The Indian National Congress Movement, more than any other single factor, has contributed to women awakening in India, and has drawn Indian women, so traditionally resigned, calm and conservative, into the vortex of actual political and social effort and fight. The fair sex has also passed "the ordeal of fire," but the white, sheltering wings of the Ministering Angel have not been badly singed. We hope not.

Before the Congress impetus was brought to bear upon the nascent dormant mass consciousness and women consciousness in India, the Women Movement, in its modern progressive aspect, had practically been confined to the "upper ten". To-day it has been, to an increasing extent, permeating the middle class intelligentsia, and is slowly filtering down to what we call the "lower strata." The social, educational, economic and political outlook in our womankind has been undergoing a change, qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Still this new leaven, though powerful, is yet very insufficient in comparison with the whole mass of Indian woman consciousness which has to be made into the new kind of loaf that we seem to require. Indian Womanhood, in its modern progressive sense and aspect, is still like scattered oases in a continent of what would appear to be Indian women wilderness. It is

like specks of cream floating over an Indian sea-ocean of milk and water, even "dirt and filth." Far be it from us to use these latter terms in the Miss Mayo sense: we simply refer to the prevailing ignorance and super-titition, callousness and lack of enterprise. The new progressive heaven has to work not only in spite of, but also, in and with, all this "raw" and "refractory" material. It has to transform and fashion it in accordance with its new ideology. In this it has got to be bold *and wise*.

There is no gainsaying that it has been bold in the conception of its plans. Though we can hardly say that the boldness in conception has yet been followed by anything like proportionately evolving vigour in execution. The Women Movement is not yet backed by adequately ample dynamism and has not yet gathered sufficiently effective or "driving" momentum. That is, in our judgment, because, whilst it has switched on the current from some front batteries, it has nearly switched off the current from some others in the background. By its enunciation of the Fundamental Rights, by its courageous yet non-communal attitude in relation to the White Paper Scheme, and last but not the least, by the nature and extent of its educational, legislative and social service work, it has shown that it has been drawing more and more liberally upon the ampler and fresher springs of "life" as we now understand it. But some other springs—possibly, springs of untold, unsuspected vitality—have been lying neglected in the back-ground, and are, perhaps, allowed to dry up unexplored and unused. If it not be impertinence on our part, we should venture to say one or two things to make our meaning clear.

In our General Introduction to this Volume, we have spoken of the Genius of India, its characteristic modes and methods of function. These are not mere shibboleths. For at least three thousand years, Indian civilisation and culture proved to be one of the most potent and productive factors influencing and shaping the trend of human history and evolution upon earth. And this influence was exerted not in terms of India's science, art, philosophy and mysticism alone. India was great, and often led, in the domain of politics and material progress also. This is now generally admitted, upon adequate evidence, even by competent outsiders who have no reason to be partial to India's past. It is true that for the last few centuries India has fallen from the Power and Glory she was. But this was because she lost touch—vital touch—with her real magazine of Power, with the real dynamism of her own Genius and Personality. That magazine is not yet depleted. It is still stocked with not only ample but profound vitality. This explains the wonderful sustaining and recouping power of India. The invasion by Alexander the Great of the Punjab was ephemeral in its political result. It is also a historical fact that Mohammedan invasion, so formidably sweeping elsewhere, found its way into India with the greatest tardiness and difficulty, and it took some centuries (commencing with the first impact on Sind) to establish its power in India in the shape of military garrisons which could hardly as yet be regarded as kingdoms and empires. The Moghul Empire came of course in due course. But on the weakening and disruption of that Empire it was still possible for the Marhatta and Sikh powers to assert themselves and hold sway over the greater part of India. The resistance and adaptive power of Indian civilisation and culture has

been even more marvellous. No other country, except perhaps China, has shown such wonderful tenacity and adaptability of life. What was and has been the secret of this? Only during the last one hundred years or so, have we really been weakening. Our alarmingly brief average span of life, (more particularly, in the upper and middle classes which are not "starved"), our abnormal proneness to disease, particularly wasting disease, are only typical of the general debility that has set in and is growing upon us. Our modern movements, unlike the freedom movements of the Marhattas and Sikhs and some other powerful ancient or mediaeval religious movements, lack sustained virility, connoting staying and moving power. Every modern upheaval is followed by unusual depression, and in some instances, even set-back. This shows that something is radically wrong with us.

This vast, latent dynamism of the Indian constitution which, unfortunately, has been weakening of late, is what we have called the "home battery" in our General Introduction. Only by switching on the current from this home battery can we expect to be vital. That current being switched off, we shall be like the dead frog made to twitch its legs under the artificial current from the foreign battery. We shall merely drift "with the times", and only copy and imitate. We shall not in reality adapt and assimilate what should be truly assimilable. We shall react in jerks and spasms, and not out of a calm centre of philosophy and a nucleus of natural strength. So we should work out the India that shall be on a basis of what the Reality of India has been and is. Do not be deluded by the mirage of an India torn into pieces, each fragment colliding with others. There is fundamental unity still—more real and abiding than so-called political unity. Do not, again, be deceived by the general prostration. It may be the repose of the "sleeping lion". Shall we allow that sleep to deepen into death?

Many of the leaders of the modern Women Movement have had the advantage of a liberal education both here and abroad. And this means broader and fresher outlook no doubt. But many of them have not had the equally essential advantage of a truly Indian national education and training. Many are not well-grounded in their Ramayana and Mahabharata and the best and noblest forms of Indian or Eastern Culture and methods of life. They have lost contact with the mass mind. Perhaps they have lost even enlightened sympathy with it. Yet no regeneration is possible without re-establishing the contact with, and turning on the current from, the "home battery." We are not for blind, indiscriminating acceptance of whatever is tradition. But we are for knowing and understanding, and wherever possible, appreciating, the background of our national reserves. We cannot with profit copy the American, Japanese or Turkish model of womanhood. Our own is a specially noble and beautiful type. Indian woman is Indian Shakti or India is Shakti. And lofty and sacred is Her shrine and altar.

In conclusion, we shall earnestly appeal to the Indian Women Movement to reorient itself and lay itself on more national, more real and vital lines. Its whole educational programme has to be changed. It should be based on a better understanding of the sources and streams of Indian Culture, and a more direct intimate acquaintance with the spirit and forms of Indian life in the classes and masses. (*P. N. Mukhopadhyaya*).

# Origin of the All-India Women's Conference

The All-India Women's Conference owes its origin to a circular letter from Mrs. Margaret E Cousins, who, in the autumn of 1926, as Secretary of the Women's Indian Association, Adyar, Madras, addressed an appeal to women all over the country to form local committees and hold Constituent Conference in each of the Provinces and in certain other clearly defined districts and Indian States, for the purpose of declaring their views on problems of education.

The original stimulus which gave rise to Mrs Cousins' letter was an appeal made by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, at the Prize-Giving function of the Bethune College, Calcutta, in which he called on Indian women to *tell us with one voice what they want, and keep on telling us till they get it.*" Mrs. A. L. Huidekoper, an ex-Principal of Bethune College, (who, I am glad to say, is still one of our very active members), made use of this appeal as the basis of two articles which were published in *Siri Dharma*, the monthly magazine of the Women's Indian Association, and it was after this that Mrs. Cousins took up the matter in the way I have just described. Her appeal met with a wide and enthusiastic response, and Constituent Conferences were held in 22 places during the months of September to December 1926, and the First All-India Women's Conference was organised to take place at Poona, where it was duly held from January 5th to 8th, 1927, under the distinguished Presidentship of Her Highness the Maharani Chimnabai Saheb Gaekwad of Baroda,—Mrs. Cousins being the first Honorary Organizing Secretary. The Resolutions passed at that Conference related almost without exception to education, ranging from matters concerning Primary Schools up to those relating to College and Adult Education. The sole exception was a Resolution condemning the practice of early marriage, as it interfered with education and supporting Sir Han Singh Gour's Age-of-Consent Bill, which was then about to come before the Legislative Assembly.

## 2. The Second Conference—

In 1928, the Second Conference was held in Delhi under the Presidentship of her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal, the proceedings being opened by her Excellency the Lady Irwin. In addition to re-affirming most of the Resolutions of the First Conference, notable Resolutions were passed relating to Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda's Bill for the restraint of Early Marriage, which was at that time under consideration, as well as urging the Government to give representation to women in the Central Legislature, so that they might be able to express their views on pending measures affecting the interests of women and girls. The Second Conference was noteworthy also as the origin of the All-India Fund for Women's Education.

## 3. The Third Conference—

The Third Conference, that of 1929, was held at Patna, with Her Highness the Dowager Rani of Mandi as President. It was on the occasion that the scope of the Conference was definitely widened to include Social Reform, and separate Section for Social Reform was created to work on lines parallel to those of the Section concerned with Educational Reform. Three Sub-committees of the Educational Reform Section were appointed to carry on work throughout the year in the following directions :

(a) The drafting of a special curriculum for schools, based on the ideals underlying the Resolutions passed by the Conference.

(b) The revising and creating of new text-books.

(c) The investigation of the conditions of the training of teachers in all parts of India. Under the Social Reform Section also a Sub-committee was appointed to carry on the campaign to raise the age of marriage.

## 4. The Fourth Conference—

By 1930, when the Fourth Conference was held in Bombay under the Presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the increased efficiency of the organization had become very noticeable : and the Honorary Organizing Secretary (Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya) was able to report the accomplishment of a large amount of very effective work done by the Constituent bodies in many parts of India. Prominent among the list of reforms effected through the support of the Conference and its members was the passing of the Sarda Act, which, (while in the opinion of the Conference the age-

limits specified in the Act were much too low, and the Act possessed some other obvious defects) was yet a bold step in the right direction. Following up that success the Social Reform Section of the Conference took a very active part in the agitation for reform of the Laws of Inheritance as affecting women, while on the educational side an immense amount of useful constructive work, in addition to propaganda, was done by local members and committees of the Conference and its Constituencies, in such directions as the opening of new Girls' Schools, Industrial School, schools for children of the Depressed Classes, Adult Education, Prison Visiting, Relief to Women-passengers on the Railways, and Child Welfare and Maternity work. A new field of work, that in connection with female labour, was opened up through the opportunity of giving evidence before the Labour Commissions, while by the delegation of distinguished members to International Conferences, such as the Berlin International Congress of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, the work of the Conference became known to women of other countries and *vice versa*.

It was in 1930 that the Committee of the Education Fund which had been registered the year before as "The All-India Women's Education Fund Association," decided to make a full enquiry about a suitable education for girls. An All-India Committee was appointed to investigate this matter. The members of the Committee made enquiries in their own provinces at first, and then met together at Panchmari, C. P., in July and made their Report.

### 5. The Fifth Conference—

The Fifth Conference was held at Lahore, in 1931, with Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi as President. Although the year 1930-31 had been one of great difficulties owing to the pre-occupation of the country with political matters, it was nevertheless a year in which the work of the Conference made great forward strides. The number of Constituencies had by this time risen to 33, and many more schools, hostels and centres for adult education were reported as having been started through the efforts of members. The institution of the observance of March 1st as 'Women's Day,' and the holding of meetings in almost all the Constituencies on that day, to popularise and explain the work of the Conference, was another noteworthy innovation. Vigorous and well-timed propaganda was carried on with a view to safeguarding the Sarda Act from amendments designed to nullify its usefulness; work was continued in the direction of getting the laws of inheritance amended, and new work was undertaken in Baroda towards getting the State to lead the way in putting on the Statute Book a Divorce Act for Hindus. There were increasing signs all over the country that the propaganda of the members of the Conference in their various Constituencies was beginning to bear fruit in the changed attitude of the public towards the amelioration of the conditions of women in general, their better education, their proper representation in legislative and administrative bodies, and in the judiciary as Honorary Magistrates. The question of the abolition of untouchability began to be tackled, too, in some Constituencies, notably in Madras, and while the attempt to deal with Labour questions (for which the formation of a special Conference had been contemplated) suffered a temporary setback owing to the disturbed conditions of the times, the keenness of members to tackle that among the other many difficult problems of the day, was intensified rather than diminished.

### 6. The Sixth Conference—

It was in 1932, when the Conference had Madras as its venue, and its President was Mrs. P. K. Ray, that it was clearly seen that although the constitution of the Conference debarred it from taking in *party* politics, it could not, if it were to perform its function of establishing women in their rightful position in the state and in society, avoid concerning itself with politics in the widest sense of the term. The status of women in the new constitution of India, particularly in relation to their fundamental rights, their representation in the various bodies and the conditions of their enfranchisement, was a matter of vital importance not only to politicians, but to the whole country; and it was overwhelmingly felt that every opportunity must be taken, before the constitution was actually drawn up in detail, to impress upon those concerned in framing it, the views of nearly half of those who would have to abide by it when framed. To this end, in April 1931, a representative meeting was held in Bombay, under the Presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the outcome of which was that the All-India Women's Conference, the Women's Indian Association, and the National Council of Women in India, conjointly drew up a Memorandum to be placed before the Franchise Sub-committee of the Round Table Conference. In May this Memorandum was sub-



mitted to all the Constituencies, with an invitation to them to give their considered opinion upon the views stated therein, and again in its final form, before it was actually submitted to the Franchise Committee, the Memorandum was circulated to the Constituencies, from which no dissentient was received. I need hardly remind you that the essential points which were decided to press in the Memorandum were as follows :

- (1) Equal rights and obligations of all citizens without any bar on account of sex.
- (2) No disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, castes, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling
- (3) Adult suffrage.
- (4) Women to fight elections on equal terms with men, in mixed general electorates.
- (5) No reservation of seats for women as such, nor special nomination or co-option.

A deputation of ladies belonging to the All-India Women's Conference also waited on His Excellency the Viceroy, in May, and presented a Memorial asking for women to be represented on the Round Table Conference.

The Social Reforms Section was kept busy again this year in agitating against the attempts to amend the Sarda Act. Rai Bahadur Harbilasji Sarda's Bill to secure a share for Hindu Widows in their husbands' family property was very widely supported in the Constituencies. The year was also noteworthy for the number of laws passed in Indian States, safeguarding women's rights, or enhancing their status.

The work of the Education Section went forward with unabated vigour on the usual lines, progress being made with the scheme for opening a Women's College for Home Science, Educational Research, and Training of Teachers. The Text-book Subcommittee made considerable progress with its arduous labour, as did also the Subcommittees on Labour, and indigenous Industries.

## 7. The Seventh Conference—

The Seventh Conference met at Lucknow in 1933 under the Presidentship of Lady Ramanbhai Neelkanth. In the work of the preceding year, that of representing the viewpoint of Indian womanhood on the constitutional question had remained uppermost owing to the fact that the Indian Franchise Committee was occupied with its labours in India during the cold season of that year, and the Standing Committee of the Conference felt it obligatory that it should continue to press the views laid down in the Memorandum presented the year before to the Round Table Conference. Nine members of the All-India Women's Conference gave evidence at various centres, that of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Chairwoman of the Standing Committee) being specially noteworthy for the firm stand which she made upon the principles laid down in the Memorandum in spite of the fire of searching cross-examination. From the point of view of immediate results, however, those efforts were, alas ! in vain, and the publication of the Communal Award was the signal for an outburst of protests from our Constituencies.

The work of the Social Section went forward apace ; in many Constituencies the earnest practical efforts towards the removal of untouchability and caste restrictions proved conclusively, to those who have eyes to see, that women are not—as they are usually supposed to be—the custodians of orthodoxy and conservatism. In many of the States Constituencies as well as those of British India there was a strong movement in favour of providing for divorce in Hindu society, and its equalisation for men and women among Muslims. The promotion of the cause of Swadeshi indigenous industries was also a very important feature of the year's work, as was also the number of instances in which members of the Conference were successful in contesting, on terms of equality with men, elections for seats on Municipal Corporations and academic bodies of Universities.

The opening of the Lady Irwin College for women, at Delhi, on November 10, 1932, was the event of the year in the Educational Section,—concrete evidence of the value of the work which had quietly and steadily been proceeding since the starting of the Education Fund four years ago. Important as was that event, however, one must not allow it to overshadow all the other less spectacular day-to-day work of members in the Constituencies, for without that real underlying zeal for the educational uplift of women, throughout the land, in villages as well as in towns, in quite devoted care and service, as well as in laying of foundation-stones and presiding over public meetings, our Conference would have never grown into the solid organisation that it now is.

## 8. The Eighth Conference—

Our Eighth Session, that of last year, was held at Calcutta. Lady Abdul Quadir being the President on that occasion. The most prominent feature of the work of 1933 had again been the political one, owing to the publication of the White Paper, in which it was seen that the attempt made by our representatives in 1931 and 1932, to gain the equal status, had completely failed. It became necessary therefore to frame a second Memorandum, in which, while it was reiterated that the proposals contained in the first Memorandum provided the only satisfactory solution, the White Paper proposals were examined and a clear statement made as to how far they could be regarded as even on adequate 'second best' or not. This Memorandum was submitted to the Joint Parliament any Committee of the British Parliament, and later, three elected members representing our Conference, as also the National Council of Women in India, and the Women's Indian Association, were invited to London to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Suffice it to say here that through Memorandum II and the firm stand taken by our delegates in giving their evidence, we showed that, while willing to adopt an accommodating attitude in regard to details during the period of transition, we stood immovably for the principle of equal status, and against that of communal and special representation.

One very useful outcome of the political work outside India has been the many contacts that our delegates made with women's organization of other countries and with institutions of international scope including the various organizations connected with the League of Nations.

Wider and wider though the scope of our activities has become, it must not be thought that this has had the effect of making the current of local work flow more sluggishly. On the contrary, the work of the Educational and Social Reform Sections grows ever more intensive as it grows extensive. As a whole our Movement gathers force every day from new streams of local enterprise.

# Half-Yearly Reports for 1935

The following is the text of the Half-yearly Reports for the year 1935, province by province, issued by the committee of All India Women's Conference :—

## 1. Andhra

We returned to our native places in later part of January. By the time we returned, two districts of local area have become a prey to the ravages of famine : appeals from the famine-stricken area were sent to various parts of the districts and we have to turn our attention first for organizing committees, to collect money for the numberless poor old people, pregnant women who were dying by gradual starvation.

Under the auspices of Andhra Constituency of the A. I. W. C., a social section committee was started with a view to find out the ways and means to tackle all the social problems. Our work is not centred in particular area but throughout the Andhra Province in as much as there are as many sub-constituencies as eleven to work out the resolutions passed by the Provincial Body as well as by the A. I. W. C. at the Karachi Session.

We had Echo-meetings in Chittoor, Kisna and Godavary districts. The provincial body has representation from each district through a member who acts as Secretary and who in her turn organises secretaries. I have divided the work into two sections—Educational and Social.

An Educational Sub-Committee having Miss Peters, Sub-Assistant Inspectress of Schools as Convenor, was formed to enquire into matters relating to adult and industrial education. This Committee will keep me in touch with its work. We have got two medical women in our Local Committee, who are very useful in as much as they impart medical knowledge when they go to villages. I have asked our Committees to choose child welfare centres, and ladies' recreation clubs or samajas for their gathering, so that they can come easily into contact with women in general.

We are agitating for compulsory free primary education through our Local Bodies and Municipalities. I cannot say that we have achieved any result on educational

side. As regards adult education, our trials are coming into effect in Godavary and Kistna Districts, as much as we have got three Sevadasans where women are taught, music, vernaculars, English and some home industries such as rattan work, embroidery lace, tape-making.

Our work began with organising committees to collect funds for the famine-stricken area in the Ceded districts where many thousands of old people and children and pregnant women are dying for want of food. We have collected funds, besides we had benefit performances at Narsapur and Mushpatam. We appealed to Youth Leagues for help who with their characteristic buoyancy of youth promptly answered our call with large sums of collections. In all we were able to send Rs. 1,000 to the famine-stricken area.

2. Now our attention turned to the next important matter, namely, Sarda Act. I placed before the A. I. W. C. in the recent session that numberless child marriages are being performed in Frenchpet in Mushpatam, as the British has no jurisdiction over the Frenchpet. It is no exaggeration or egoism if I say that we had worked very hard to lessen the number of marriages performed and I am glad to say that we did succeed in our attempt and the sharp fines that were given by the magistrates to the parties, which themselves bear testimony to the success of our agitation.

3. The next thing that confronted us was the question of legal disabilities of women which is of vital importance. I succeeded in getting the attestations of several ladies on the forms sent to me by the Social Section Secretary. The same were handed over to Mrs. Cousins, Chairwoman of our Provincial Body, when she attended our Provincial Executive Body at Ellore to be sent to S. S. Secretary. Some more forms were sent to our Sub-Constituencies at my request and I am to say that they are working vigorously to have them filled in and will be sent to the S. S. Secretary in time for the ensuing Assembly Sessions.

4. I may also add that some of the members of our sub-constituencies are helping the widow-remarriage Association.

5. The last but not the least, is the question of Franchise over which I have drawn the attention of our Committee to concentrate. In this connection I have appealed for help on behalf of our constituency to all persons of different shades of opinion, and to youth leagues for finding out whether the names of all the women qualified to vote are entered into the Electoral Roll, and to enlighten voters on the fruit of Franchise. A similar letter was sent to the Press by our Chairwoman, Mrs. Cousins. Besides this, she has written letters to Messrs. Satyamurty B. Sambamurti (a famous Congress leader), and to Mrs. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi to depute special workers who had experience of finding out the people with special property, tax and literary qualifications.

As we have to deal with many a social problem it is very difficult for every Constituency to work up all the items concerning Social and Educational matters. So I have distributed the following items among the experienced members of our Provincial Committee.

(a) Village Reconstruction ; (b) Indigenous Industries ; (c) Rescue Homes ; (d) Labour and Insurance.

6. Village Reconstruction was allotted to Mrs. P. Kanakamma of Nellore, D. Laxmihayamma of Narasapur, Dr. M. Sakuntala of Ellore, M. Kamalamma of Muslipatam and Mrs. Cousins. I cannot say that we had achieved any tangible result in as much as the work is an uphill task. Anyhow, I dare say that we are making progress, and hope that our attempts would fructify in course of time. As for the Harijan work which forms a part of Village Reconstruction, I am glad to inform that very good results are obtained in our local areas, many schools are started for Harijan children, and boarding for their girls, night schools in our local areas, thanks to the laborious work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

7. As regards the indigenous industries, we have centred all our activities in Guntur District, where we can, under the guidance of Mr. G. Sitaramasastry (Secretary for the Village Industries Association) work, in proper channel.

8. Bezwada, the centre of the Andhra Province, has been pitched upon for having Rescue Homes. Mrs. Rajarajeswaramma has taken the entire responsibility on her shoulders as there are already two Rescue Homes started by Dr. G. Ranganayakam and herself.

9. Much work has been done in the spread of Insurance among women and to a small extent among labourers.

(Sd.) M. Kamalamma,  
Standing Committee Member, ANDHRA.

## 2 Baroda

This term our Association has done excellent work in various sections. Till now, i. e. the beginning of June we have had five meetings of the Working Committee. We discuss all the local work and correspondence from the Head Quarters in the Working Committee. The Executive only meets informally to arrange the programme and to do other work requiring urgent attention.

Our Echo Meeting was a splendid success this year. About two hundred ladies attended the meeting. Some of our delegates who had attended the Karachi Conference gave detailed accounts of the Conference. We elected our Working Committee and the Executive Committee. Our office-bearers are elected as follows :—

Dr. Bana	...	President.
Mrs. Bhate, Mrs. Patwardhan, Miss Needham, Miss Jaday and	...	
Mrs. Mehta	...	Vice-Presidents.
Mrs. Limargo	...	Local Secretary.
Mrs. Deshpande	...	Treasurer.
This year the following Sub-Committees were appointed :—		

### Educational, Social and Labour

A special Hostel Committee was appointed in the beginning of April ; but unfortunately most of the members left Baroda during summer leaving only three on whose shoulders the whole burden and all the hardships of starting such a responsible concern fell. Up to this time the College girls were admitted in the Girls' High School Boarding House. But owing to the increase in the number of the School girls, the College girls are not to be admitted there from this year. Our Association has taken up the task of opening a suitable hostel for them. Mrs. Wadia, the Standing Committee Member of the Association with the joint efforts of Miss Needham and Mrs. Jayavati Desai has tried her best to make it a success. The hostel is opened from the 13th. June.

As requested by the Social Section Secretary—A. I. W. C.—we fully discussed the question of appointing a Commission on Local Disabilities of Women ; and passed a resolution protesting against the attitude Government has taken up. The resolution was sent to the Social Section Secretary—A. I. W. C. We also sent about hundred signatures for the appointment of a Commission on Legal Disabilities of women.

The Indigenous Industries Sub-Committee, with Mrs. Abbas Tyabji as its Convenor, visited some of the institutions in the city. It has decided to send the members to the "Bhagini Samaj" to show fancy work to the young ladies coming to the "Samaj". Mrs. Tyabji, by herself, is doing splendid work by persuading people to use village products and manufactures as far as available, and to go in for hand-pounded rice and hand-ground flour.

Our enthusiastic President, Dr. Dana, has developed a series of lectures on Small-pox and health with the help of magic lantern slides in thickly populated places of the city. She also visits the very poor localities and lectures on sanitation and other similar subjects. From this month the Harijan Sub-Committee will be accompanying her whenever she goes on her visits to those quarters.

Nothing particular has been done in the Labour Sections.

Camp Baroda,  
14th. June 1935.

Sd. (Mrs) Gool Wadia,  
Standing Committee Member, Baroda.

## 3. Bengal Hast

The date of the Echo meeting was 13th. February, 1935, which was held under the Presidentship of Miss Shome, B. A., B. T., and many ladies attended the meeting. Educational Section.

We have 4 Primary Schools and two midwifery classes under the Education Committee :—

- (1) Thataribazar School paying very small fees with 45 Students ;
- (2) Urdu Free School with 90 students ;
- (3) Kazihouse Free School with 30 students ;
- (4) Narinda Free Harijan School with 30 students ;
- (5) Wari Midwifery and nursing Class with 8 students ;
- (6) Gandaria Midwifery and Nursing class with 8 students ;

We have four Industrial Centres for sewing and weaving.

Under Social Section of the Constituency, "Sagarika" and "Mirabai" performances were done to raise money in aid of the above Institutions and the net income was more than Rs. 1,000 from the performances. There is also a monthly subscription of about Rs. 25 out of which the expenditure is met

Sd. Protima Nag,  
General Secretary.

3. 7. 35

#### 4. Bengal West

The first Annual Meeting was held on the 8th. February, 1935. Mrs. Renuka Ray, the Social Secretary of the A. I. W. C. was kind enough to preside over the meeting. Some 700 women, mostly from the neighbouring villages, assembled there. Several women including a widow from a village, read papers. They dealt mainly on social problems of the women of our country. Mrs. Ray, the President, spoke about the Resolutions passed in the Karachi Conference and asked the women present there to take active part in the work undertaken by the Conference.

The Bengal West Constituency is carrying on social works in neighbouring villages from the very beginning by calling meetings at regular intervals and by Sub-Committees there. On the 18th February, a meeting was held at Bandgorah, a neighbouring village where child welfare Exhibition was duly organised. After lectures had been delivered there by several ladies, a Sub-Committee with 7 Members, was formed there.

Feeling the necessity of starting sewing classes in the villages, the Constituency has appointed a teacher for this purpose from the 1st March, on a salary of Rs. 10 a month. The teacher, a widow, trained at Srnicketan, the Rural Reconstruction Department of Viswabharati, goes regularly to three villages for the present. On the 6th. March a meeting was held at Bhubandanga, the nearest village from Santiniketan, to inaugurate the starting of a loom there. The members of our Constituency also go to the villages occasionally and talk with the women there about the improvement of sanitary conditions of villages.

Santiniketan,  
11. 6. 35.

Sd. Sudhamayee Mukerjee,  
Secy., West Bengal Consty., A. I. W. C.

#### 5. Bihar.

Four meetings were held during the half-year under report. One of these was a general meeting and three were Committee meetings. In the General meeting the things especially discussed were Rural uplift, Removal of Illiteracy, Untouchability, and Women's Legal Disabilities. The Committee meetings discussed among other things the ways and means for giving a practical shape to the resolutions of the Conference.

The Committee elected Lady Imam as its President in place of Mrs. Haidar Ali who is leaving Patna indefinitely. One of our members, Mrs. S. C. Chakrabarty acted earnestly as an Honorary Hospital Visitor for two years—1933-34 and 1934-35. Since April 1935, Mrs. A. T. Sen has been working as an Honorary Visitor of the Hospital.

Owing to the ill health of two of the Sectional Secretaries the progress of work during the half-year under report was considerably retarded. Regarding the removal of illiteracy our Educational Section has been running a few free Primary Schools in which both boys and girls are taught. The number of pupils in these schools is gradually increasing. Besides this, arrangement has been made to hold meetings of the common people in different busties and deliver popular lectures. These meetings were attended by both males and females and the lectures much appreciated. Our plan is to supplement these lectures with lantern shows. Regarding social work no new line of action has yet been chalked out. The two sections—Educational and Social—have to a certain extent worked jointly. To give a practical impetus to the removal of untouchability the teachers of our Primary Schools are encouraged to admit children belonging to the Harijan Class. In some of the popular educational lectures referred to above, the evils of early marriage and the Purdah system were exposed.

Sd. Mrs. S. C. Chakravarti,  
Educational Secretary.

#### 6. Bombay

The progress made during the last six months was on the whole satisfactory. The Association met four times during the six months to consider the circulars from the Organising Secretary of the A. I. W. C. and to consider other matters relating to the

welfare of Women and Children. The following is the substance of the activities undertaken by our Association since January :—

The Echo meeting was held on the 23rd February 1935 at 4-30 P. M. at the Vanita Vishram Hall when Dowager Lady Jehangir presided. Lady Jehangir in her Presidential address stressed the necessity of spreading Education among Women (in India) and said that Women in India have a heavy task before them for the removal of their legal disabilities and for asserting their rights as human beings. She welcomed the efforts of the Association in this direction.

Two resolutions were carried unanimously, one protesting against Mr. Desai's Bill to Amend the Law of Adoption aiming at the destruction of the fundamental rights of Women, and the other expressing disappointment at the refusal of the Government of India to appoint a Commission of non-official members to inquire into the legal disabilities of women. The delegates to the Karachi Session of the All-India Women's Conference gave their impressions of the Conference.

Two letters were sent, one to Mr. Desai and the other to the President of the Legislative Council protesting against Mr. Desai's Bill to Amend the Law of Adoption. Some members of our Association together with other ladies went into a deputation to H. E. the Governor protesting against Mr. Desai's Bill. They also went to the Council Hall on the day the Bill was moved. We have the satisfaction to mention here that Mr. Desai with the permission of the President did not move the Bill in that Session.

The Adult Education Committee is making a good progress. Adult Education Classes are going on at Lamington Road and in the Improvement Trust Chawls. The women attending these classes have made good progress in reading and writing.

Our Association has decided to run an intensive campaign for getting women registering themselves as voters under the various Franchise Qualifications in the new Constitution. Miss Amy Rustomji has been appointed Convener of a Sub-Committee for this purpose, with powers to co-opt. Various centres will be opened in the city, enrolment forms prepared, and there will be house to house visitation to induce and help women with enrolment.

The Association is carrying on an extensive propaganda jointly with other Women's Associations to protest against Mr. Desai's Bill of Adoption which, it is feared, will be moved in the Poona Session of the Bombay Legislative Council. Signatures are collected on Protest Forms which will be duly sent on to the authorities.

Owing to some unforeseen difficulties, the Elections for an Executive Committee could not be held earlier, but are fixed to take place early in July.

Sd. Gulbanu J. R. Doctor,

21. 6. 35.

Standing Committee Member, B. W. Association.

#### 7. Calcutta.

Our Echo meeting was held at the Y. W. C. A. Hall on the 21st January 1935. It was well attended. Mrs. P. Choudhuri, Chairwoman of the Constituency presided. Mrs. S. C. Roy read an account of (a) Mrs. Nanjanima's "Five year plan for making 50 p.c. people literate", and (b) Mrs. Hamid Ali's propaganda class for women to train Social Workers". Mrs. Shamsun Nahar Mahmud, Mrs. S. N. Roy, and Miss Wingate gave short account of the Educational, Social and Labour resolutions passed at the Karachi Session. Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee, Organising Secretary, explained the position of Indian women with regard to Franchise in the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report.

Our Local Committee has met once every month and at the first meeting in February, two sections were formed :—

(1) Educational, taking up (a) Refresher Courses, (b) Medical Inspection of Schools, (c) Girls' Hostels, (d) Park and physical culture, (e) Debating Society, and (f) Parental Co-operation ;

(2) Social, taking up (a) Bustee work and untouchability, (b) Suppression of Immoral Traffic and Abduction of Women, (c) Women's Franchise.

Owing to the absence of a separate Convener, the work of the Social Section is included in the general report this time.

#### (a) BUSTEE WORK AND UNTOUCHABILITY

The Harijan School at 11, Nanda Mallik's Lane is making great progress. Nearly 100 people, men, women and children are taking full advantage of it. Many have learnt to read and write well in Bengali while some are being taught a little English with a view to securing better jobs. The All-India Harijan Utthan

Samity and Marwari Harijan Sevak Samity have given us financial help all along, for which we are grateful.

The prize distribution of the above School came off on the 24th June at the school premises. Councillor S. C. Ghosh presided and Mrs. Indira Devi gave away the prizes, which consisted of Dhotis and Sarees. These were given by Mrs. T. N. Banerjee, Mrs. Sadhir Kumar Sen, and Mrs. T. P. Ghosh. Mrs. Ghosh also supplied mangoes and sweets for the pupils. The Banga Luxmi Cotton Mills kindly presented a box of washing soap for distribution. We are grateful to Mrs. N. N. Dutt for contributing Rs. 20 towards the prize fund, and to Mrs. N. Mukerjee for printing the invitation cards free of charge.

The Bal Mandir or the Harijan Baby Clinic has made good progress during the last six months. Seventy children attend daily, and each of them get a pawa of milk twice a day. Dr. Miss Maitreyi Bose regularly attends the Clinic every Saturday morning, and Dr. Pal every Wednesday afternoon. We are very thankful to them for giving medical help free of charge. The monthly expenses of the Clinic come to about Rs. 175. Last year Mrs. Saudamini Mehta in charge of the Clinic, had to collect all the money through private donations, excepting Rs. 10 from the A. I. W. C. Fortunately this year the Bengal Harijan Sevak Sangh is very kindly giving a monthly grant of Rs. 100. We thank Mrs. Handoo for her monthly subscription of Rs. 5 and also for visiting the Clinic twice a week. We also thank Mrs. Madgaonkar, and Mrs. Nirmala Choksy for helping the Secretary in the work of supervision.

(b) No work has yet been done under this heading.

#### (c) WOMEN'S FRANCHISE

Some ladies representing four different Associations met Mr. R. N. Gilchrist at Mrs. Mukherjee's house on the 18th March. There was a suggestion that the Provincial Government and the Secretary of State for India should be approached with a view to lowering the high standard of literacy qualification for franchise. Accordingly a cable was sent to the Secretary of State for India in the month of June.

#### LECTURES

Under the joint auspices of the Calcutta Constituency of the A. I. W. C., and the Bengal Presidency Council of Women, a women's meeting was held on February 1st, 1935 at the All-India Institute of Hygiene, 21 Chittaranjan Avenue, when Mrs. How Martyn of the International Birth Control Association spoke on the subject of "Birth Control".

During Madam Halide Ediba Hanum's short stay here, a lecture was arranged at the Y. W. C. A. Hall, on the 27th February, 1935, jointly with the All-Bengal Muslim Ladies' Association, when she spoke on the "Women's movement in Turkey". This was very interesting and was largely attended.

Sd. M. Gupta,  
Hony. Secretary.

### 8. Delhi

After the return of the nine delegates who attended the Karachi Session of the A. I. W. C. the Delhi Women's League (Local Branch of the A. I. W. C.) commenced its activities with the entertainment of the two guests of the A. I. W. C., Dr. Roydon and Mrs. C. Ashby who were on a visit to Delhi. Their entire programme was arranged by the Executive Committee and apart from showing them various places of educational and social interest a series of social functions were arranged in their honour and everything possible was done to make the guests comfortable.

2. The following persons gave public lectures under the auspices of the League during the past six months.

(a) Dr. M. Roydon and Mrs. C. Ashby spoke on the "Message of the West to the East."

(b) Mrs. How Martyn on "Birth Control in India."

(c) Madam Halide Edib Hanum, the well known Turkish Novelist on "Women in Turkey."

(d) Mr. G. K. Hoodhar of the Poona Seva Sadan spoke on "Women in Social Service".

3. The Echo meeting of the Constituency was held on the 28th Feb. 1935 in the city and the audience was over 500 which is a good number for Delhi. Mrs. Naidu presided at the meeting and the aims and objects of the A. I. W. C. and the practical work achieved by the Conference and its constituencies was fully explained.

4. On the visit of H. H. the Junior Maharani of Travancore, Maharani of Vizianagram and other well known persons the members took them to pay a visit to the Lady Irwin College. H. H. the Maharani of Travancore was entertained at an "At Home" on behalf of the League.

5. The Secretary paid several visits to the Harijan Colony and on noting the insanitary condition of the locality informed the Health Officer who accompanied the Secretary on a subsequent visit. A result of this inspection was that action has been taken against those landlords who are responsible for proper drainage etc. of those bastis and improvements have been effected.

Similarly by drawing the attention of the authorities concerned to the insanitary conditions of a neighbouring village called Chandrawal where the League started a Primary School, the League has been instrumental in securing some measure of cleanliness of the said village.

6. In response to the Hony. Organising Secretary's appeal to help the Central funds and also to supplement the local funds the members of the League staged "Chitra" which not only brought Rs. 1,317 as nett income but also elicited the praise of well known press critics for its artistic merits. Rs. 200 has been sent to the A. I. W. C. Fund while Rs. 400 to the local Y. M. C. A. as arranged previously and the remainder has been divided between the Music School and the current expenses of the League. Also Rs. 100 was donated to S. Bhawan Fund for upkeep.

7. With regard to the work undertaken by the Sarda Act Committee legal action has been taken against 5 persons for violating the Sarda Act and it is hoped to hold a Sarda Act Conference this year in the cold weather.

This short summary of the work shows that much can still be done but due to the lack of more active members the Secretary is kept busy even with this and the work can gain in volume only if those of the members become active.

Sd. A Asafali,  
Honorary Secretary.

### 9. Hyderabad (Deccan):

The Association commenced its work this year with the New Constitution passed by the General Body at its Annual Meeting and approved by the Constitution Sub-Committee of the A. I. W. C.

The Echo meeting was held on the 15th of February. Some of the delegates read papers in English and Urdu on the All-India Women's Conference and the Resolutions—Educational and Social—passed at the Sessions.

A resolution was passed in support of the demand of the A. I. W. C. for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the Legal disabilities of Women, and as a further expression of our sympathy we are collecting signatures for the All-India demand.

Work for the year was discussed. An appeal was made for maintaining poor children at schools by payment of their school fees and necessities.

Volunteers were invited for Rescue work in Traffic in Women and Children. Several members gave in their names and it was suggested that the advice and co-operation of men would be of great value. The President in her concluding remarks urged women to come forward and help in Social Service Work.

### EDUCATIONAL SECTION

The three free schools of our Constituency are running on well-conducted lines. The Convenor of the Schools' Sub-Committee has acquired the help of several members for instruction in special subjects and free medical inspection. The strength of the three schools is 160.

The heads of Jagirs, Paighas and Samasthanams within our State have been requested to co-operate with us in the spread of literacy by opening schools and libraries in their jurisdictions and assist poor students who are desirous of taking higher studies with scholarships and loans.

With regard to classes for adult women—women's organisations including the Ladies' Clubs have been written to, to co-operate with us by starting classes for handicrafts and help the spread of Vocational training. A similar request has been sent to the Municipal Corporation.

The Committee appointed by Government for the Re-organisation of Education in Hyderabad State invited the opinion of our Association on the proposed reforms. A special Committee of our members—mostly educationists—met and drafted a memorandum embodying our views. The principal points stressed were more trained teachers,



mother-tongue to be medium of instruction, establishment of Home Science Institutions for Special Cultural Training for girls, revision of Vernacular text-books by women educationists, co-education in primary schools, revision of present examination system, provision of airy and sanitary buildings for schools and introduction of compulsory primary education.

#### SOCIAL SECTION

Early in the year a Sub-Committee for the removal of Legal Disabilities of Women was appointed. To awaken the interest of the public this committee arranged for a series of lectures under the auspices of our Association. A leading Barrister of our city, Mr. R S Nank, very kindly delivered the lectures pointing out the inequalities and disadvantages placed upon women by the present laws of Property, Inheritance and Marriage prevailing in all communities.

The Hostel for women and Employment Bureau continue their work. Fourteen to eighteen dais, midwives and compounders have taken up their residence at the hostel paying Re. 1 to Rs 3 for lodging, and boarders paying Rs. 30 a month have been accommodated besides visitors passing through Hyderabad. The Bureau also has been made use of by people requiring its services.

The Vigilance Committee which deals with Suppression of Traffic in Women and children has started its preliminary work of collecting information about existing laws on this subject in British India. The Committee is composed of several of our members and a few men who are sympathisers of the cause.

The work of the half-year has been mainly preparation. We are embarking on new ventures and hope when the hot weather has ceased to get on with the work that has been planned.

Sd. E. Cornelius,  
Standing Committee Member.

#### 10. Indore

We have amalgamated, according to the Rules and Regulations that were passed in the Karachi Conference last year, the previous two Branches, viz., Indore Women's Association and Indore Local Committee, into one Branch known at present as *All-India Women's Conference, Indore Branch*. The following are the Office-bearers :

1. President—Princess Savitribai Saheb Bansode.
2. Vice-President—Mrs Jankibai Bhandarker.
3. Secretary and Treasurer—Mrs. Jyotsna Mehta,
4. Joint Secretary—Mrs. Bhanumatibai G. Turkhud.

The Managing Committee consists of 21 members.

We hold meetings almost every month.

2. We have made four divisions of our Branch, viz., Educational, Labour, Social, and Rural constructive Committees, out of which the first named Committee has been formed and Miss Ahilyabai Bhandarker, M. A., Lady Supdt., Girls' High School, has been appointed as a Convenor. A Labour Committee is shortly to be formed and Mrs. Annapurnabai Bhandarker is to be appointed as the Convenor. The third and the last one will be formed in the next few months. The practical work of all the Committees will be put before you in the Yearly Report.

3. We have written to the following Institutions for co-operation with our Branch and have received favourable replies from each of them. They are :—

- (1) Shree Ahilya Seva Sadan (under the Patronage of H. H. The Junior Maharani Indirabai Ma Saheb Holkar) ;
- (2) Shree Sharda Raja Boarding for Harijan Girls (under the patronage of H. H. the Maharani Sharmishthabai Ma Saheb Holkar) ;
- (3) Women's Branch of the Red Cross Society conducted by Mrs. Kama, a member of our Branch.
- (4) Mahila Shiksham Sangh (conducted by Mrs. Mahalas, a member of our Branch.
- (5) Shree Kanchan Bai Shrawikashram (conducted by Lady Hukumchand, a member of our Branch.
- (6) Mahila Sangh (conducted by Mrs. Bhanumatibai G. Turkhud, a member of our Branch).
- (7) Gujerathi Stree Mandal (conducted by Mrs. J. Mehta, a member of our Branch).
- (8) Harijan Seva Sangh (conducted by Mrs. Kibe and Mrs. Annapurnabai Bhandarker—the latter is a member of our Branch).

4. The Leper Asylum is looked after by the State. It is kept in a satisfactory condition except that women lepers are not allowed. We are in communication with the authorities concerned regarding this matter and we are sanguine that some thing will be done for their admittance in future. The Vice-President and the Secretary paid frequent visits.

5. We have written to the Secretary Jubilee Fund Foreign Department for contribution for deserving charitable institutions as suggested by our Branch. The Secretary informs us that our suggestions will be put forth before the Government for consideration. 70 per cent of the contribution is expected to be refunded of the Silver Jubilee Fund and we have every hopes to get something out of it.

6. Under the Presidentship of Miss Mira Ben we held a meeting in the Town Hall when nearly 2000 ladies were present and the following resolutions were unanimously passed. (I am sending the Hindi copy of the Resolutions herewith). This meeting was graced by the presence of H. H. the Maharani Sanyogitabai Sahib Holkar and the other members of the Royal family.

7. A meeting under the Presidentship of Sardar Kibe was held to discuss about the legal disabilities of women. Subsequently Rao Sahib Bhargab, Bar-at-Law was consulted. He gave his opinion and promised to bring in the local Legislature a bill for removing the disabilities of Hindu Women in the Law of Inheritance.

8. The work of the Harijan has been undertaken by Mrs. Kibe and Mrs. Annapurnabai Bhandarkar, and they have opened four centres. Some funds have been collected and people have promised subscriptions by monthly payments to the Fund. Vernacular classes have been opened at each of the centres, engaging paid teachers for Harijans. According to the instructions of Mrs. Brijlal Nehru we intend to do further work for the uplift of the Harijans.

Sd. Bhanumatibai G. Turkhud  
Joint Secretary.

## 11. Konkan

The Echo meeting was held on March 1st 1935 at the Dongre Hall. It was attended by over fifty ladies of the town, who took keen interest in the proceedings. Mrs. Solomon Wakrulkar read the report of the 9th Annual Conference, which she had attended at Karachi. The audience listened to it with great enthusiasm. Mr. Lamaye, a senior pleader of the station presided at this meeting. The Judge, a few more lawyers, and some other educated men came by invitation.

The Secretary read out the resolution with regard to the "Commission on Legal Disabilities of Women". This was discussed at length and unanimously supported. It was resolved to send two telegrams to the Legislative Assembly to communicate the decision of this Constituency. The matter was sent to the press without delay. The following items were taken up for discussion at this meeting.

- (1) The Sarda Act Amendment.
- (2) Female Education.
- (3) The Legal Rights of Women.
- (4) The Women's help to the Rural Uplift work.

The public meetings of the citizens of Alibag were held to study the question of the "Legal Disabilities of women and their rights." Detailed discussions were held on the subject between the men and the women. The illiterate women were helped to understand their rights. No doubt it has aroused the interest of the men in the welfare of the women.

We are concentrating our attention more on the "Education Section" though our activities have been of a mixed nature. Our three Sub-Committees are:—

- (1) Education (2) Harijans (3) Child Marriage Restraint.

These Committees have volunteered to carry on their work as best as they can under the difficult circumstances of this district.

A few public meetings and fourteen meetings of the Committee members have been held during this term. The members are kept well acquainted with all the plans and the programme of the All-India Women's Conference, which are sent to the Standing Committee Member of this Constituency, from time to time. It is encouraging to add that the members are keenly interested in the cause of the Conference.

Lectures were arranged by the Association on Health and Sanitation and other useful subjects. A very instructive lantern lecture was given by Dr. R. L. Mungre on tuberculosis, its causes and prevention.

An address was given by Mr G. K. Doodhar, the Hon. Organizer of Poona Seva Sadan on Rural Uplift, Home Industries, and a suitable system of education for girls. He has already opened a school in the station in which the curriculum of studies is to be of such a nature as to give to the girls the education and training required for preparing them to be capable mothers and housewives, and become intelligent, helpful citizens of their country. The Constituency has promised their full support to this school.

Our programme for adult education for women is:—(1) A sewing class conducted by some of the members of the Association, (2) A class for teaching Hindi and English; (3) Reading out stories, newspapers and useful articles from women's magazines to those who cannot read.

Voluntary services as teachers are given to a needy school in the station. A few stipends are given to the poor but deserving girls studying in the High schools.

The Constituency arranges for the Annual Medical inspection of the school children in this district, which is carefully done by the medical officers of the respective centres. It was a pleasure to note that just a few children were found needing any treatment. The parents or guardians of such cases were advised to have these children attended to without delay.

We were much pleased to meet Babu Rajendra Prasad at a public meeting of the citizens of this town. He was presented with a garland of hand-spun yarn and a piece of hand-woven cloth by one of the members of our Association.

We regret that we have received no report from our Sub-Constituencies. They have not at all been active this year. This state of affairs is due to the leaders of these sub-Constituencies having left the station. We do hope we shall be able to reorganize them as soon as the season permits.

The Alibag Women's Association consists of twenty-five members on the subscription list. Our present office-bearers are:—

President—Mrs. Parpia (Our new Collector's wife).

Vice-President—Dr. Miss A. Athavale.

Secretary—Mrs. Lele.

Treasurer—Mrs. R. Bhat.

Sd. S. B. Bhaskare,  
Standing Committee Member.

## 12. Kolhapur

The Annual Session of the Provincial Bhagini Mandal, Kolhapur, was held at Kolhapur on the 8th May 1935, presided by Lady Janakibai Sabnis. Following are some of the important resolutions passed:—

- (1) Requesting the Kolhapur Darbar to put a stop to the marriage system wherein the husband is far older than the wife.
- (2) The Darbar have already made women's education compulsory. The meeting requested the Darbar to bring it into actual practice, at their earliest convenience.
- (3) Women should take up the study of Hindi language.
- (4) Women should be appointed to work on a Jury.
- (5) Dowry system and the system of taking money for daughters given in marriage, should be strictly stopped and women should start a movement against these in the villages to begin with.

Besides this we have done some practical work in the form of opening a class for women and girls where English and Hindi is taught.

Sd. Shamabai Moruse,  
Standing Committee Member, A. I. W. C.

## 13. Madras

A Committee meeting was held in January 1935, to elect office bearers for the year 1935-36. The following were elected:

Standing Committee Member	... Mrs. Kamala Damodaran
Educational Secretary	... Mrs. Ramath Unissa Begum
Social Section Secretary	... Srimathi G. Visalakshi Ammal.
Treasurer	... Mrs. Balasundaram Naidu;

and an Executive Committee consisting of 12 members were elected.

The Echo meeting was held in the 3rd week of February 1935, under the presidency of Mrs. Ammu Swaminadhan. The meeting was fairly well attended and Miss Kuriyan, who happened to be the only delegate from Madras to attend the Karachi Session, gave a very detailed account of the Conference and mentioned the various resolutions passed. She also made special mention of the suggestion of dividing the work of the Conference into 4 Commissions, in order to make the work of the Conference run on smoother lines. A very important and attractive feature of this year's Conference, she said, was that it was attended by distinguished ladies such as Mrs. Maude Royden and Mrs. Corbet Ashby.

A committee meeting was held in the 2nd week of March. Circular letter from the Organising Secretary was read regarding dividing the work of the Conference into 4 commissions. As there were only very few members at that meeting it was decided to take up the question at the next committee meeting.

*Raising funds for A. I. W. C.*—This was also put off till July.

*Legal Disabilities of Women.*—A resolution was passed urging for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the Legal Disabilities of Women, and also that the said commission must be strongly represented by women. Letters were also sent to all the Assembly Members (of the Madras Presidency) to strongly support Mr. Deshmukh's Bill when it comes up in the Assembly.

In March Mrs. How Martyn gave a very interesting and instructive lecture on Birth-control in Pantheon Gardens. A very intimate circle of ladies only were invited and all those who attended showed great interest and asked Mrs. How Martyn many questions for information after the meeting was over. Most of the ladies were convinced how essential birth-control was to raise healthy families and thereby a healthy nation.

A Committee was held in the 3rd week of April. One or two important circular letters from the Organising Secretary was read. Unfortunately all work of the Conference had to be put off till July as most members were out of Madras for the summer vacation.

*Social Work.*—The Rescue Home is going a long way to improve the lot of poor destitute girls. The only drawback is we have got enough money to carry on the work. In March Lady Majorio Erskine visited the Home, and was very much impressed with the good work that was being carried on. We only hope and pray that sufficient money will be forthcoming to carry on the work which was started with such zeal.

23rd. June, 1935.

Sd. Mrs. Kamala Damodaran,  
Standing Committee Member, Madras.

#### 14. Maharashtra

A meeting of the Association was held on the 21st October 1934 at the Residency. Mrs. Hamid Ali took the chair. Delegates to the Maharashtra Conference to be held at Poona were elected. Mrs. Hamid Ali explained the scheme of the Village Uplift Propagandists' Class to be held shortly, and requested all the members to attend it. A few members were selected to give instructions to the students in the class.

Twenty-five members of the Association attended the Propagandists' class from 22nd to 31st October and some of them were instructors also.

In the next meeting which was held on November 10th, the report of the Maharashtra Conference was read by the Hony. Secretary and some sewing work of the hospital was also done. The office-bearers with the exception of the Hony. Treasurer were re-elected. Mrs. Satarwala was elected Hon. Treasurer in place of Mrs. Agusha.

Signatures on the forms sent by the All-India Women's Conference to move for the appointment of an All-India Commission to consider the legal disabilities of women, were taken and members were also asked to collect signatures. These papers were forwarded to the Organising Secretary. Some sewing work of the hospital was also done.

A public meeting of ladies from Satara was held on the 24th November 1934, when Mrs. Hamid Ali presided. The meeting was held at the Pathak Hall. Rao Saheb Parulekar explained the legal disabilities of Hindu and Muslim women under the existing laws and suggested that the Association should get the necessary changes in the law effected. The President advocated registration of marriages under the Special Marriage Act, in order to avoid the disabilities under the Hindu laws, which, she said, would also solve the question of Hindu widow's maintenance and would also prevent polygamy.

Mrs. Bakhale, the Hon Secretary explained the disadvantages of children wearing costly ornaments. After the meeting, the ladies visited the child welfare health exhibition.

A meeting was held to celebrate the All India Women's day and was largely attended.

We have also helped the dais trained at Wai, by giving them Saris and Blouses.

Mrs. Bakhale gave an account of the All-India Women's Conference and her general impressions of the Conference, in the meeting which was held on the 29th January 1935.

A public meeting of representative women from Satara District was held at the Friendship centre on the 24th February 1935. More than a hundred ladies attended. They included Mrs. Dhavale from Karad, Miss Bhadhade, Mrs. Gokhale, Mrs. Apte from Sangli and others from other places in the District. Mrs. Hamid Ali presided. Mrs. Bakhale proposed the resolution protesting against Mrs. Desai's Bill of Adoption in the Bombay Legislative Council and the resolution was carried unanimously. Mrs. Bakhale also proposed the resolution supporting Dr. Deshmukh's motion in the Legislative Assembly for appointment of a Commission to inquire into the legal disabilities of women in India, and this resolution was also carried unanimously. Then Mrs. Gokhale explained the educational resolutions of the Karachi Session, and Mrs. Bakhale gave her general impression of the Conference.

A public meeting was called at the time of the departure of Dr. Korchagina, one of the members of the Association.

An annual meeting of the Association was held on 11th March 1935, in the Friendship Hall. Mrs. Bakhale explained the Women's Village Improvement Class in the city to be held shortly and requested all to send members for the class. Mrs. Hamid Ali and Mrs. Bakhale were elected as the members of the Health Association Maternity Committee. Some sewing work of the hospital was also done.

A public meeting was convened on 1st July 1935, to honour Mrs. Hamid Ali on her return from Istanbul and England. After the speeches by some citizens welcoming Mrs. Hamid Ali on her return the latter gave a short account of the International Conference and general activities of the women of Turkey in public matters which interested the audience very much. Mrs. Hamid Ali was also honoured by the International Fellowship.

The members have also collected signatures against the Adoption Bill of Mr. Desai.

Mrs. Brijlal Nehru's suggestions to collect funds to supply the depressed classes was considered and it was decided that the consideration of this matter should be postponed as the question of funds for the Maternity Home and Women's Hospital at Satara was more urgent.

Resolution favouring equal rights of nationality of married women was also passed.

An educational Committee being already formed, no further action was necessary. The proceedings were closed after a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Sd. V. Bakhle,  
Secretary, Satara Women's Association.

### 15. Mysore.

After the return our delegates from the 9th. Session of the All-India Women's Conference at Karachi, Echo meetings were held in several parts of the State. The work of the Conference at Karachi and the aims and objects of the Women's Conference were explained. Our education centre at Edalur and Varuna are continuing to turn out beneficial and useful work. Some of the members visited the villages near by and are making a survey for starting fresh centres for educational work.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi visited our rural school at Edalur and was pleased with what she saw. The Creche which we are maintaining was also visited by Dr. Mathulakshmi Reddi who complemented the workers. Our members took the expectant mothers to Maternity hospitals. Several ladies made presents of clothes to the children of hospitals, and to the babies of the creche. Visits to hospitals and jails were undertaken by our members to cheer the inmates.

A good deal of propaganda work is done by the women. We are glad to say that educational and social activities are continued by our sub-constituencies. In addition to having periodical musical performances, reading of passages from the epics and partaking in physical exercises and games are also undertaken.

Sd. S. Nanjamma,  
Standing Committee Member,

## 16. Orissa

The Standing Committee Member being ill could not attend the last Karachi session of the A. I. W. C., no substitute was willing to go as the B. N. Railway did not give any concession; so unfortunately no delegates from the constituency attended the Conference.

The Echo meeting was held at Madhu-Smriti, Cuttack, on the 25th. February under the Presidentship of Mrs. A. Mukherjee, the wife of the District Judge of Cuttack. A large number of ladies representing all classes of women attended the meeting and the President gave an address and appealed to all women to join the Conference that has been started for their benefit irrespective of caste, creed or nation. Miss S. Das, S. C. Member, gave a short report of the Karachi Session of the Conference, some of the important resolutions passed at the Conference were reiterated here, and the following resolutions were adopted for the working of the Local Committee:—

(1) Common language (2) Mass Education (3) Debating Society (4) Swadeshi Exhibition (5) Parental Co-operation (6) Rural Uplift

The Local Committee was formed with the following members:—

Mrs. A. Mukherjee

Mrs. B. Mukherji,

Mrs. B. Das

Mrs. B. K. Singh

Miss S. Das

Mrs. N. C. Das

President.

Vice-Presidents.

Chairwomen.

Secretary, & S. C. Member.

Treasurer.

and about 15 ladies representing all classes were representative members. About 150 ladies have become members of the Conference by paying annual subscription of Re. 1.

Two meetings of the Debating Society was held and discussed the question of Women's Franchise. The Local Committee joined the Industrial Exhibition which was held here in last February. The local Town Hall was given to the Ladies Section. The members worked and the Ladies Section was a great success. All sorts of indigenous articles were sent by the ladies of the Province, which were done by the ladies. 42 silver medals and one gold medal and 60 certificates were carried away by the ladies. Local Committee hoped to have a Swadeshi Exhibition every year.

Four meetings of the Management Committee were held—an Education Sub-Committee was formed to help the Sectional Education Secretary of the A. I. W. C. with Miss Wiger its Conveuer.

The Honorary Secretary is corresponding with the authorities to introduce jurors in the Cuttack Court. Finding that in the Orissa Franchise Committee Government did not appoint a woman, the Honorary Secretary drew the attention of the Local Government and a woman was appointed—she was a wife of a Government servant and never did any public work and her appointment was not to the interest of women of the Province and the Committee sent resolutions to the Local Government requesting not to have wives of Government Officers on the Public Bodies

The Local Committee approached the Education Department to allow two women officers of the Department to attend the annual session of the Conference at Government's cost. I am pleased to mention that Government have allowed one officer to attend the annual session at Travancore, who will be elected as a delegate from the Constituency. Our constituency approached the Local Government to appoint women on the Hospital Visitors' Board. Two names have been sent and we expect them to be appointed.

The Cuttack Municipality for mismanagement was superseded by the Government. But in the next cold weather the Government would make over the Municipality to the people. No women were nominated on this Board in Cuttack. Our Committee has written to the Government to appoint a woman on the Board. Uriya women are very backward and conservative, but during the time of the last Exhibition, all women discarded Purdah, and some were in charge of stalls, which were opened to the public. Amongst Uriya ladies, communal feeling is very much prevalent. They themselves are not sufficiently educated to do work or to get up meeting or organise any Association, and yet they do not wish to join the Conference movements. All the good work which have been done for the cause of women here, have been done by the non-Uriya ladies—as there are very few women workers in the town. The Committee is of opinion that the Council of Women and the Conference should work jointly, as the aims of these bodies are the same.

It is not possible for our Constituency to send many ladies to the Travancore Conference especially when B. N. Railway refused to give concession.

Sd. Shaila Bala Hazra,  
S. S. Member, Orissa.

### 17. Punjab Central.

The Echo Conference was held on the 18th February in the Morse Hall Y. M. C. A. The Annual report was read out and the 15 members for the new Committee were elected. The attendance was poor as there happened to be a reception in honour of Poet Tagore the same day.

A public meeting for women was held on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the third Purdah Garden. Some speeches were delivered on cleanliness and a little dialogue was acted.

The two adult women schools are watching good progress. Owing to lack of funds the Committee members contributed Rs. 6 each towards the expenses of the schools. The schools are closed for summer months and will be re-opened on the 1st October.

The Conveners for the Social and Educational Sub-committees have been able to hold one meeting each. The Social Convener and some members of the Education Sub-committee have left for the hills.

As soon as the news of the Quetta Earthquake tragedy reached, an emergent meeting was called to discuss the relief measures. Prominent workers outside the Conference were specially invited and sub-committees were formed. The Secretary Y. M. C. A. who was the Convener for the bandages committee got 31,000 bandages ready under her management which were supplied to the Mayo Hospital. Nearly 200 ladies and school girls helped in making the bandages. The material was provided by the Conference. The funds committee has been able to collect Rs. 2,358 for the relief work. Subscriptions are still coming.

All relief trains and ordinary trains bringing sufferers were met by workers from 3rd to 15th June. Relief was given to all sufferers irrespective of caste and creed. Over 5000 garments were distributed amongst the refugees from Quetta at Lahore Railway Station. First aid was rendered under supervision of Lady Doctors.

Daily provisions were supplied by the Committee to the patients at the Mayo Hospital, such as milk, ice, fruit, sugar loaves of bread, tea, jam, biscuits, soap, towels, cigarettes, etc. Three cooks and a barber have been employed by the Committee. The Committee ladies visited the patients daily and helped them.

The immediate relief work is finished and the committee will now consider the ways and means to utilise the funds for farther help of those who have suffered.

Sd. Mrs. K. Kaul,

Acting-Standing Committee Member

### 18. Punjab East

#### Report of the Jullunder Sub-Constituency

Interest continues to increase. The Health Centre flourishes and now two village sub-centres. So also does the Anti T. B. Dispensary which has obtained a grant of Rs. 1,500 per annum again for 1935-36 from the Headquarters Association. The Women's park is now ready and it is hoped that the members will be able to meet more regularly to discuss our programme of work. I have, as you know, been concentrating on Rural Uplift work and this is progressing fairly well. We have contributed Rs. 100 towards the Rescue Home in Lahore pending the passing of the Bill for the Suppression of Immoral Traffic.

We will try and collect money for the Harijan "Pani Fund". But it will be difficult just now when we have exhausted our purses for Quetta.

Sd. Amrit Kaur.

Chairwoman, Jullunder Sub-Constituency.

#### Report of the Simla Sub-Constituency

I wish to mention one of our activities which has practically been in existence since 1930—namely Simla Teachers' Association or Guild.

The following is a brief outline as to our Association's aims and ideals.—

We the Teachers of all the Indian Girls' Schools of Simla met once a month at a "Social Tea". Our object in meeting is first to get into friendly relations with one another—so that we may feel that we are working as "Sisters" for the common good of the future wives and mothers or otherwise workers of the next generation. We arrange for instructive lectures—sometimes purely Educational, sometimes concerning women's problems of the present day. We discuss after the meetings and try to help each other as much as possible.

There are 2 High Schools in Simla, 4 Middle Schools and 8 Primary Schools and we have a minimum of 50 teachers meeting each month. We have been trying this year

to see if we cannot also form a Big Girls Guide, where the big girls of our Schools may meet for sports or lectures. I hope before the year is out to have set the ball rolling in this direction too.

I should like to say that we have two more very great activities of our Constituency working very actively since last year. The one is the "Children's Health Committee" and the other "Ward Welfare".

The School children have through the efforts of some in our Conference been allowed a Lady Doctor all their own—School inspections used to be carried on in an irregular unorganised system before by the kind efforts partly of the Municipality and partly of the St. John's Ambulance Association. Mrs. Miles Irving and Lady Petric have done much in this respect. This has now been an accomplished fact since 1934.

The majority of the Simla Children's Health Committee members are also on the actual working Committee of our Sub-Constituency—so we are trying to combine our activities. We have now a big "Mothers' meetings", held monthly in which cinemas, health subjects and other interesting subjects are taken up. We hope however to reserve our September meetings as more general ones.

We started the "Ward Welfare" last year under the guidance of Colonel Jolly, the Deputy Director of Indian Medical Service. I was asked to organise groups of ladies who would go and visit for house—especially, the Bazar areas and teach the women of these houses to keep their hearths, their garments, their children in better sanitary conditions. We were able to find enough ladies in 4 groups who visited S. E., N. E., Central Bazar Areas for 3 months regularly.

My only complaint lies in the fact that our 'Head' Lahore takes no notice of us. We have not even been sent a copy of the Annual Report of the last Annual Conference at Karachi, nor any report of last year's activities of our Conference as a whole. I trust our President to whom these slips are to be entrusted, will speak for us and interest the whole on our part.

Sd. (Mrs.) Ivy B. Pal,  
Hony. Secretary, Simla Sub-Const.

### 19. Sind

After the election of the new office-bearers during the last Sessions which were held in the first week of January, owing to some unfortunate correspondence between the old Standing Committee Member and the Vice-President, no meeting could be called here nor could I function as the S. C. M. elect, for full four months.

The first meeting of the Local Committee was held in the last week of April when new Office-bearers were elected.

On June 12th a meeting of ladies was organised here to consider ways and means to render help to the Quetta refugees. Mrs. Collins, the wife of the Commissioner in Sind was requested to preside. Several ladies enrolled themselves as regular workers in the wards of the different Hospitals opened for the purpose. Regular Sewing classes (for sewing clothes for the patients and refugees) were held and about Rs. 1,000 was collected for the Mayor's Fund by the ladies here and the members of the Hyderabad Branch.

The Standing Committee Member has planned a scheme of village reconstruction, Home Industries, Mass Education and Medical Relief to the poor of the village which is situated about two miles from here. It is just the other side of the Cantonment Station, but falls within the Municipal limits.

For the reconstruction work, the S. C. M. has applied to the Officer Commanding R. A. F. to sell the Aeroplane cases at concession rates for building the huts on sanitary lines. On return from Poona the S. C. M. intends visiting the Sub-Constituencies such as Hyderabad, Sukkur, Shikarpur and Larkana.

In the next meeting to be held the Local Committee will form batches of lady workers to check the electoral rolls and send necessary applications for such qualified voters as are not included in the list already.

The Circular letter for the 'Pani Fund' that was received here was replied to, saying that the untouchability question is not so keen in the province of Sind and water difficulty is not felt here so we are not required to do anything in that connection.

We hope to produce more tangible work during the next half year, with the co-operation of several ladies who have promised to do their bit in promoting the cause of womanhood.

Sd. K. Tarabai,  
Standing Committee Member for Sind.



## 20 Travancore

During the period under review the Constituency held two public meetings and six committee meetings. Soon after the return of the Delegates from Karachi, the Echo meeting was held on the 31st of January 1935. Miss F. E. Giese presided and Mrs. Chari, Sry. T. J. Ponnappa and Sry. Rukmini Amma spoke on the various aspects of the Conference. The meeting was well-attended. It was announced at this meeting that the Karachi Conference had accepted the invitation of Travancore for the A. I. W. C. to hold its next session in Trivandrum. Since our invitation was accepted by the A. I. W. C. it was resolved to convene another public meeting of the ladies of Trivandrum to concert measures for the conduct of the Conference and an interim committee consisting of seven members was appointed to draw up proposals for the same, to be placed before another public meeting.

Following the Echo meeting, a business meeting of the Constituency was held for electing the Office-bearers for the year. The next public meeting came off on the 13th of February 1935, when the proposals of the interim committee were considered and accepted and a special committee was formed according to their suggestion for all the preliminary work in connection with the Annual Conference consisting of 31 ladies.

This Special Committee held its first meeting on the 21st February and formed various sub-committees for convenience of work and they are in full swing making arrangements for the next annual conference.

Coming to the activities of the Local Committee it is our great pleasure to record here that we were able to organise four Sub-Constituencies in different parts of Travancore viz., Nagercoil, Quilon, Alleppey and Kottayam, where Karachi Delegates and Local Committee members addressed and the women giving clear ideas about the aims, work and achievements of the A. I. W. C. We have held, besides our monthly meetings, some extra meetings as well.

The formation of the Educational Sub-Committee is under consideration and it is hoped that the committee will be formed early enough.

In our own limited sphere, besides continuing the work of the previous years, we are doing some social work in the Clean-up campaign among the poor classes and Malaria relief to the afflicted in South Travancore where hundreds are dying and thousands are suffering from want of food and clothing.

Of course this is not much and we cannot rest satisfied with the little that we have done. But we are still working on with a "heart within and God overhead" and hope to win the goal that the A. I. W. C. keeps in view, in the near future.

Sd. P. R. Parakkutti Amma,

## 21. U P. Agra

After the return of members from Karachi it was decided to postpone the echo-meeting till March, since a number of our members and the President were at that time out of station. Our Constituency was, however, busy with its work of propaganda and organisation and during this period it held its meetings in different parts of the City to get the women of as many localities and shades of opinion interested in the work of the Conference, as possible.

Early in January our members were busy making arrangements for Mrs. How Martyn's visit. In this connection they got in touch with the Y. W. C. A. and the local Red Cross Society. All efforts were made to advertise the talk on birth-control and to make it a success.

In February Dr. Tagore paid a visit to Allahabad. At the invitation of our Conference the other women's associations joined us in presenting an address to the illustrious poet.

Our Echo-meeting was held in March. A review of the work done at the Karachi session of the A. I. W. C. was made. Resolutions pertaining to the legal disabilities of women, the Sarda Act and adult education were adopted.

In order to give practical shape to the resolutions passed by the A. I. W. C., our constituency has formed the following sub-committees:—

(1) Education (2) Social and labour (3) Indigenous Industries, and (4) Constitution.

Those committees are doing their respective work. It is hoped that by the end of the year they will be able to show substantial results. The two private schools that had been started two years before are doing satisfactory work. We regret to say that for want of funds we are not yet in a position to take over these schools entirely, though the matter was brought up several times and attempts were also made to collect funds. But these are yet inadequate for our purpose and we must wait till more money is raised.

Visits were planned to the Jhansi Sugar and Glass Factories to study labour conditions. We have been successful in moving the municipality to open a park for the city, and it is hoped that similar parks will be opened in other parts in the course of time. This year we have added one more centre, viz., Karachi, to our Constituency.

It is a very satisfactory feature that our Constituency is working in co-operation with the other local women's organisations. We have also been able to increase our membership appreciably, and among those who have joined us are persons who are enthusiastic workers for the cause of women.

Sd. S. Agha.

## 22. U. P. Oudh

The first meeting of the year was held on January 22 when the Executive Committee was elected. The year's work was planned out and the following Sub-Committees were appointed :—

(1) Education (2) Legal disabilities (3) Social Legislation (4) Rural uplift, and (5) Temperance. Conveners of these Committees were elected and they were asked to form their own Committees.

The Echo meeting was held on February 12. Unfortunately only two of the delegates to the Karachi Conference were able to be present. However they gave illuminating reports of the Conference. The resolutions passed at the Karachi Conference were read and explained to the members and they were urged to work whole-heartedly to carry out these resolutions. There were about 75 ladies present at the meeting.

On February 26th we joined the other women's organisations in Lucknow in accord- ing a hearty welcome to Madam Halide Edib Hanum, the renowned Turkish reformer. A reception was given in her honour by ladies when the distinguished guest gave a talk on the women's part in the remaking of Turkey. We also had the pleasure of wel- coming two other distinguished visitors to India, namely, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Mrs. How Martyn who gave edifying talks on their special subjects. Miss M. Shepard's visit to Lucknow did much to arouse interest in the subject of Immoral Traffic in women and children. It is hoped to form study groups on this subject after the holidays. Regular monthly meetings of the Executive Committee have been held and a general meeting was held at the end of April.

I am unable to send a report of the work done by our Sub-committees because only one Sub-Committee has sent in their report. We are fortunate, in having in Mrs. F. M. Perrill a very zealous temperance worker. She has done splendid work in the course of temperance and was instrumental in securing over 2000 voluntary signatures to the total abstinence pledge at the time of the Swadeshi Exhibition. Her report has been sent direct to the Hon Social Secretary of the A. I. W. C.

This is a brief and inadequate report of the Oudh Constituency. I hope to send a fuller report, incorporating the year's work, in the final report at the end of this year. Our work is being done not so much by Sub-Committees as by a handful of enthu- siastic individuals who give ungrudgingly of their time and energy for the uplift of their less fortunate sisters.

Sd. Zohra N. Habibaksh

## 23. C. P. South

The following Sub-Committees have been formed for the working of the Conference :

(1) Jail Committee (2) Orphanage Committee (3) Primary Education Committee.

(1) Jail Committee.—The members visit the female wards of the Central Jail, Nagpur, twice a week. In one visit they give the female convicts religious and moral instruction with a view to dissuade them from their criminal tendencies and elevate their tone of morality. In the other they teach the prisoners some handicrafts such as needle-work and sewing to enable them to earn some honourable living after they are discharged. Magic Lantern shows and Kirtans are arranged to provide entertain- ment and relieve the strain of secluded life of the prisoners. The Committee is grate- ful to the Jail staff and the Discharged prisoners Association for their co-operation with the members.

(2) Orphanage Committee.—This Committee consisting of 5 Lady members visits the Shradhnand Orphanage often and assists the Managers in bringing up children and helping the ladies to earn a honourable living.

(3) Primary Education Committee.—This body is studying the problem of Primary Education and aims at improving the condition of primary education through the lady members in the Local bodies.

The Constituent Conference Committee has recently organised a Sub-Committee to enlist lady voters under the newly extended Franchise to ladies

Sd. Sushila Kothiwari,

## 24 Gujarat

The Social Secretary, Mrs. Assana, held several meetings and discussed the ways and means of doing work in Ahmedabad and several members visited some of the Institutions which are doing social and industrial work in the city and we are now chalking our programme of work. Two of the energetic members of the section (Education and Industry) have opened two classes—one (Ben Vinodini Noelkanth), a class for teaching illiterate people and another, (Mrs. Gulhai Vakharia), a class for teaching sewing.

A public meeting of ladies was held under the auspices of the Mahila Mandal, where most of the members of our Conference helped to get signatures of the ladies to protest against the Adoption Bill brought by Mr. Desai in the Bombay Legislature Council.

Sd. R. R. Vakharia,

## 25. C. P. North

I have not been able to keep very closely in touch with what is going on in the whole area. Ladies are taking more part in social duties and feeling more responsibilities.

Some of the plans and suggestions made by the Social Secretary, are being attempted. More ladies are in the Child Welfare Committees. Recently the All-Indian Secretary for Child Welfare visited Bilaspur and made the remark that the work there was one of the best she had seen anywhere.

Active Temperance work is going on in some places. In some places ladies are Jail visitors as well as non-official visitors to Jails. Work for the Harijans is being started by the ladies along with the men's work in that direction. We are helping to pay the salary of Miss Shepard. We have not accomplished as much as we would like but we are increasing and improving.

In the Education section also our efforts have begun to bear fruit. A Maktab run by the local Anjuman Islamia existed in the town where only Quran was taught to the children, in the beginning, and later Urdu was introduced. The entire teaching however was unsystematic. Influence was exerted over this institution and the management agreed to form a Committee of ladies with our Hon. Secretary as its President who have been guiding and helping the school. The curriculum has been brought on line with that in Government schools and the teaching has improved. In November 1934, Atiya Begum of Bombay, a great educationist, the President of North C. P. Women's Conference, visited the school and she was generally satisfied with the instruction and management. Later the School obtained Govt. recognition and an application for Govt. aid has been supported by officers of Govt. but final orders are still awaited. The school is now a properly constituted Primary School in Urdu, and our Education Section is keeping watch over it. A trained lady teacher from Lahore has been appointed as Head Mistress.

Influence is being exercised also over the Govt. Girls' School through our Hon. Secretary who has been appointed by Govt. as the President of the School Committee. Meetings are frequently held where mothers of girls are called and advised, and this has been producing a very good effect on attendance.

A Kindergarten School on regular lines has been started by our Hon. Secretary at her own Bungalow for the infants. But as yet the public has not taken advantage of it and the attendance is only two. The District needs badly at least one properly constituted Middle School. At present this need is served by the B. M. G. High School.

Sd. Miss Ennis.

## REJECTION OF THE J. P. C. REPORT

A joint statement was issued by the three women's organisations, the All-India Women's Conference, All-India Women's National Council and Women's Indian Association after a meeting held at New Delhi, on the 8th. January 1935 at which a series of resolutions were passed, putting forth the women's point of view vis-a-vis the J. P. C. recommendations. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided and representatives from Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and various provinces attended.

The statement is as follows: We feel that the Joint Parliamentary Committee was animated by a genuine desire to bring women in greater numbers on the electoral rolls and give them a definite place in the legislatures under the constitution. For this

spirit of sympathy with us and also for the unqualified recognition of the part that women must play in the public life of the country, we place on record our sincere appreciation. At the same time, however, we feel constrained to express in no uncertain terms our inability to accept the recommendations as they stand for the following reasons :

(1) We claim that there should be a declaration of rights wherein the removal of sex disabilities should be clearly stated. We draw attention to the fact that the word "sex" has been omitted for eligibility for holding public offices, etc. (see para 67 Volume I, J. P. C. Report). While feeling keenly this omission as a grave injustice to us despite our repeated demands in this connection, we hope that the same may even now be rectified.

(2) The greater number of women enfranchised under the recommendations are going to be wives and widows of property holders and to this number have also been added wives of men with military service qualifications of vote, and pensioned widows and mothers of military officials and soldiers. Our reasons for our strong objection to this method of enfranchisement have been stated in clear language on more than one occasion. They still hold good and we regret that, despite our protest, a qualification wholly unacceptable to us is being sought to be imposed on us. We reiterate our belief in the equitable method of election and attach equal importance to the quality as well as the quantity of women's vote. We object strongly to the doubling of vote for any vested interest as being against all canons of justice for the poor, who constitute India's main population and against all democratic principles. We again urge the acceptance of our proposals for the introduction of adult suffrage to begin with in urban areas for the purposes of increasing our electoral numbers.

(3) In our opinion, far too much weight has, from the outset, been laid on administrative difficulties, where women are concerned. This opinion is practically strengthened by the number of Purdah women who went to the polls in the recent Assembly elections. We protest strongly against the invidious differentiation that has been made between the provinces in regard to the literacy and property qualifications, the "application" conditions and other details, including the omission of wives and widows of those holding educational qualifications, if "wifehood qualification" is unreasonably persisted in.

(4) We have not swerved from our conviction that we do not, on principle, approve of the reservation of seats in the legislatures for ourselves or for any particular interest. Nevertheless, seeing that this expedient may unfortunately be imposed on us, during the transition period, we deplore the entire omission of women from the Assemblies in several provinces and the total exclusion, for whatever reason, of women of the North-West Frontier Province from all citizenship rights including franchise. We feel very strongly that in the case of those provinces where women may be said to be less vocal, the exclusion of their representatives from the legislatures constitute a grave omission and neglect of the very cause wherefor we stand. We also claim that no disability shall attach to women in any province that may be duly created.

(5) If certain selected provinces are definitely to be burdened with Second Chambers, we see no reason, whatsoever, why women should not be accorded a definite place in all these as well as the Council of State. We regard it our inherent right and must, therefore, protest against this omission.

(6) With Lord Lothian, we are "unrepentant believers in the system of direct election," and we, therefore, object with all possible emphasis to indirect election at any time or for any one. We refuse likewise to accept nomination for the legislatures.

(7) We urge that the disqualification of candidates should not follow on the conviction for criminal offence, involving sentence of imprisonment exceeding one year, where such offence does not involve any moral turpitude (see Para. 77, Volume I, J. P. C. Report).

At the conclusion, the joint statement says : "While mentioning the above details, we wish to make it quite clear that even if we had secured or secure for ourselves all that we had wished for or wish to secure and if, at the same time, we felt that the recommendations as a whole were not in the true interests of India, we should as women, the natural guardians of the future generation, feel it our bounden duty to deny all special privileges for ourselves for the sake of common good. In the light of general criticism of the Report, we know that the recommendations are not acceptable to all shades of representative opinions in the country. We, therefore, join in this widespread protest and still hope that the new constitution may eventually be so credited as will meet with general approbation."

**Proceedings of**

**The Trade Union Congress**

**and**

**The Chamber of Commerce**

**JANUARY TO JUNE 1935**



# The A. I. Trade Union Congress

Opening Day—Calcutta—20th. April 1935

## The Welcome Address

The fourteenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress commenced its sitting on the **20th. April 1935** at Sarnik Nagore (Halliday Park), Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. *Harishar Nath Sashtri* President-elect of the Congress with an impressive flag-hoisting ceremony. Mr. *K. C. Mitra*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address said :—

Although factories and mills were started in Bengal during the closing decades of the last century and seamen from Calcutta serving in ships chanced to come in contact with the active labour movement and organisations in European countries and become imbued with their ideas and started clubs and Anjumans here in the first decade of this century, no real and regular organisations of workers were formed till the year 1918—when due to the unprecedented economic depression caused as an after-effect of the world war and the consequent wage-cut, retrenchment and other kinds of repression resorted to by the employer, the first batch of the Workers' Union in Bengal was started. Thus in 1918 the Port Trust Employees' Association and the Indian Seamen's Union were formed, and these were soon followed by the Employers' Association, the Press Employees' Association and the Calcutta Tramway Employees Association formed in the following year. The movement developed and grew apace and a number of unions in jute, textile and railways were soon started. Quite a good number of young men from the intelligentsia identified themselves with the working class interest and built up the movement in Bengal. After the N. C. O. movement had passed through its first phase and was in a temporary lull, a further band of untiring youngmen transferred their field of activity in the labour movement and many of them after years of sacrifice and suffering are still guiding the movement in and outside Bengal.

The year 1928 saw great upheaval in the Labour world in India and a strike fever pervaded the entire land. There were large-scale and momentous trials of strength between the growingly conscious working class and the alarmed capitalists and railways, textile, jute, oil, petrol, steel works and its subsidiaries, viz. tinplate etc., collieries and almost all important branches of industries experienced the shock. Happily most strikes at this period were entirely or practically successful and the jute magnates in their cosy seats in Clive Street felt uncomfortable. But soon discord among the leaders on so-called principles brought about danger for the workers; and at the 9th. session of the Congress at Jharia in 1928 the first symptoms of a sharp difference were visible. The situation became worse when many of the best leaders were arrested and some sent to Meerut to stand their trial there.

Even then the movement in Bengal was growing in intensity and the working class held their own against all odds. In the following year the Ninth Congress at Nagpur saw the split within the Congress and the right wing seceded from the parent body; while in Bengal the movement suffered much owing to a further difference among the leftwing leaders themselves. This sectarian move culminated in yet another split and the ultra-leftists seceded from the Congress at its eleventh session in Calcutta in July 1931. Due to this internecine quarrels among the leaders—which in fact did very much concern the rank—both organizational and educative activity of unions were considerably checked. Even then the Bengal Provincial body of the A. I. T. U. C. held very successful conferences in jute and oil and petrol, and reorganised the unions in other industries, viz., Textile, Railways, Steel and Collieries.

During the period, however, again imperialistic repression recommenced in full swing and many of our active workers were arrested and imprisoned on various pretexts in 1932. Then followed a period of low activity and almost a lull when most of the unions existed in a moribund condition and it was not until April, 1934 that a new life in the movement was infused. From then till now, i. e., in the course of the last twelve months, the A. I. T. U. C. put up a splendid fight in Bombay, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Delhi and Cawnpur, and Bengal also took up her share both in the fight and the organizational activity. During this period there were strikes of the Port and Dock workers in Calcutta, R. S. N. and I. G. N. workers, Bird Company's workers, textile

workers at Ghosury, engineering and metal workers at Metiabruz. Eight new unions were formed of which three, at least, namely—the R. S. N. and I. G. N. Workers' Union with a paying membership of 6,000 and branches, the Bird and Co's Workers' Union and the Corporation Workers' Union are quite strong.

The Bengal Provincial Body, on the suggestion of the General Secretary of the A. I. T. U. C., invited all local groups and parties in the movement to initiate joint action under the auspices of the T. U. C. on the occasion of May Day, Unemployed Day, Gandhi Boycott Prisoners' Day, J. P. C. rejection meetings, etc. Thus a ground was prepared for unity among groups, particularly the bodies that seceded from the A. I. T. U. C. while further discussion on the subject was carried on with hopeful expectation.

The work of the organisation, however, is becoming exceedingly difficult owing to the repressive policy of the Government. You are certainly aware, comrades, that most peaceful trade union activity in Bengal is not being tolerated by the Imperialistic Government who under the Communist bogey have declared thirteen unions to be illegal. The reason seem to be apparent. The R. S. N. & I. G. N. Workers' Union with which my humble self happens to be identified demanded something over their hitherto received starvation wages and this was too much for the millionaire shareholders of the Company. And to save the capitalist vested interests, Imperialism has come out in all its nakedness. Perhaps you are also aware that even permission for holding the Congress sessions at the present site was not granted, and our friend Pt. Nilkantha Das (to whom we are all grateful) had tabled an adjournment motion in the Assembly. I take this opportunity to seriously warn the Government that this sort of unwarranted and uncalled for interference in purely trade union activity will bring about disastrous consequences; and they will be well advised to remove the ban immediately.

Coming to the question of organization, I appeal to the workers from the ranks to shake off lethargy and fear that have of late crept in; and fight valiantly their cause to a glorious end like their comrades in other countries. I also appeal to the self-sacrificing youth from the intelligentsia to thoroughly identify themselves with the workers' cause, conduct their day-to-day struggle and through educative propaganda to disseminate the correct working-class ideology based on class struggle. After the failure of the National Congress due to its composition and wrong approach to the masses coupled with its complete ignorance of the possibilities of a countrywide upheaval of the working class, it is gratifying that the younger elements forming the leftwing have begun enthusiastically to join the Labour Movement in the country, seeing that it is the only potential force.

The field for Labour Movement in Bengal is so vast that it requires hundreds of sturdy workers to guide it correctly. Out of a million workers in the Province toiling for their bread in various trades and industries, namely, Jute, Cotton, Textile, Tea Plantation, Steel Works, Rolling Mills, Railways, Steamships, Post and Docks, Vehicular Transport, Oil and Petrol, Gas and Electricity, Foundries, Hide and Skin, Potteries and Paints, Match factories, Engineering workshops and Collieries—only about 2 lacs have ever been organized and that even rather loosely. In Tea plantations, where unheard of oppression ever forms a part of the men's daily dues, organizational work has never been attempted. Our energies should also be directed to places like Dacca, Narayan-gunge and Chittagong which are rapidly becoming centres of textile and other industries. In and around Calcutta there are untouched industries and trades and at least 2 lacs of men including the workless can be organized. This is a staggering figure indeed and you know unorganized unemployed is a serious menace to successful termination of a strike. With these serious problems facing us, we find it imperative to appeal to all groups and sections in the movement to sink their differences—which really do not concern the rank and file worker at this stage—and make a united attempt under the A. I. T. U. C. to organize the workers. The workers are already at the last stage of suffering without sufficient food and clothing for themselves and their family while a vast number of the unemployed have been thrown in the street. The India Bill is being forged to tighten the bond further and British Imperialism, hand in hand with native capitalists and parasite landlords and princes, are dancing in glee. On top of all this there is the ringing of another world war portending further untold miseries and destruction. It is therefore high time that the workers themselves should rise to the occasion, organize and strengthen their unions for their coming struggle in order that they may come out victorious and enjoy for ever a life that their toil and sacrifice entitle them to. Our duty is clearer to-day than ever; and in conclusion I appeal once again to sink our immaterial differences and jump in a body into the struggle and strive incessantly to work for the emancipation of the producing masses



from the clutches of predatory Capitalism. I invite you, Comrades, therefore to deliberate on these vital problems and find out the most effective ways and means to accomplish the task which is beset with difficulties and obstacles all over. May ours be a glorious fight and may victory shine like the rising Sun in the East.

### Presidential Address.

In the course of his presidential address at the Conference, Mr. *Hariharnath Sastri* said :—

Imperialism is consolidating all the reactionary forces in the country under its banner with a view to retaining its foothold in this country by keeping under subjugation the exploited masses. The Joint Parliamentary Committee report is a glaring instance of this policy. The reforms promised in the report grant no freedom to the masses. In fact it is simply intended to bribe the native princes, landlords, and the native bourgeoisie and to win them over to the side of imperialism. Restricted franchise based on property qualifications, introduction of second chamber in provinces, the system of indirect elections to Federal Legislatures, protection of commercial rights and the joining of native princes in Federation, all these are clear indications of the imperialist policy of preserving old allies and creating new ones. The native princes and landlords have always been devoted adherents of British rule in India. But the Indian capitalists were inclined towards the national movement till some time back. The Indian National Congress received considerable support from them from time to time. This made imperialism change its policy towards the native capitalists. Instead of looking exclusively to and guarding the interests of the British bourgeoisie, it deemed it more expedient and probable in the long run, to make the native bourgeoisie partners in the exploitation of the masses. Hence the post-War trade pacts, abolition of excise duty, grant of protection, bounties and other concessions. All this has been done to bring the dissatisfied bourgeoisie of this country closer to the side of imperialism. And to satisfy the political aspirations of this class, imperialism has promised them the reforms as indicated in the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report.

How shall the working class stand against this formidable combination? How to face the onslaughts of the capitalists, backed and supported by imperialism with its growing allies the native princes and landlords? That is the most important question that we have to consider to-day. I feel that if the working class desires to effectively fight against the forces that are every day gathering strength, it must first of all set its own house in order by removing conflicts and dissensions and by bringing about solidarity in the trade union movement. And secondly, it must form combinations and find out allies that have one common mission of throwing imperialist yoke from this country and bringing about National Independence—an Independence that would usher in an era of prosperity for the masses.

Trade Union unity is the slogan that we all have been talking about since that unity was broken in the year 1929 at the time of the Nagpur session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Time and again unity conferences and committees have in past taken place but the gulf has not yet been abridged. But now a stage has come, when every group that is sincerely devoted to the cause of workers, realises the supreme importance of solidarity in the Trade Union Movement. Every one feels that the struggle cannot proceed even a step forward unless and until mutual differences are removed and unity achieved in the movement. The recent changes in international situation have also been considerably helpful in bringing different groups closer. Consolidation of different parties in the working class movement is taking place all over Europe on account of fascist menace. Mutual differences in past between communists and socialists in Europe helped the forces that were hostile to the interests of workers. Thus the discussions between these two parties were instrumental in establishing fascist regime in Germany, where the working class movement is being ruthlessly crushed to-day. Now socialists and communists all over Europe have begun to realise that to stand successfully against fascist danger they must all combine. Hence the pacts between these two parties in France and Italy. Similar efforts have been on foot in other countries too. This has its repercussions in our country also, inasmuch as those who were till quite recently opposed to the very idea of unity with those who were not in agreement with them politically, have now realised the necessity of such unity and are enthusiastic about it as we always have been.

The evidence of growing desire for Trade Union unity, has encouraged the All-India Trade Union Congress once again to take the initiative in the matter. In January 1935 it set up a sub-committee that was directed to approach all the trade

union groups in the country in order to devise ways and means to bring about unity. A conference was convened at Cawnpore on the 9th March to discuss the question but as representatives of the two important groups did not attend the Conference it could not be held. Since then some representatives of the All India Trade Union Congress met some leaders of the N. F. of Trade Unions as a result of which a joint statement was issued from Delhi on the 12th March 1935 proposing the formation of a Joint Committee, where representatives of the A. I. T. U. C. and N. F. of T. Unions could sit and chalk out a programme of joint work in trade union field with clear understanding that none of the two will indulge in mutual recriminations of each other. While realising that nothing short of structural unity could achieve lasting solidarity in the labour movement, we accepted this position as a step forward towards right direction. I am sure, after work is done in close co-operation for some time and the two groups come close to each other structural unity is sure to be achieved in near future.

The Delhi statement has given rise to some misunderstanding in certain quarters. It is alleged that we purposely kept out the Red T. U. C. section from the purview of the joint committee. Such an accusation is unfair to us. The Red T. U. C. section was not included in the joint committee because we could not make any commitments on their behalf without knowing their views in the matter. Besides, I must frankly confess that I am not much enthusiastic over the joint committee idea. We agreed to it in relation to the National Federation of Trade Unions because there was no way out unless we preferred a break that would have proved positively detrimental to the cause of unity. We may be prepared to accept a similar position in the case of Red T. U. C. but we would rather appeal to them to come and join us again organizationally. I dare make this appeal to them because I find a radical change in their attitude towards trade union unity. They seem to have realised the futility of splitting the movement by creating a parallel organisation, having parallel unions and they are now keen on organisational unity with other groups even though they may not politically agree with them. That is surely a happy change the fructification of which demands that instead of retaining these separate identity they must merge their existence with the All-India Trade Union Congress from which they broke some years back. I would be failing in my duty if I do not make a similar appeal to the leaders of the National Federation of Trade Unions. I know there is a genuine desire on their part to bring about solidarity in the working class movement. This is why they have agreed to join us on the basis of joint committee. But it would not be too much to hope that while working on this basis they will always keep in view the ultimate necessity of organisational unity and that they will soon try to bring about an amalgamation with other groups working in the country. It is not without a feeling of optimism that I make this appeal to them. I know they are honest people, as honest as any of us can claim to be. Some of them have put in life-long service to the cause of the working class. I know they have no axe of their own to grind. Their unflinching devotion to the Cause makes me confident that they will find it possible to speed up the process of actual amalgamation.

After setting its own house in order the working class must turn its attention towards formation of alliances with other radical sections in the country that have got identical mission to fulfil. In this connection I would first of all, point out the necessity of bringing about close alliance between workers and peasants. In an essentially agriculturist country like India, peasantry is one of the most important factors in the struggle for bread and freedom. The peasantry has undergone untold sufferings at the hands of Zemindars who are mercilessly carrying on their policy of exploitation. Particularly during the last six years since the advent of the economic crisis, the peasantry has been the greatest victim of oppression and exploitation. The miseries that the peasants have been subjected to in recent years have made them alive to the necessity of their organisation on class basis in order that they may give a brave fight to those who are exploiting them. Consequently the formation of Kisan Sanghas has been started in different provinces. The Sanghas are yet in their infancy and they have to be developed on right lines in order that they may not drift to wrong channels. They should be guarded against being dragged towards the policy of barren reformism or towards ultra-leftism. The importance of national struggle from the view point of the masses must be brought home to the peasantry and contacts between workers and peasants that have been ignored in past must be established without further delay.

Next to peasantry another potent factor in national struggle is that of the educated youth of the country, whose aspirations remain unfulfilled under the present regime and as such there is deep-rooted discontent among them against foreign rule—discon-

ment that found its manifestations from time to time in course of the nationalist movement. In them the Indian working class can find an ally that can join hands with it in the fight for national independence. Organisation of this class must be immediately taken up in hand with conscious endeavours to bring them closer to the working class ideology and programme.

There is also another section in the country that has entirely been ignored in past and with which a contact must now be established. I refer to the workers in the Native States, whose plight is even worse off than that of the British Indian Workers. Even the most ordinary legal rights enjoyed by the British Indian Workers are denied to them. They are suffering under the additional subjugation of the native princes, who are not prepared to allow them any freedom of organisation and agitation for the betterment of their lot. Trade union activities are generally banned in most of the Indian States. The Indian working class should fight for the right of organisation of their fellow workers in native States. An effort is being made to keep the labour legislation out of the scope of Federation. This move should be vehemently opposed and the demand should be put forward that the laws in native States must be brought in line with those of British India. The workers of the native States must be made to realise that their struggle and the struggle of the British India workers is common.

Another function that the working class has to perform in order to stabilize its position is the organisation of the unemployed that has been constantly multiplying since 1928 has now assumed terrible proportions. The India Government is utterly indifferent to the problems of unemployment in this country. Recently the international convention on unemployment was rejected by it. In other civilised countries some thing, though not much, is done to provide some means of subsistence to the unemployed. But in India, when the matter is brought to the notice of the Government, the latter even refuses to believe that there is any unemployment in the country. Now it is the task of the working class to fight for the rights of the unemployed. I am glad to note that for some the All-India Trade Union Congress has moved in the matter in right earnest. On its initiative, unemployment day was celebrated on a very large scale throughout the country, when the problems of the unemployed came to the fore-front for the first time. This work must now be done on permanent footing by formation of unemployed leagues throughout the country.

No less important a group with which the working class should form an alliance is the everyday growing radical wing in the Congress Socialist Party. This party is the outcome of deep discontent that is evident in the rank and file of the Congress, who have lost all faith in the present Congress leadership and programme. The leaders of the Indian National Congress have from the housetop been crying that they stand for the economic emancipation of the masses and for complete national independence. But in actual practice, they have always been striving to enter into a compromise with imperialism. Gandhi-Irwin truce within about a year after declaration of independence by the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi's joining the Round Table Conference as the representative of the Congress, and subsequent efforts for an "honourable settlement" with the Government, all these have made it clear that the Congress leadership has never been serious in its professions of national independence. Such a policy on the part of Congress leaders alienated the feelings of rank and the file of Congress workers, who in the name of freedom fought under the banner of the Congress and made tremendous sacrifices. They have begun to realize that if the national struggle has to be fought effectively and in the interest of the masses without, at any stage, talking of compromise with imperialism, the present leadership in the Congress overhauled and a correct programme, clearly embodying their economic demands, must be placed before the masses. Masses have fought under the banner of the Congress and it is they who have undergone greatest suffering in the cause of freedom and as such they have every right to see that the Congress stands in their interests.

The present leadership in the Congress is reactionary. It has to be overthrown and the movement need be radicalised. It will be the most suicidal policy to denounce the Congress and allow it to drift to wrong channels. The Congress has to be made the central organisation through which practical alliance of the exploited sections of the country can only be possible. Denunciation of the Congress will be repetition of the blunder that some over-enthusiasts swayed by ultraleftism committed in 1930 by trying to throw down the Congress flag and vilifying the Congress at a time in anti-imperialist fight. That policy only intended to isolate from the mass movement those who committed it. Instead of wrecking the Congress, its ideology and outlook have to be revolutionised. It is gratifying to note that the process of radicalization has already begun. The Indian working

class should form an alliance with this radical group in the Congress. I am glad to note that such an alliance has already been in progress since the party came into existence and a pact was concluded before the A. I. T. U. C. and Congress Socialist Party last year. Members of this party have begun to take active interest in the Trade Union Movement and I am sure the working class will find an ally in this party not only in its fight for national independence but also in developing its everyday economic struggle.

Before I conclude I should refer to the most remarkable event of the year—the textile general strike. That strike was the outcome of continuous attacks on the standard of living of workers by the employers. The strike, though fought bravely, fizzled out due principally to the dirty tactics of the employers and the repressive policy of the Government. Conditions of workers have gone down still lower and other hardships have also increased, and there appears to be no way out except preparation for a general strike once again. Conditions in railways are in no way better. Over a lac of railway workers have been thrown out of employment in course of the last six years. Trade union activities are discouraged and active trade union workers are victimised on almost all railways. The G. I. P. Railway workers' union is not yet recognised by the management and in spite of repeated assurance by the Railway Board most of the G. I. P. strikers are still out of employment. The recognition of the B. B. & C. I. Ry. Union was withdrawn some months back. In E. I. Railway, Comrade B. K. Mukherji of Lucknow, a railway employee, was victimised last year due to his active participation in trade union organisation. In D. N. W. Ry., workers are threatened with victimisation, if they joined the union. The result is that most of the office-bearers and members of the executive committee of the B. N. W. Railwaymen's Association have resigned from their offices in the union and ceased to take any interest in its affairs. Prosecution has been launched against Dr. Bishwanath Mukherji, president of the union. On the other hand, a statutory Railway Board is now going to be brought into existence that will be independent of and in no way responsible to the legislatures. All this shows that the situation in railways is serious and unless drastic steps are taken to meet the situation there is going to be no end to the miseries of railway workers. The All-India Trade Union Congress should give the slogan of general strike to railway workers and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation should be urged upon to seriously tackle this question.

The alarming news about the serious illness of Comrade M. N. Roy has upset us all. Comrade Roy is one of those few world personalities, who have ably and bravely fought in the cause of freedom of the exploited masses in several countries. He is a source of inspiration to the entire working class. For the last three years he has been rotting within four-walls of an Indian prison, where his health has been constantly deteriorating and he is developing symptoms that may prove fatal any time. The Indian Government is utterly callous to the serious conditions of his health. Even the ordinary demand of transferring him to some healthy place has been ignored by it. It is the duty of the working class to carry on vigorous propaganda for the release of Comrade Roy. Government must be urged, through the pressure of mass movement, to set him free immediately and unconditionally.

### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—21st. April 1935

Several resolutions were passed at the next day's sitting of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Sramik Nagar (Haliday Park.)

The Congress passed a resolution strongly disapproving of the continued detention of over 8000 detainees in Bengal and outside without trial, and demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners and the repeal of all repressive laws, Ordinances, orders etc.

By adopting a lengthy resolution, the Congress declared that the exploitation in India had resulted in the poverty of the Indian masses and called upon the working class of India to actively participate in the struggle for national freedom.

While making this declaration, the Congress was fully convinced that national freedom, opening before the Indian masses the road to progress and prosperity, could not be attained as a gift from the foreign imperialist rulers of the country.

The resolution further added: Neither the newly proposed reforms nor much coveted Dominion Status will, in any way, free the Indian working class and any other oppressed exploited classes from the continued economic exploitation and political bondage. Therefore, this Congress emphatically condemns the India Bill as an attack on the movement for national liberation. This Congress is of opinion that the capture of

political power by the oppressed masses is the essential condition for real national freedom.

The Congress further declares that any constitution, worked out by the spokesmen of the British Raj and their allies in India, will not be acceptable to the Indian people. This Congress maintains that none but the Indian people have the right to frame the future constitution of free India and the fundamental laws of free National State can only be formulated through the National Constituent Assembly, the only democratic organ of power of the Indian oppressed masses.

This Congress reiterates the following basic principle of the constitution of Free India as formulated by the Cawnpore Session of the All India Trade Union Congress :

- (1) Transfer of all power to the oppressed and exploited masses.
- (2) Abolition of Native States and parasitic landlordism.
- (3) Freedom of peasantry from all exploitation and exaction so that the greater part of their surplus production remains in their hand.
- (4) Nationalisation of land, public utilities, mineral resources, banks, and all other key industries in the country.
- (5) Unconditional repudiation of all debts contracted by foreign government.
- (6) Improvement of the condition of the industrial workers through the introduction of minimum wages, limited hours of work, insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness, maternity and social legislation for the general protection of labour.
- (7) Control of the economic life of the country by the oppressed masses to guarantee that fruits of national freedom will not be usurped by the fortunate few.
- (8) Abolition of indirect taxation and introduction of free compulsory primary education.
- (9) Freedom of Press, speech, association, expression and assembly.
- (10) Abolition of all other charges on the peasantry except unitary tax. And many other demands.

The Congress also passed the following resolutions.

This Congress draws the attention of the E. I. Railway authorities to the fact that the sum of Rs. 1,00,000 granted from the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund for the relief of E. I. Railway workers affected by the Bihar earthquake, still remains undisposed of and hopes that ways and means will be devised in consultation with the E. I. Railwaymen's Union to appropriate this sum without any further delay for the aforesaid purpose.

Consistent with the principles of national freedom enunciated by the T. U. C. from time to time, this Congress pointed out to the working masses and the exploited and oppressed classes to disassociate themselves from the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

This Congress appreciates the services rendered by Dr. Charu Chandra Banerjee, Vice-President of the A. I. T. U. C. and President of the B. P. T. U. C., and strongly criticises the action of the local Government in interning him without any trial and further demands his immediate release.

# The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce

Opening Day—Calcutta—19th March 1935

The fortyeighth annual general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce was held on Tuesday, the 19th March 1935, in the Chamber Hall, Calcutta, under the presidency of *Mrs. Nalin Ranjan Sarkar*. The following is the text of the presidential address.—

Gentlemen, the year 1934 opened with a tone of distinct optimism; but at the end of its career, uncertainty still seems to loom large over the economic horizon. It has been described as one of comparative economic stability compared with the earlier depression years. This economic stability has unfortunately not been of a general nature, and has had rather a negative significance. Which means that there has been in evidence from a world standpoint, not so much of a positive indication towards recovery as of an absence of major disturbances like the depreciation of the pound and the dollar. Such improvements in economic conditions as have been noticeable during the year have had mostly a local significance. The situation, e.g. in the sterling countries as well as in America has registered some improvement whereas in the gold countries, it still remains depressed.

To adequately gauge the present economic condition of the world, it is necessary to realise that whenever we speak of any improvement in the economic situation, the comparison is always with earlier depression years. As compared to 1929, we still have considerable leeway to make up. The deterioration which has set in in our economic life can only be adequately appreciated when note is taken of the fact that before the world was plunged into the present crisis, its production had been recording an increase at an average rate of about 3 per cent per annum. As Sir Henry Strakosch aptly points out, had there been no depression, world production should have been 15 per cent greater now than it was five years ago, while in actual fact it has fallen by eight per cent. This fact coupled with the further phenomenon that population has continued to increase at the old average rate of about 1 per cent per annum would give some idea of the deterioration which the general standard of life must have sustained.

The salient features of 1934 are represented by the partial recovery in the internal economy of certain countries, mostly those which have depreciated their currencies, and by the depressed condition of international trade. The key to this development lies in the steady growth of a nationalistic economic policy. The policy, however, has in actual practice been found to be a double-edged one. While, on the one hand, it has undoubtedly helped some countries to rehabilitate in a certain measure their internal economic conditions, it has, at the same time, increasingly throttled international trade. How far localised economic improvement can be artificially fostered and stimulated at the risk of and in spite of deterioration in the international trade position is a problem which is becoming both real and insistent. The economy in which we live has been associated with certain characteristics which may be summed up as the principles enumerated by the classical economic school. Although changed economic conditions will demand certain modifications in these principles, it is nevertheless a moot question whether the modifications that are now being imposed on our economic organisation are not of a such fundamental nature as to defeat the object we must all have in view.

Another important event of the year is the course of the American experiment. Removed so far away from the actual scene of activity, it is difficult to say anything precisely about its results. Opinion expressed about the achievements of the new Deal are also extremely varied. It is the opinion of some experts that "hampered by many of the provisions of the N. R. A. Programme, American industry has had a difficult time, while psychologically confidence in the President's plans undoubtedly waned. The result has been that economic affairs generally in America have followed an uncertain, though on balance, usually upward course." Others express the view that the President's programme has not only helped to improve actual conditions but has also brought that favourable psychological atmosphere which is essential to business recovery. In actual fact, although unemployment still continues to be serious, general prospects would appear to be of a comparatively encouraging nature.

The actual situation of the world outside may be better appraised by a reference to the price levels, industrial production, and trade returns of the various countries. As I have already indicated, the year 1934 witnessed some improvement in the internal conditions of mostly those countries which depreciated their currencies. But this improvement is not indicative of a defined tendency towards recovery of a nature as might be expected to permeate the whole range of trade and commerce. Taking the world as a whole, it is found that the gold value of international trade is now only one third of what it was in 1929, but its quantum was 70 per cent in the middle of 1933 but has since then improved to some extent. The volume of world's industrial production, again, declined by about 30 per cent on the basis of 1929 but has by now advanced to the extent of 15 percent. Though all these figures do not constitute a reliable index to the real situation, they indicate, on the one hand, the increasing burdens on international commerce, and, on the other, give point to the fact that world conditions evince slight tendency towards improvement. But this tendency must needs be maintained if real recovery is to be sought by the creation of conditions favourable to unfettered flow of international trade. For, it is being apprehended in certain countries whether the measure of improvement in internal economy achieved has not already reached its maximum limits. It has been rightly emphasised that purely on an internal basis, no advance can be permanent or really stable, unless it is accompanied by an improvement in international trade. In a recent issue of the "Economist", it was rightly observed that "The meaning of this would appear to be that while it is possible to go a certain distance by stimulating internal activity whether by public expenditure, by direct government interference, by subsidy or otherwise—there are limits to such a movement, sooner or later difficulties of international trading act as a brake."

Coming to the individual countries it is found that countries with depreciated currencies have fared better in respect of commodity prices and industrial production. Prices in these countries, though following a downward trend till the end of 1932 had rallied in 1933 and have remained steady till the last quarter of 1934. In England and Denmark the commodity prices have in certain seasons of the last year advanced even beyond the level of 1931. In the U. S. A. also, commodity prices rose from 71 in December 1933 to 77 in December 1934, marking an advance of 6 per cent. In the countries on the gold standard, again, price levels have been continuously falling and even in 1934 no material improvement ensued. Industrial production also has followed the same lines in the gold countries as contrasted with the countries on the depreciated currencies except in Italy where since the second quarter of 1934 industrial production has advanced apace and by the end of 3rd quarter has even outstripped the level of 1931 by 9 points. England has nearly attained the level of 1929, and Sweden and Denmark have far exceeded it. Canada's industrial production, though registering a decided advance over the level of 1931, falls short of 1929 level by more than 32 points.

In international trade again, the position of these two sets of countries appears to be reversed. In percentage shares of the total world exports, the gold countries like France, Italy and Netherlands have more than exceeded the level of 1929 while the United Kingdom and Canada have lost ground on the same basis. In the case of the U. S. A., however, the decline in its share in world export trade has been quite precipitous—the decline being from 15.61 per cent in 1929 to 10.95 per cent. in 1933. It is significant that in spite of the increased competitive power acquired by the countries on account of depreciation of currencies, their export trade has not been so well maintained as that of the countries on the gold standard. The advantage of currency depreciation has been, as Sir Strakoch points out, "made nugatory by the high tariffs and the many other restrictions to international trade which have been interposed, the world over." Japan, however, is the only country which has succeeded by a persistent policy of currency devaluation in developing a greater share of world's export trade in 1933 as compared with 1929. During this period her share has advanced from 2.93 per cent to 3.13 per cent.

These facts do not, however, go to prove that the countries which depreciated their currencies at some time or other have reaped no benefit therefrom. The actual situation reveals, on the contrary, that these countries have been experiencing since 1931, a greater measure of revival in trade and commerce than those adhering to the gold standard. This has been possible largely on account of the expansion of internal production and trade.

The foregoing considerations appear to lead to one conclusion, viz., that manipulation of currency and large expenditures on public works may produce a large measure of improvement in internal conditions but this improvement, by its very nature, is bound to be limited. A stable and broad based improvement is ultimately dependent on a revival of world trade and commerce. This, however, should not constitute an argument against the utility of national endeavours for economic recovery. In the absence of effective international co-operation every nation must proceed with its own policy keeping in view as much as possible its bearings on the rest of the world and striving at the same time for a better co-ordination of all the different national policies.

#### ECONOMIC SITUATION IN INDIA

Let us now examine the position of India against this world background. The commodity prices as indicated by the Calcutta Wholesale Price Index Number shows but little improvement since 1932. The Index stood at 88 in December 1934 as it was in December 1932. In the U. K., Australia, Canada, and the U. S. A. price levels evince appreciable advance in 1934 as compared to December 1933, while in case of most other commodities, slight improvement has not been maintained towards the end of 1934. Industrial production also has on the whole evinced an upward tendency. The production figure for cotton manufactures is 2.9 million yards for 1934 as against 2.7 million yards in 1933 and 2.9 million yards in 1932. The production of iron and steel also increased and of all the varieties, production of steel ingots advanced from 694,000 tons during the first 11 months of 1933 to 798,000 tons in 1934. Production of jute manufactures registered a moderate advance owing to the release of 2 and a half percent of the hessian looms sealed under the agreement. With regard to the other commodities, the progress in production during the first quarter of the year was not well maintained in the last quarter.

The increasing balance of trade in favour of India which was secured in 1933 was not maintained in 1934. In fact, India's trade balance in merchandise underwent a substantial diminution as will be evident from the fact that while India's total merchandise exports (including re-exports) in 1934 amounted to Rs. 151 crores as against Rs. 147 crores in 1933, the imports amounted to Rs. 126 crores as against Rs. 116 crores. In other words, the trade balance in merchandise has declined from Rs. 31 crores in 1933 to Rs. 25 crores in 1934—a situation which is certainly ominous for India as she is in great need of an increasing trade balance to meet her foreign commitments. The net balance of trade in favour of India has of course been shown to be Rs. 85.9 crores in 1934 as against Rs. 81.4 crores in 1933 but this has been possible because of the continuous exports of gold which amounted to Rs. 60 and a half crores in 1934 as against Rs. 51 crores in 1933. This represents another disquieting feature of India's economy.

An analysis of the individual items of India's foreign trade reveals the fact that the increased volume of imports into India during 1934 is mainly accounted for by cotton piece-goods, silk and artificial silk-yarns, coal tar dyes, motor cars, machinery and rice. Imports of cotton piece-goods have advanced over 1933 by about Rs. 158 lakhs, silk and silk yarns by 73 lakhs, rice by Rs. 152 lakhs, motor cars by Rs. 63 lakhs, and coal tar dyes by Rs. 63 lakhs. On the export side, the principal increase is accounted for by raw cotton, and exports of lac also showed an improvement of about Rs. 220 lakhs. Oilseeds, however, showed a decline in exports and the export of linseed which was adduced as an indication of the success of the Ottawa Agreement registered a precipitous fall. There was also heavy decline in the exports of rice; jute, both raw and manufactured, declined in export. An analysis of the direction of India's foreign trade, again, reveals that her export trade with a number of countries is steadily diminishing chiefly on account of restrictive measures adopted by them against India's exports. During the year under review, India's exports to such countries as Germany, France and Belgium have registered the greatest decline. While during the first nine months of 1934-35 alone, Germany has taken more than 2.75 crores worth of less goods from India as compared to the same period in 1933-34, France's offtake has diminished by more than 2.50 crores and that of Belgium by more than 1.50 crores. This bears testimony to the fact that of all continental countries, Germany, France and Belgium have organised the most rigid restrictions against India's exports to those countries. Besides, Poland has already discriminated against India's rice exports on the ground that India does not receive manufactures from that country. A recent report again says that on the same ground Rumania also has imposed a ban on imports from India which mainly consist of rice and jute manufactures. These facts do not, at any rate, auger well of the future prospects of



India's export trade. The Government of India should appreciate gravity of the situation and take adequate steps, through India's Trade Commissioners in Europe, for the preservation of India's export market on the continent.

I shall now make a brief reference to the commodities which are of special interests to Bengal.

#### JUTE

The crop estimate of 1934 showed no marked reduction as compared with 1933 and indicated an outturn of 7,939,000 bales as against 7,987,000 bales in 1933. The exports of raw jute fell from 729,000 tons in 1933 to 721,000 tons in 1934 or by 1 per cent in quantity and from Rs. 10.90 lakhs to Rs. 10.25 lakhs or by 6 per cent in value. An analysis of the distribution of the exports of raw jute shows that the U. K. took only 167,000 tons valued at Rs. 2.32 lakhs in 1934, showing a decline of 12,000 tons in quantity and of Rs. 33 lakhs in value in comparison with her offtake in 1933. The offtake of Germany declined from 150,000 tons to 100,000 tons and that of France from 86,000 tons to 78,000 tons. Italy, however, increased her offtake from 62,000 tons to 78,000 tons and Japan from 17,000 tons to 22,000 tons. The offtakes of Sweden, Argentina, Spain and China showed moderate increase but the shares of Netherlands, Belgium, Egypt, the U. S. A. and Brazil showed a decline.

During the early part of 1934, the price of raw jute was on the whole more promising than it was in the previous year. And in the later half, inspite of the slackening of foreign demand for raw jute as reflected in the declining volume of its exports, the decision of the Government of Bengal to restrict the production of the fibre during the year 1935, by 31.2 per cent, introduced an upward tendency in the price. Accordingly there was a rise of about Re 1 and 8 as. per bale in the case of pucca bales. Though the restriction scheme will be carried out on a voluntary basis, the decision of the Government to harness their official resources to the task and to spend Rs. 50,000 for the maintenance of the propaganda has so far helped to sustain the price of raw jute. The price index for raw jute was 38 at the end of 1933 but during the first quarter of 1934, it ranged between 42 and 43. Subsequently it receded to 38 in October, but by the close of the year 1934, it rose up to 44, though again a downward trend has ensued in the beginning of the present year.

#### JUTE MANUFACTURES

The exports of jute manufactures declined from Rs. 21.44 lakhs to Rs. 20.95 lakhs or by two per cent in 1934. While exports of gunny bags advanced from 401 millions valued at Rs. 9.91 lakhs in 1933 to 412 millions valued at Rs. 9.99 lakhs in 1934, thus showing an increase of 11 millions in quantity and of Rs. 8 lakhs in value, the exports of gunny cloths amounted to only 1,029 million yards valued at Rs. 10.74 lakhs as compared with 1,053 million yards valued at Rs. 11.25 lakhs in 1933, showing a decrease of 24 million yards in quantity and of Rs. 51 lakhs in value. But inspite of this falling-off in international demand for jute manufactures, the Calcutta mills have had brisk activity on account of the existence of comparatively smaller stocks of jute manufactures and consequently they were in a position to release about 2 and half per cent of the hessian looms sealed down under agreement. At the end of the year, however, mill stocks of hessian cloth and bags were larger than in the previous year. The share of the U. K. in the exports of gunny bags advanced from 43 millions in 1933 to 47 millions in 1934. Other countries like Belgium, U. S. S. R., the Netherlands, France and Greece enlarged their purchases of Indian gunny bags, but the offtakes of Germany, Norway and Turkey were curtailed. In Asia except Java and Hong Kong, all other countries took more of India's gunny bags in 1934 than in 1933. Egypt, South Africa and the U. S. A. also enlarged their purchases in 1934. In the offtake of gunny cloth, also, the U. S. A. remained the largest single customer, but her purchase dwindled from 635 million yards in 1933 to 584 million yards in 1934. Canada also took less gunny cloth in the year under review. But exports to Argentine advanced from 187 million yards to 218 million yards, to the U. K. from 50 million yards to 52 million yards and to Australia from 21 million yards to 23 million yards.

Throughout the year the hessian market was on the whole steady and prices ruled better than in 1933. Barring seasonal fluctuations, the price level was in sympathy with the prices of raw jute. The price index for jute manufactures was 75 in December 1933. In sympathy with the price of raw jute, it rose during the early part of the year and it climbed upto 83 in February, but it declined subsequently to 73 in June, but it again improved gradually and rose to 76 towards the close of the year 1934.

## Rice

The rice crop of 1933-34, although slightly less than the previous year's good crop, was satisfactory, particularly in Burma where the yield was 5 per cent in excess of the preceding year. The estimated yield for the year 1934-35, however, is likely to be to some extent less than that of the year 1933-34. The overseas demand for rice considerably declined as evidenced in the trade returns for the year. The total exports of rice including rice in the husk and rice flour, during 1934 amounted to 1,395,000 tons valued at Rs. 8.65 lakhs as compared with 1,843,000 tons valued at Rs. 11.43 lakhs in 1933 which indicates a decline of 24 per cent both in quantity and value. It is noteworthy that almost all the largest customers of India, namely, Germany, Netherlands, Ceylon, Straits Settlements and China have curtailed their offtakes of Indian rice. This material decline in rice exports from India is no doubt largely due to the pursuit of nationalistic economic policies by the various countries to develop their own sources of supply of food-stuffs, no less to the reactions of the Ottawa Agreement which has served to antagonise the foreign countries against India and induced them to take restrictive measures against India's exports. Burma's exports of rice lost grounds in China while the comparatively cheap rice from Siam and Indo China successfully competed with Burmese exports. At the same time, large imports of foreign rice, particularly from Siam and Japan entered India. The excess imports of this foreign rice over 1933 amounted to as much as Rs. 152 lakhs during 1934. The South Indian market was specially affected by this influx of foreign rice. The cultivators applied to the Madras Government for protection whereupon a special officer was appointed to investigate into the matter. In the meantime, a non-official resolution has been adopted in the Assembly urging the Government of India to impose a duty on the exports of foreign rice. I am glad that the Government of India have since moved in the matter and introduced a bill for restricting importation of foreign rice into India.

From the standpoint of Bengal, however, the problem of rice has assumed a new significance with the proposed separation of Burma from India as recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The free entry of rice into India from Burma is causing grave anxiety. It has been urged by the rice trade in Bengal that the cheap importation of Burmese rice threatens the interests of Bengal trade in rice; and the demand for a duty on Burmese rice is gradually growing insistent. Even leaving aside, however, the question of the probable repercussions of separation on economic relations between India and Burma, it is in the interests of Bengal to develop her sources of supply in order to achieve as far as possible self-sufficiency in regard to food-stuffs. In view of the fact that the scheme of jute restriction is already in operation in Bengal, there is likely to be a larger scope for rice production in the province, and I may, in this connexion, refer to the demand that was recently made by this Chamber to the effect that in any trade agreement that the Government of India may enter into with the Government of separated Burma, the former should reserve powers in their hands to prohibit dumping of rice from the separated Burma at very low prices.

## Tea

The production of tea in India during 1933 was 383 million pounds and the estimated yield for 1934 is in the neighbourhood of 395 million pounds. Exports of tea in 1934 amounted to 320 million pounds valued at Rs. 20.42 lakhs as against 325 million pounds valued at Rs. 19.06 lakhs during 1933. This two per cent decline in quantity of tea exports was mainly due to the decline in the shipments of tea to the principal countries. The offtake of Indian tea by the U. S. A. declined from 10 million pounds to about 7 million pounds in 1934. Canada's offtake also decreased from 15 million to 12 million pounds. Similarly the shares of Australia, New Zealand, Persia and Egypt fell off, but Chile and Arabia increased their offtake of India's tea. The U. S. S. R., however, reduced her offtake from 2 million pounds in 1933 to a little over 35,000 pounds in 1934; in the belief that Russia offered a potential market for absorption of more tea, efforts were proposed to be made by the International Tea Committee to push on the sales of tea there, but it is reported that the proposal has fallen through. The production in the non-restriction countries is reported to have increased from 14 per cent in 1932-33 to 18 per cent in 1933-34. In consequence, over-production of tea is apprehended. And, in actual fact, prices of tea have not been maintained at the same level in 1934 as in 1933; for, by the end of the year, the level of prices evinced a downward trend which still prevails. The average price of tea for export during the 1933-34 season was 9as. 7p. while the price for the 1934-35 season upto

the 21st January, 1935 was 8 as. 11 p. against 9as. 8p. for the same period in the preceding year. Tea sold for international consumption, however, received a better price; for the average price ruled till the third week of January 1935 at 5as. 2p. as against 4as. 8p. in the same period in 1934.

#### BUDGET PROPOSALS

I will now make a few observations on the financial position of the Central Government. The first Budget which Sir James Grigg introduced the other day in the Legislative Assembly discloses a pleasant picture of surplus of income over expenditure. I should like to congratulate Sir James Grigg on the good luck which he has had at the very start of his regime. But I should also add that the skill and judgment which he has displayed in distributing the surplus of the three years 1933-34, 1934-35 and 1935-36 is no less deserving of commendation. Leaving aside the contributions to the Bihar Government for earthquake relief and to Bengal for restoring the budgetary equilibrium, mention should, in particular, be made to the allocations made by Sir James Grigg for Rural Development scheme, Broadcasting as well as for expenditure on road development. It is indeed a happy augury that the Government of India have at long last realised at least in part their responsibility in the matter of rural reconstruction, and our only regret is that the sum now made available is not adequate for the end in view.

While, however, the action of Sir James Grigg in thus setting aside a crore of rupees for rural development scheme will be greatly appreciated, I must at the same time express my disappointment at the pronouncement subsequently made by him in introducing the Finance Bill, against a planned system of economy and a distinct bias he has evinced for a policy of *laissez faire*. It is too late in the day to decry against economic planning, and I do not propose to detain you by making any observations on the need for the adoption of a well-conceived system of planned economy, but I would only like to remind the Hon'ble the Finance Member that when most countries of the world are proceeding apace with schemes boldly conceived and worked under the auspices of the Government and have achieved large measure of economic recovery, it will spell disaster to India if the Government persist in their haphazard policy so long followed.

I would further like to add that the observations recently made by Sir James Grigg in the Assembly about the prospect of augmenting the income of the masses through the adoption of any capital expenditure schemes and also of giving any substantial strength to the economic fabric through any scheme of capital expenditure are not quite tenable, at least under conditions as they obtain in India. Sir James's observations are no doubt based on the opinion held by the Government in England. But other countries like America, South Africa, Italy, Australia, etc., have also undertaken considerable public works expenditure with a view to stimulate recovery, and have obtained satisfactory results. In India, further, the country is still largely undeveloped, and consequently the scope for suitable public works expenditure should be wide enough. Construction of roads and bridges, large housing programmes in crowded cities, improvement of drainage, irrigation and clearing waterways to evade floods and development of hydroelectric power provide suitable lines on which public works expenditure may be undertaken in India with great advantage. Further, development of rural areas in India where almost every village may be said to be depressed also calls for action on the part of the Government on the lines on which reconstruction work in the West Cumberland, Durham and Tyneside in England has been begun on a considerable scale. The Honourable Member stated but a truism when he said that public expenditure could only result in a gain if devoted to projects which would increase the productivity of the country and show definite prospects of adequate return more or less in the near future. Such a rigid orthodox view of the productivity of any scheme of public expenditure does not take note of the fact that such schemes have been considered and adopted by all Governments as a means of giving an impetus to the drooping economic life of the people and have in many cases been found to yield on balance substantial results. Further, there can be no denying that the effects of capital expenditure in a period of depression permeate through the entire economic structure of a country and as such help to stimulate the industrial activities of the country. The productivity of such expenditure is not thus to be assessed merely by the revenue yields of the project to which the borrowed funds may be applied, but a rational criterion of evaluation would be its effect on the whole of the national economy.

With regard to the restoration of the 5 per cent salary cut, I should like to observe that though this may have been induced by a pledge on the part of the Gov-

ernment it entails an excessive burden on the people who are badly in need of relief from taxation. It can hardly be gainsaid that the cost of administration in India is disproportionately high, and that a highly expensive administration as we have in this country, necessarily restricts the capacity of the Government to discharge their responsibilities adequately in respect of various developmental works. The need for bringing costs down to proper level and more in keeping with the resources of the country cannot be over-estimated, and it is desirable that the Government should take the earliest opportunity to effect a revision of the existing scales of salaries in the superior services, so as to prevent the continuance of this heavy burden on the people even under the impending reforms.

#### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Gentlemen, before I conclude, I should like to say a few words about our most important and insistent economic problem viz., the rehabilitation of our rural economy. That the prosperity of the people of this country is intimately associated with that of the agriculturists is a simple truism. All our energy and resourcefulness should therefore be directed in the first place to evolving a suitable programme of action as will help to revive the prosperity of our countless villages.

It is no doubt a happy sign of the times that the Government of the country, both Central and Provincial, have now awakened to the seriousness of our rural economic problem, and have also initiated certain measures like the establishment of land-mortgage banks, appointment of a marketing board, expenditure of one crore for village reconstruction work, the initiation of Bengal Development Bill etc., with a view to improve the economic condition of our rural population. I only wish that the measures undertaken from time to time by the Government formed co-related parts of a scheme of rural development, which in its turn fitted in with a plan of national development.

But welcome as must be the indications of the appreciation of the Government of its responsibility in respect of our rural economic problem, I am of the opinion that the urge for and the basis of our rural economic reconstruction programme must be found in the villages themselves. I do not in the least want to belittle the immense necessity of Governmental initiative in tackling certain aspects of our rural economic problem like marketing, rural indebtedness etc.; what I should like to convey is that our best and most effective instrument for rural reconstruction would consist of a better human material in the villages. Nothing could be better than if the rural population were adequately educated by widespread propaganda to appreciate their particular problems and evolve on their own initiative suitable remedies therefor, with, of course, outside assistance when necessary.

What I feel is essentially needed to-day to rehabilitate our rural life is a change and a re-orientation in the outlook of our rural population. In place of their present attitude of gloom and despair, we have to enthuse them with hope for and confidence in their future. In place again of a too much dependence on cash crops, we have to educate them on and help them to secure certain advantages which they may easily reap from our natural conditions.

A most important feature of our present day rural economy is the pre-eminent position which cash crops play in it, with the result that when their prices register a decline, as in the present crisis, our whole rural economy stands in imminent danger of complete collapse. This is as precarious and unsatisfactory a situation as it is, in a sense, unnecessary. For, if the cultivator gives due attention to the production of food crops and subsidiaries such as vegetables and fruits, and this he can only do,—instead of concentrating mostly on—commercial crops, he will at least be better able to provide himself with such things as are necessary for the sustenance of his family, and will not have to run the risk of a hazardous living which an excessive dependence on cash crops must necessarily entail. I fully appreciate that a cultivator will have to divert to a certain extent his attention to the production of cash crops so that the money obtained from their sale may be utilised to provide his other necessities like rent, interest, debt charges and other wants. All I want to convey is that the peasant should be educated to appreciate that his attention should in the first place be directed to the production of such things as are necessary to keep his body and soul together; and we must be thankful to nature for her bounty which enables the agriculturist in this province to produce by his own efforts the essential requirements of life. In this way, I believe our villages can be made self-sufficient in respect of certain essentials of life and for the maintenance of a certain minimum standard of living. The cultivator should also be instructed in the benefits of co-opera-

tive work. Our co-operative system still needs considerable improvement so as to make its services more useful to the agriculturist. I hope the measures which the Central Government propose to undertake in this connection on the recommendations of Mr. Darling would yield fruitful results.

In addition to the agriculturist, the position of such rural inhabitants as pursue village industries and other professional callings like blacksmithy, pottery and weaving needs rehabilitation. The improvement in the condition of our rural population and propaganda in favour of the use of products manufactured in the village instead of imported substitutes would materially help to improve the condition of our village artisans. Further, development of village industries would provide opportunities to agriculturists themselves to usefully employ their idle time.

In the task of rehabilitating our rural economic life, our primary duty should be to help the agriculturists to help themselves. The reconstruction of our rural life should be based on the efforts of our rural population. To achieve this end, we shall have to educate our agricultural population in the economic problems that face them. Such problems as elementary education, sanitation etc., also deserve the foremost attention, for it is only an intelligent population that can analyse problems and adopt measures to tackle them. No work is, therefore, more important than that of carrying on an intensive educative propaganda among our rural population. We have to arm them with the power which knowledge and understanding bring and which inspires hope and confidence.

#### ACTIVITIES OF THE CHAMBER IN 1934

Gentlemen, I would now like to make a few observations on the activities of your Committee during last year. As you will find from the Report, the subject of granting adequate protection to various industries, as well as that of the advisability of India's entering into trade agreements with the United Kingdom and the Empire countries engaged the attention of the Committee for the greater part of the year. I may mention, in particular, the action taken by the Government of India in granting tariff preference to the British Steel Industry, as well as the views urged by the Lancashire Deputation on the attention of the British Government, and the protests that were made by the Committee against any legislative or administrative measures calculated to weaken the position of Indian industries *vis-a-vis* that of our foreign competitors. I should also refer to the discriminative action taken by the Government of Bombay against the importation into Western Presidency of perfumed spirits manufactured in Bengal. As you are aware, similar handicaps are imposed against Bengal perfumery products in several other provinces, notably Madras, but it is unfortunate that till now the appeals made from time to time by this Chamber to the Government of Bengal have not borne any fruit. A similar fate has also been shared by the mustard oil industry of Bengal. The industry has been continuing in a very precarious condition for the last two years owing to the discriminatory freight policy pursued by the E. I. Ry. The Chamber has been moving the Railway Board for a revision of the policy ever since the question was brought to its attention by several members of the Chamber, but the unduly long time that the Board is taking in coming to a decision has resulted in the failure of a pretty good number of oil mills of the Province. I do not wish to detain you longer by referring to other matters to which your Committee had to give their attention last year, and to which references are made in the Report.

I would conclude by making a brief reference to the Accounts of the Chamber. The total liability at the end of the year was about Rs. 5,500 (in round figures). This has been due to our expectations regarding the realisation of subscription not having been fulfilled, due no doubt to the financial stringency of many of the members who have suffered much from the economic depression; there was also some slight excess expenditure under two items, the excess amounts being about Rs. 30 under Electric charges and about Rs. 76 under Charges General. These excess items were duly considered by the Executive Committee and they now await your sanction. I am, however, glad to inform you that almost all the liabilities have been met by special donations contributed by the members of the Committee.

With these words, gentlemen, I beg to move that the Report of the retiring Committee together with the Statement of Accounts be adopted".

# THE FEDERATION OF THE Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

Opening Day—Delhi—30th. March 1935

The following are extracts from the speech of Mr. *Kasturbhai Lalbhai*, President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, at the eighth annual meeting held at Delhi to-day on the 30th. March 1935 —

The political condition of country is fast changing. Amongst the many momentous questions before the country, the economic regeneration of the masses has become a question of paramount necessity and the country is showing a remarkable sense of unity to attain that objective. This solidarity is essential at the present juncture as the country is face to face with grave constitutional issues. It is perhaps needless to say at this stage anything at length against the scheme of political advance envisaged under the Government of India Bill. But it must be emphatically stated that the proposals, underlying the Bill on which the Reforms are based, appear to be deliberately framed with a view to cripple the political and economic progress of the country. While there has been an advance in the matter of provincial autonomy, the Reforms have not conceded any substantial political power at the Centre. The system has been so devised that we have no control over the services, the military, and practically 80 per cent of the total expenditure out of the taxable revenue and its provisions of checks will lead to a continual wrangle amongst the responsible Federal Ministers. On the other hand, for this meagre political gain, the country is being permanently saddled with communal representation, indirect elections and safeguards unknown in the constitution of any other country.

In the economic sphere, the Bill has introduced new principles which will have the effect of perpetuating the economic drain of the country. To safeguard British interests, the Indian Legislature has not only been deprived of the right of undertaking any measures, which will have the appearance of discriminating against them either directly or indirectly, howsoever necessary those measures may be, in the best economic interests of India, but also the Governor-General has been empowered to negative any execution, which, in his opinion, savours of such discrimination. It has also been provided that no discrimination should be made in granting subsidies between Indian concerns and British concerns established in India. Taken together with the special provisions relating to shipping, in the absence of an absolute right to the enjoyment of the Coastal Trade, India can never hope to build up her Mercantile Marine. In short, all these provisions relating to safeguards, commercial discrimination and shipping render completely ineffective the inherent powers of a country's legislature to adopt any fiscal policy or measures best suited to the economic interests of the country.

The economic condition of the country has changed a little, though there are signs to indicate that we are getting out of the worst period of depression. During the year, the general index of prices remained practically constant at 90, and the index of export commodities which are mainly agricultural, continued to move at a lower level from 69 to 72, thus indicating that, so far as the bulk of the people were concerned, their real income did not show any material improvement.

Though it might be admitted that recovery in other countries has influenced the foreign trade to a certain extent, there are hardly any signs of a recovery of a permanent nature and but for the export of gold, it would have been difficult to maintain the exchange at one shilling and six pence.

Ever since the abandonment of the gold standard by the United Kingdom in September, 1921, exports of gold from India have been very substantial and if this continues at the same space for some time, whatever hidden treasures India have in possession will soon disappear and she can no longer depend on exports of gold to liquidate her external debt. For a predominantly agricultural country like India, her economic structure is based upon her ability to sell her raw materials in the world markets, and so long as she is unable to find suitable markets for the sale of her agricultural produce, she cannot afford to incur external debt which is already a considerable burden on her resources, by allowing freely an incessant flow of imports

into her borders. The policy of economic isolation which is being attempted in many a foreign country will not be a suitable one for India, and new avenues for exports will have to be explored by establishing trade relations with foreign countries on reciprocal basis.

There has not been any definite improvement in our export trade which can specifically attribute as the effect of the Ottawa scheme of preferences. The United Kingdom being the only supplier of manufactured articles within the Empire, the advantages conferred on her under the Ottawa Scheme outweighed the benefits which India shared along with the Dominions as suppliers of raw materials. The working of the scheme, even according to the Government of India's report for the period ending March 1934, does not indicate any material benefit to the export of agricultural produce of India. The direct effect of this scheme has been to impede the creation of direct markets with foreign countries in a number of articles and to encourage entrepot trade in London markets. It has to some extent checked the growth of internationalism in trade relations between India and the other countries of the world and even provoked foreign countries with colonial possessions to create close preserves on lines similar to those created by the United Kingdom. It has been argued that the Empire market is the only stable market and that it would be in India's interest to develop it. I must sound a note of warning to those who are inclined to argue on these lines that India, as a substantial producer of raw materials, cannot in the long run, afford to depend upon one single market—however stable at the risk of losing her place in the other important foreign markets of the world. Even the United Kingdom which initiated the move of preserving Empire market for Empire countries, has all along during this period been concluding trade treaties with a number of foreign countries and it would be to India's advantage if she is to follow suit by negotiating independent trade treaties with her best foreign customers. The Legislative Assembly would soon be called upon to review the effects of the working of the Ottawa Scheme of preferences and I hope the Assembly would take note of the above factors in examining the material that would be placed before them by the Government and would arrive at a decision as to how far India should commit herself in any scheme of Empire Preference.

#### COTTON AND COAL

The year showed a noticeable advance both in the production of cotton piecegoods and the diversification of the varieties manufactured, though the fortunes of the industry at many centres were anything but satisfactory. Many of the companies could hardly show any surplus even to cover the depreciation charges. This was due to overlapping of production in certain styles, and the low purchasing power of the masses, who are the main consumers of cloth. It was perhaps just as well that the industry had to pass through these difficult times, because it forced many of the manufacturers to improve their organisation, and urged them to economise in various directions. The most noticeable feature of the year has been the rationalisation undertaken on a large scale at the two chief centres of Bombay and Ahmedabad, which between them account for nearly two-thirds of the production. While these efforts deserve our sympathy, it is painful to find that no organised effort is being made to capture the Indian market in all styles of piecegoods. Taking the triennial average we are obliged to import 930 million yards a year, i. e. about 31 per cent of our mill production, amounting to 3,030 million yards per year. There is no reason why the country could not efficiently and cheaply produce these styles, which are being imported from the foreign countries.

Coal presents a different and an unhappy picture. Ever since the post-war period, the industry has been having a series of bad years, whose end does not appear in sight. This is due to the fact that probably in no other country, the industry is so much dependent on industrial consumption as in India, with the consequence that it can hope for a revival only following the revival of industry. Therefore, the poor off-take by the Railways, the depressed conditions of various industries and the diminishing Bunker trade had their effects on the coal industry. However, the trouble has been greatly extenuated by the unsympathetic treatment that the industry has been receiving from the Railways in the matter of freight rates, with the consequence that there has been a lack of proper distribution of the production and a lack of remunerative prices. If the coal industry is to occupy the place it deserves in our national economy, there has to be a radical revision in the freight policy. With properly adjusted rates, the industry might be able to obtain a wider market for coke in the different urban centres of the country, and thus decrease its wholesale dependence on purely industrial consumption.

The production of sugar increased considerably, though some factories were destroyed by the earthquake disaster and the fortunes of the industry have been fairly satisfactory.

During the short period of three years, the country has been able to build up an industry approximately at a cost of Rs. 15 crores and thus save an annual drain of more than 10 crores of rupees. This large amount has gone to benefit the agriculturist, the labour employed in the sugar mills and the industrialists. In no other industry the policy of protection has been so completely vindicated as in this case. The internal competition has increased to such an extent that the industrialist will be left with no greater profit than a responsible return, on the capital invested.

#### RAILWAYS

It will thus be noticed that the industries in general showed an improvement and in most cases the indices of production show an increase as compared with the previous year. The Railways shared in the revival of the industrial activities. The number of wagons loaded increased nearly by 7 per cent over the previous year, due specially to an increase in the movement of cotton, oil seeds and fuel. The passenger and other high grade traffic, however, declined leaving the Railways no substantial benefit out of their comparatively better position on the Goods Side.

The real problems which the Railways had to face during the year, and still have to face, are, however, different. It has been increasingly felt during the year that there should be a radical revision in the relations that the Railways bear to industries. The Railway authorities have still to realise that the Railways exist for a cheap and efficient service of the public and not for securing a particular percentage of return on the capital invested. To do the latter, is a comparatively easy matter in India, as most of the Railways are concerns of state monopoly. But to run them efficiently and cheap, so that the freights do not weigh too heavily on the traffic requires ability and breadth of vision, when the management sadly lacks. Any hopes that we might have entertained of such an unsatisfactory situation being remedied in near future under the Federal Government have been shaken by the very objectionable proposals specifically laid down in the Government of India Bill for the constitution of the Federal Railway Authority. These proposals are in contravention of the promises so far given at the Round Table Conferences that the Indian Legislature will be given free hand in constituting the Federal Railway Authority. We must lodge an emphatic protest against these proposals in the Government of India Bill which will make the Federal Government and its Ministers helpless in the administration of railways inasmuch as all important powers have been vested in the Governor-General. The Railways in India constitute one of her biggest assets and as such its administration should be entirely in the hands of the Indians and subject to the fullest control of the Indian Legislature.

Another problem that the Railways had to face during the year was the increasing competition from the Roads. Whatever the causes may be, the problem is certainly grave and cannot be solved, unless there is a greater co-ordination between the Rail and the Roads. There is a shortage of roads in India compared with other countries and in future, the Road Transport is likely to assume a much greater importance. The development of roads, therefore, will have to be as feeders of Railways, and not as competitive units. The Road Transport cannot be expected to make much headway, until the octroi obtaining in many of the towns is replaced by some other form of taxation.

#### MONETARY POLICY

Our agricultural and industrial troubles which were partly due to the world depression, were aggravated by the terrible natural calamities like the earthquake and the frost. These could have been mitigated to a certain extent, if the Government had pursued a different policy. For instance, it tried to maintain both the exchange and the price level, with the inevitable result that it had to follow a policy of extensive contraction of currency and thus allow gold to acquire a fictitious value and be exported in large quantities. This doubly increased the hardships of the people, as if, on the one hand, reduced the value of their products, and on the other, deprived them of their only reserve. It may be argued that, due to a contraction of exports, gold would have been exported as a matter of course. In that case, the price level would have increased by the realisation of these exports of gold. But a comparison with the price level of United Kingdom or U. S. A. will show that this has not been allowed to happen.



A similarly unnecessary sacrifice has been imposed on the country through the silver policy of the Government of India. On more than one occasion, the country has complained against the serious consequences of this policy, but it has been of no avail. When the Hilton-Young Commission recommended the sales of silver, it was with the express idea that the proceeds would be utilised to build up gold reserves. But the Government had no intention of doing so, and instead, it utilised them for cancelling *ad hoc* securities in the paper currency reserves. Apart from the fact that this has contracted the currency and thus increased the rigour of deflation, the wisdom of this policy is doubtful from another angle also. It should be remembered that the Government of India are and continue to remain even under the Reserve Bank Act, under an obligation to exchange paper currency for silver. Whilst, therefore, this obligation lasts, there is always a contingency that silver reserves would be needed, as they were in the past and the Government of India might have to purchase them again in a dear market. It also appears that the requirements of the U. S. A are large, and that the current supplies of silver are not adequate. Under the circumstances, a more cautious policy on the part of the Government is desirable from all points of view.

Great hopes are entertained in the country by the establishment of the Reserve Bank, which is expected to start a new monetary era. As regards the selection of the personnel of the Board of Directors is concerned, it has met with the general approval of the country. Whether the hopes entertained about the Bank will be realised or not, will depend upon a correct interpretation of the duties and obligations of a Central Bank. If the Bank is to build up a Bill Market, and substantially help the agriculture and the industries, the rate structure will have to be so arranged that a certain amount of Bank Money is at the permanent disposal of the market. In this, it will be following the practice of the Federal Reserve System of the U. S. A, which, during a short period, has been able to secure for the American Banking System a remarkable progress by keeping quite a large part of its funds as a permanent part of the funds of the money market. Again, there is in the country a rich indigenous Banking organisation, which, it is the duty of the Reserve Bank to preserve and develop. In this connection it is hoped that the Bank will jealously guard its sphere of influence and object to any legislation being passed without its approval, which will have a direct or an indirect influence on this Banking organisation.

#### TRADE AGREEMENTS

In matters industrial, notwithstanding the growing ideals of economic self-sufficiency in other countries not excluding the United Kingdom the policy of rapid industrialisation has not been undertaken. But the new orientation which is being given to the Tariff Policy, through Trade Agreements, and which will leave the country with a shadow of protection is a matter of grave and more immediate concern. Those who argue that the Indo-British Trade Agreement is to be short lived, or those who say that it gives Lancashire no more than what it already enjoyed, ignore the real point at issue. It is not so much the concessions themselves, which are to be deprecated, but the fact that attempts are being made to convert these concessions into the basic principles of the Tariff Policy. It may be that the Tariff Board sometimes used the price differentials as a convenient guide in arriving at its conclusions. Another harmful innovation introduced is that the margin of protection between the United Kingdom goods and the foreign goods shall not be altered, so as to be detrimental to the interests of the United Kingdom goods. In other words, if it is found necessary to concede a bigger market to any foreign country, this can only be done by sacrificing India's share of the market. The most objectionable feature of the Agreement is that the United Kingdom industrialists can object to the continuance of protection to any of our industries at any particular level at any time. Unless there is a reasonable guarantee that the protection granted will be continued for a sufficiently long period, no industry will be able to undertake a programme of Capital investment, with a view to increase its productive equipment, and the country will be no better off for all its sacrifices. No government has been known to have surrendered such valuable principles unmindful of its own requirements.

These Arguments,—the Ottawa, the Indo-Japanese and the Indo-British—will terminate shortly. At that time instead of the negotiations being rushed through, sufficient material should be made available to the public to gauge their effects on trade and the industry of the country. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the practice of securing greater trade privileges, by means of separate agreements, is increasing and we shall find it necessary to enter into many such agreements in future. The Indo-Burma Agreement is already under consideration. It is the direct outcome of the political separation forced on Burma, and the preservation and continuance of

the economic *status quo* can be its only justification. It is, therefore, stressed that any understanding arrived at between the two countries should grant to Indian business, labour and capital, the same freedom and privileges that they have been enjoying so far. It should also be provided that Indian goods entering Burma will continue to receive the same treatment as hitherto.

Perhaps, the only relieving feature of the year is the growing consciousness in the country that all is not well with our economic system as it should be. If the economic resources are to be used to the best advantage and if any conflict of interest is to be avoided, there should be a clear conception of such an ideal towards which the Society is expected to evolve. The misdirected attempts at Crop Restrictions show what can happen in the absence of such an ideal, when the real issue is to raise the income of the people. Equally misplaced are the efforts undertaken in several provinces either to drive out the moneylender or to substitute him by an agriculturist moneylender. Whatever his fault may be, it has been universally recognised that he has rendered a very useful service to the rural economy, which is difficult to be replaced by any other agency for some time to come. Yet, to single him out as the only cause of the hardships of the agriculturists, is not only unwise at present, but also unjust, seeing that in effect, he is being deprived of his property. In a co-ordinated Society he can be transformed into a beneficent institution.

The main objective in our case is to increase the purchasing power of the agriculturist, and any scheme of reorganisation that we undertake, must have this as the real and ultimate goal. It will mean on the one hand an increase in the productivity of the soil, through a reform in our methods of cultivation, and on the other, several re-arrangements which will enable him to use the existing purchasing power to better economic ends. The institution of Land Mortgage Banks and the Co-operative Credit Societies will be helpful in this direction, but their progress will have to be far more rapid, and the funds at their disposal far larger, if they are to be of any service to the agriculturist. The entire credit structure should be so linked up with the Reserve Bank and the commercial banks that it will put much larger funds at the disposal of the agriculturist. This, together with schemes of cattle insurance against infectious diseases, will remove a great burden from the shoulders of the agriculturist. The primary necessity of the hour is a reduction of the expenditure for the up-keep of the State and its proper distribution directly over services which will benefit the agriculturist. Without it, all schemes of reorganisation will result in nothing. Even these improvements will leave a larger number of people on land than what it could support; and a larger time than what they can gainfully occupy. No doubt, a part of this surplus population will be absorbed in the major industries as they developed, but what is really wanted, is a greater decentralisation of some of our industries, and the development of our cottage industries.

#### COMMERCIAL LEGISLATION

A rapid industrialisation of the country will have to come all the same, because even with the highest of productivity agriculture alone can never take us far either in the matter of wealth, or savings. Certain essential preliminaries, which should go with such a development, should not be lost sight of. Just as it is necessary to protect the consumer, it is equally necessary to safeguard the interests of the investor, and any progress in industrialisation, should be rounded off by an equal progress in legislation. It might be mentioned for instance, that we have no proper legislation in banking or insurance. In the latter, certain developments make one apprehensive that both the business and the investor will suffer, unless the Government takes up the matter at an early date. In the country there has been a growth of mushroom concerns, which do not realise their responsibilities properly. Outside, the Italian Government has refused to allow an Indian Insurance Company to operate in Italy, while Italian insurance companies enjoy an entirely free field in India, in the matter of life, fire or marine insurance. There is no reason why this state of one-sided privileges should be allowed to continue. Again, it is well known that the German Government have put up a control on the transfer of funds out of Germany. German insurance companies are doing business still in India. What is the security, therefore, to an Indian concern, or an individual in the event of a big claim arising against them? Insurance Legislation, therefore, requires to be dealt with at an early date. Similarly, now that the Government are in possession of the views of various bodies on the revision of the Indian Companies Act, amendment thereof should be proceeded with without any undue delay. Of course, the amended Bill should be circulated and, if need be, a few witnesses be examined before formulating the final draft.

Before concluding, I should like to say that in a few days time, *Sir Joseph Bhore*, the first Indian Commerce Member, will retire from the Office and I am sure, every one in this Hall will desire me to convey to him our sense of appreciation of his sympathetic hearing and prompt disposal of the questions that we have had the occasion to take to him, and his sincere efforts to meet our points of view regarding them. It is true, there have been occasions when we had differences of opinion with him, but even in these differences, one was sure of the essential purity of his convictions and honest beliefs in the path that he has to follow. On the eve of his retirement, we can say with one voice that he may elsewhere outshine the brilliant record that he is leaving here. It is a matter of great satisfaction that he is to be succeeded by yet another Indian, Mr. Zafrulla Khan, whose astute ability and reputation have preceded him and which will not be a small asset in looking well after the Indian interests; and you will join with me in extending our welcome to him in his new office and our assurance that we shall be always willing to work in close co-operation on the issues that confront the country. We shall also be losing the services of that capable administrator, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, who has not been keeping good health for some time. We all hope that, being free from the cares of the State, he will speedily recover his health.

### Proceedings & Resolutions

After the Presidential address, and the adoption of the annual report and the statement of accounts for the year, the Chair moved a resolution, disapproving the Government of India Bill, as it outlined a constitution which did not conform to the promises and pledges made to India, was based on complete distrust, in the sense of fair-play, of Indians and their ability to govern the country and postulated numerous safeguards opposed to fiscal autonomy. The resolution was accepted.

#### PROTEST AGAINST RAILWAY AUTHORITY

The second resolution moved by Mr. *A. D. Shroff* protested against the decision of His Majesty's Government to specifically lay down the constitution of the Federal Railway authority in the Government of India Bill, which had made a departure from the promises given at the Round Table Conference, that the Federal Railway authority would be constituted under the Act of the Indian Legislature. The resolution particularly condemned the proposals in part 8 of the Government of India Bill, all clauses of which made the Federal Government and Ministers helpless in regard to Railway Administration in as much as all important powers had been vested in the Governor-General. Mr. Shroff said that Indians were vitally interested in Railways as Rs. 795 crores of their money was invested in capital outlay and the Railways employed as many as 800,000 men. In future, even small mercies, which were given at present, would not be given. There could not be any alteration in rates and freights, without the approval of the Governor-General.

Mr. *R. K. Sidhwa* seconded the resolution and contended that the Government of India's recommendations in favour of the Statutory Railway authority were on the following grounds to render prompt and adequate service to military authorities in times of political crisis; to guarantee services of higher officers in Railways appointed by the Secretary of State; to ensure future recruitment of Europeans in large scale on military grounds; to maintain the interests of the Anglo-Indian community in the Railway Service. The resolution was adopted.

#### SAFEGUARDS

The third resolution, moved by Mr. *Manu Subedar*, characterised the safe-guards in the new constitution as unduly rigid and that provisions against discrimination were of such comprehensive and sweeping character as were likely to cause abuse of power to the serious detriment of the country's industrial and commercial development. The proposals regarding shipping were completely retrograde and were calculated to bar for ever the development of Indian Mercantile Marine.

Mr. *Manu Subedar* added that the safeguards were a clear threat to the growth of proper national industries. The British people were accustomed to break promises but not threats. The safeguards were merely for the continuance of undue privileges, which the British enjoyed in India. He felt that they constituted the surest method of precipitating constitutional deadlocks in India before the constitution finally broke down. It had been said, continued Mr. Subedar, that the safeguards were never to be used but were mere paper safeguards. Then why did they introduce them at all?

Mr. *Padampat Singania* seconded the resolution which was adopted.

The House adjourned for lunch at this stage.

## INDIANS ABROAD

When the Conference met after lunch, *Sir Purshothamdas Thakurdas* moved a long resolution regarding Indians abroad, viewing with "grave concern the persistent anti-Indian policy of the Colonial Office which, if unchecked, will ultimately cause the ruin of Indian settlers in several parts of the British Empire." The resolution urged the Government to press for early adoption of Mr. K. P. S. Menon's recommendations, regarding Zanzibar, protested against the Morris Carter Commission's recommendations regarding the ban on Indians to buy land in the Kenya highlands, urged the Government to press upon the South African Government to undertake the carrying out of the provisions of the Cape Town Agreement to treat Indians there as an integral part of that Dominion and to assist them to advance to the level of European population, urged the amendment of the British Government's trade convention with the United States of America, so as to vouchsafe to Indians complete freedom of trade in America, which Americans enjoyed in India and finally, while opposing the transfer of Aden, emphasised the necessity of protecting Indian interests in Aden, if it was separated.

*Sir Purshothamdas Thakurdas* dealt with each head exhaustively and said that the time had come when His Majesty's Government should be warned that if such treatment to Indians overseas should be persisted in, England would by her own acts, make every Indian feel that it was not good for him to remain in the British Empire. In Zanzibar, the very men who had built up the clove industry by their capital and toil were being driven out by a stroke of the pen. No more ruthless and wicked policy had been known anywhere during the last two years. He hoped that for the sake of maintaining British prestige in India, Lord Willingdon would announce, within a few weeks, the acceptance of the Menon recommendations.

*Mr. Hossainbhoy Laljee* said that Aden was annexed and developed through Indian finance and by Indians and when it had developed to its present position, they were asked to clear out. The resolution was adopted.

## MONETARY POLICY

A resolution urging the Government to forthwith levy an embargo on the export of gold and to buy gold in India at rates equivalent to the sterling rates of gold in London was moved from the Chair and accepted.

*Mr. Chunilal B Mehta* moved a resolution opining that as currency notes were legally convertible into silver rupees, only the Government of India should stop further sale of silver from the Paper Currency Reserve.

Referring to the sale of silver, *Sir Chunilal Mehta* said that the action of the Government in pursuing the policy of selling silver seemed fantastic, especially because other nations were conserving silver. The right policy of the Government of India was to conserve gold to serve the needs of the country in times of emergency.

*Mr. Shroff*, seconding the motion, referred to the Federation's memorandum to the Government of India on the question of sale of silver. The sale of silver resulted in very extensive contraction of currency. The speaker hoped that members of the Assembly would ask Sir James Grigg, Finance Member, to prove his recent statement in the Assembly, with statistics, that the sales of silver had not caused contraction of currency.

The *Chair* before putting the motion to vote introduced *Mr. Cromwell*, a member and officer of the Sound Money Association of the United States of America to the House and requested the distinguished visitor to give his views on the question.

*Mr. Cromwell* said that he belonged to an association whose membership rose to eight million persons, who were all voters. He said that America had also suffered just as much as India and she had learnt a lesson by the recent depression that her great wealth and power was dependent upon the welfare of the rest of the world. The situation in America approximated to that in India.

*Mr. Cromwell* read extracts from a pamphlet criticising the Bank of England's deflationary monetary policy. He said: "This policy of the Bank of England has precipitated a disastrous international currency war, destroyed world trade and engendered universal unemployment". The U. S. A., said *Mr. Cromwell*, was opposing the deflationary policy of the Bank of England.

*Mr. Cromwell* said that America, like India, being an exporter of agricultural produce, had also suffered in the recent depression. He attributed the world depression partly to the Bank of England, which, with the aid of the Indian Treasury, had cornered gold and thus raised the price of yellow metal and caused automatically great depression in commodity prices.

How could this evil be corrected? The answer was to reverse the operation. If the U. S. A. bought silver and sold gold, the result would be achieved. The price of gold would thus fall and the price of commodities would rise thus bringing about prosperity. He said that there was an announcement in the Press that the U. S. A. would sell its surplus gold. That news was a surprise to him. He appealed to India to co-operate with the U. S. A. in selling gold and buying silver, so that there would be rise in prices all over the world. The resolution was adopted.

#### INCOME TAX

Three resolutions were then put from the Chair and accepted. The first of these urged the Government to confer negotiable character on railway receipts. The second resolution disapproved of the legislation in certain Provinces regarding rural indebtedness, which would enable bigger landholding interests to evade their lawfully contracted debt obligations to the serious prejudice of the interest of the indigenous banker and urged the Government that all legal provisions on rural indebtedness should be uniform in all provinces and should not be framed without consulting the Reserve Bank one of whose main functions should be the maintenance of adequate and uniform credit facilities in rural areas. The third resolution urged the abolition of the surcharge on income-tax and super-tax, and legislation for allowing business concerns to carry forward business losses against the profits of subsequent years and for allowing a proportionately higher depreciation allowance on machinery in such factories which worked extra night on holiday shifts.

#### COASTAL TRADE

*Mr. D. P. Khaitan* moved a long resolution regarding coastal trade.

The resolution urged the reservation of the coastal traffic of India to Indian ships by legislation and wanted the Government to increase the share of Indian-owned and managed tonnage from 23.7 per cent as at present to 51 per cent of the total tonnage engaged in the coastal trade during the next 5 years and to increase the liftings of cargo off the coast by Indian shipping from 25 per cent as at present to 51 per cent on the whole coast during 5 years. As regards overseas trade, Indian-owned and managed shipping should, as a first step, be enabled to have 50 per cent of the services between Madras and the Straits and between Karachi and the Persian Gulf Ports, during the next 5 years and that for this purpose subsidy or bounty not exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs yearly should be given to Indian-owned and managed vessels.

*Mr. Khaitan* gave figures to show how all civilised countries in the world were subsidizing their shipping in various ways. Why should not India follow that course and like them, benefit by visible and invisible revenues through shipping?

*Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu* emphasised that the shipping industry was not the concern of shipping companies only but of the whole nation.

*Mr. B. Das* said that the Government of India had no sympathy with the development of Indian shipping. He advocated the abolition of the subsidy to the P. and O. Company for carrying mails, now that all first class mails would be carried by air.

The resolution was accepted.

*Mr. Amritlal Ojha* moved a resolution condemning the policy of the Government of India in not affording any relief to the coal industry.

*Mr. Ojha* said that the coal industry was neglected by the Government and pleaded for the complete abolition of the surcharge on it.

*Mr. Mukherjee* contended that the reduction of the surcharge by 2 and a half per cent was meagre and niggardly.

The resolution was accepted. The House then adjourned.

#### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—31st. March 1935

##### INSURANCE IN INDIA

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce resumed sitting to-day.

*Pandit K. Santanam* moved: "This Federation is emphatically of opinion that the progress of Indian Insurance Companies is being seriously hampered by the advent of many foreign companies which has resulted in severe competition and that with a view to protecting indigenous insurance companies, suitable legislation be introduced by the Government at an early date.

*Pandit Santanam* said that insurance companies in the world had accumulated a capital of Rs. 2,000 crores. In other countries, insurance companies financed industrial development. In India, not only had the Government taken no steps to foster Indian companies but given free field to foreign companies. Mexico recently introduced a law

imposing obligation on foreign companies to declare bonus on business done in Mexico. If a similar step was taken in India, he had no doubt that none of the foreign companies would show a surplus on their Indian business. The Government recently gave a statement in the Assembly regarding the extent of insurance business in the hands of foreign companies in India, but the real point was that fifty per cent of the total insurance premium was collected by foreign companies and thus Rs. 12 crores left India yearly.

*Pandit Santanam*, concluding, demanded protection against Foreign and Colonial Insurance Companies and appealed to all industrialists in India to insure with Indian Insurance Companies.

*Mr. J. C. Setalvad* quoted the case of a British Insurance Company who announced to spend a million pounds to organise their business in India. Foreign companies were able to give fabulous uneconomic terms, particularly, to agents and thus snatch the business from Indian companies. In no country, insurance business had flourished without the help of the Government. He, therefore, asked the Federation to press the Indian insurance case with the Government.

*Mr. S. Bayche* supported the resolution, which was carried

#### CULTIVATION OF SUGAR CANE

*Mr. D. P. Khaitan* moved the next resolution urging the Government to undertake more rapid intensive steps to raise the standard of cultivation of cane both as to quality and quantity by *inter alia* establishment of sugarcane nurseries in all the cane-growing provinces by the dissemination of information as to the best methods of cultivation and allotment of fixed percentage out of the excise duty for the purpose.

*Mr. Khastan* said that this was necessary not only in the interests of the cultivator and the sugar manufacturer but also the consumer. In Java sugar manufacturers had many advantages over the local manufacturers. The sugarcane yield of land there was six tons per acre, as against one ton per acre here and sugar-cane there was sold at two annas per maund as against eight annas per maund here. These and other advantages there made the cost of production of sugar in India higher. Therefore, the local industry deserved the Government help badly.

*Mr. Abdulla Haroon Jaffer* said that forty years back conditions in Java were as bad as they were now in India and improvement came about only by the help rendered by the Java Government. Unless the Government helped the sugar industry, he opined that this industry would never succeed. The motion was adopted.

#### INDIAN SILK INDUSTRY

*Mr. Ramdas Pantulu* moved the resolution on silk industry drawing the attention of the Government of India to the fact that, despite the protective duties introduced last year, the position of Indian silk industry was far from satisfactory. Recent imports of artificial silk and silk mixtures were so appalling that imports during nine months ending December 31st last had almost doubled. "The Federation, therefore, urges that imports of silk mixtures and artificial silk and artificial silk goods, if not effectively checked, are sure to countervail the effects of protection now extended to Indian silk industry."

*Mr. Ramdas Pantulu* said that sericultural industry in India was mainly developing in Mysore, Bengal, Kashmir and some districts of Madras. He pointed out that the industry gave employment to about a million families and four to five crores were invested in it. Now it was seriously threatened by foreign competition, especially from China, Japan and Italy. The import of raw silk into India which was in the neighbourhood of 13 lakhs lbs. in 1925-26 rose to about 32 lakhs lbs. in 1932-33 and the export of raw silk from India which was about 132,000 lbs. in 1925-26 almost vanished between 1931-34 and it was about 21,000 lbs. in ten months of 1934-35.

After examining the Tariff Board's recommendation, the speaker feared that even the scale of duties recommended by the Tariff Board would not give the requisite protection. Protection should be afforded at least for 15 years, as the people engaged in the industry were illiterate and poor and as it would take considerable time to introduce all the necessary improvements to enable it to withstand the competition, but unfortunately, the Tariff Board recommended protection only for five years which was insufficient. He hoped the Government of India would give full effect to the Tariff Board's recommendation without any delay. The resolution was adopted.

The desirability of negotiating bilateral trade treaties with countries who were India's important customers in order to safeguard her export trade was stressed by *Mr. Shriram* who moved a resolution that in view of the changed economic conditions of some of the important customer countries of India, immediate steps should be taken for

arriving at an understanding or arrangement or negotiating trade agreements with these foreign countries to safeguard the export trade of India.

Mr. *Shriram* drew pointed attention to the serious diminution in the value and quantum of international trade since 1929, due largely to the policy adopted by almost all countries imposing high tariffs, restricting the quantity of imports controlling foreign exchange, depreciating the currency and like for the purpose of protecting national markets. This policy, said the speaker, was dictated by the unwillingness of the creditor nations to accept goods and services in payment of debts due on reparation account or otherwise. India had been forced to draw heavily on her reserves of gold and during the last three years exported gold to the value of 65.5 crores, 57 crores and 33 crores respectively by way of supplementing her merchandise deficit. The only way to stop this was to devise measures to liquidate India's external obligations and enter into trade treaties.

Mr. *M. P. Gandhi* supported the resolution, which was adopted.

#### INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

Mr. *Mathradas Vissanji* moved a resolution conveying the felicitations of the Federation to those members of the Assembly who recorded their decisive verdict against the Indo-British Trade Agreement and strongly protesting against the Government of India not acting on the verdict of the Assembly. The Federation farther warned British commercial and industrial interests that any agreement, arrived at over the head of the Indian commercial community, was likely to do them greater harm than good. The mover, who was strongly supported by Mr. *Popatlal Nagri* and Mr. *Uma Shankar Dixit*, condemned the undue haste with which the agreement was concluded and challenged the authority of the Commissioner to sign the report.

Mr. *Kapadia* appealed to the electorate not to return those members who voted against the rejection of the agreement. The resolution was adopted with acclamation.

#### SEPARATION OF BURMA

*Kumararaja M. A. Muthia Chettiar* moved the following resolution on the separation of Burma:—"The Federation is of the opinion (1) that the J. P. C.'s findings and aspersions on Indians in Burma and provisions made in the Government of India Bill for the promulgation of orders restricting the immigration of Indians are unjust and unwarranted, in view of the long association of Indians with Burma and their substantial contribution to the development of Burma; (2) that the provision in the India Bill vesting in the future legislature of Burma power to restrict free entry of Indians into Burma or to impose conditions on immigrants makes it particularly invidious that the British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom are exempted from such restrictions; (3) that paragraph 2 of Clause 435 of the India Bill whereby statutory recognition and approval are given to such laws as to prohibit or restrict the sale of agricultural land is, in view of the special circumstances in practice, bound to become of a discriminatory and expropriatory character; (4) that with regard to the franchise applicable to Indians, no variation should be made which will place them at a disadvantage compared with franchise applicable to them at present and (5) that as there is a large number of persons in Burma who are not Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India, but are subjects of Indian States, the sections applicable to these persons also, as they are carrying on business or professions in Burma and thus have large interests.

"The Federation resolves to urge upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State that when Burma is separated from India, there should be adequate statutory protection for Indians in all matters and in particular provision should be made with regard to (1) unrestricted right of entry; (2) carrying of any occupation, business or profession; (3) holding property and public offices; (4) right to reside and travel; and (5) right to alienate land and other properties without any restriction."

Mr. *Muthia Chettiar* declared that the Government of India far from looking to the interests of Indians in other parts of the world tried in respect of separated Burma to impose humiliating restrictions. The speaker briefly related how Burma was developed by the labour and capital of Indians even before the advent of Britishers. Indeed according to the census report of 1912, the Government themselves had encouraged Indians to settle in Burma. Indians had always thought that the *status quo* would be maintained, but the J. P. C. proposals came as a bolt from the blue. The speaker strongly repudiated the aspersions cast by the J. P. C. on Chettier bankers. He assured that the Chettier community had always been willing to help the people

of Burma and would be an asset to organised banking system of the country. He appealed to the Federation to take up the cause of Indians in Burma and strongly represent their case to the Viceroy.

Mr. G. L. Mehta, supporting the resolution, explained the considerable interests owned by Indians in Burma. He criticised the Finance Member's contradictions in the Assembly on the question of financial settlement and showing utter incompetence. He complained that Indians were treated like Harijan in the British Empire.

Mr. B. Das further supported the resolution, which was adopted. The Federation then concluded.

## The Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber

The annual general meeting of the Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber was held at Bombay on the 6th. February 1935 under the presidency of Mr. Rahimtoola M. Chinoy. In the course of his presidential address, Mr. Chinoy said —

"The situation with regard to our countrymen in Zanzibar has been attracting a good deal of attention recently and rightly so as the settlers there who have done their utmost to develop their trade are threatened with what amounts to elimination if the legislation introduced by the Zanzibar Government is allowed to continue without abrogation. The Government of India sent one of their officers, Mr. Menon, to enquire into the conditions in Zanzibar and his report is a strong indictment of the policy pursued by the Zanzibar Government.

"With regard to the Clove Grower's Association Decree and the Clove Ex-porter's Decree, he definitely says that they are calculated to cause irretrievable damage to Indian interests and will practically oust the Indian traders from Zanzibar. This legislation has established a monopoly in the clove trade and the so-called Clove Grower's Association, which will be entirely dominated by British interests, has entered the field of trade in direct competition with and suppression of existing traders.

"I am glad that his Excellency the Viceroy said in his speech the other day to the members of the central Legislature that the Government of India were at one with Indian people with regard to this question. I am confident that this high sentiment will soon be translated into action. There can be only one solution of this vexed question, namely the abrogation of the entire legislation aimed against Indians.

"I shall refer to the case of one of our greatest national industries, the Indian shipping, to show to you how the proposed commercial safeguards will make it impossible—if not actually give the same an effective setback—to develop our industries in the future. India with one voice and with remarkable unanimity has demanded for years past that Indian shipping should have its legitimate share in the coastal and overseas trade of the country and should build up an Indian Mercantile Marine worthy of its ancient position in the maritime world. The Government of India have declared in unmistakable language that 'they are in full sympathy with the widespread desire that India should possess a merchant fleet of its own', and Lord Irwin, as the Viceroy of India observed in 1928 that it was an ambition worthy of India 'that India should have its mercantile marine and that the ships of that mercantile marine should be officered as well as manned by Indians'. The policy of Government further found expression in the Legislative Assembly when it was made clear that their objective was to provide for 'an adequate participation of Indian shipping in the coastal and overseas trade of India' and 'that Government are particularly anxious to facilitate the growth and the expansion of coastal trade of India in so far as that coastal trade is operated by Indian agencies and through the instrumentality of Indian capital'. Even after the failure of the Shipping Conference convened by the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in 1930, the Government communique issued on Jan. 6, 1930, clearly stated that 'the responsibility will rest with the Government of India' of deciding what action should now be taken for the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine. I have referred to these authoritative pronouncements to make it clear beyond any doubt that both the people of this country and the Government of India are in agreement as to the necessity and desirability of building up an Indian Merchant Navy.

"Now let me examine whether it is possible to achieve this object under the proposed commercial safeguards. I may say in passing that I appreciate the recent action of the Commerce Member in effecting an arrangement whereby, I understand, the



small steamship companies in the West Coast will be able to exist—I use the word 'exist' advisedly because so far as I understand it will not be possible for them to grow and develop. Para 351 of the J. P. C. Report makes it impossible for the future Indian Legislature to pass any enactment which may discriminate against British shipping on the ground of reciprocity. It implies that as there is nothing to prevent Indian-owned companies from plying their ships in British waters, there should be no restriction for the British ships to ply in Indian waters. Sir Phiroze Sethna the other day exploded this doctrine of reciprocity at the meeting of the Liberal Federation and very rightly remarked—

'Is anything more absurd heard of and is not this advice downright hypocrisy? Would it be possible for us to compete with British-owned ships in European waters? The authors of the Report are fully conversant that for very good reasons it would be next to impossible for us to do so. Reciprocity is mere sham'.

These words of the great Liberal leader will oppress the depth of national feeling on this subject.

There are three recognised ways of developing the national shipping of a country. The most important and the universally recognized policy is to reserve the coastal trade in national shipping. According to the enquiry of the League of Nations, the result of which was published in 1931, 27 out of 32 maritime countries have reserved their coastal trade to their own nationals and the English Conservative party recently stated that when it got into power, it would reserve their coasting trade to British ships. You are all aware that the Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India themselves came definitely to the conclusion that the only effective way of building up an Indian Mercantile Marine was the eventual reservation of the Indian coasting trade for ships, the ownership and the controlling interest of which are predominantly Indian. But suppose a Bill was brought into the Assembly to-morrow for reserving the coastal trade of India to its own nationals and was passed. Would it help Indian shipping at all? I say no, because under paragraph 352 of the J. P. C. Report both the Company incorporated now and hereafter in the United Kingdom as well as British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom who are directors, shareholders, servants or agents of the Company incorporated now or hereafter in India shall be deemed to have complied with all conditions imposed by Indian law upon companies so incorporated relating among other things to the provisions of directors, shareholders, agents or servants, whatever may be the provision of the Act passed by the Indian Legislature under the new dispensation of the J. P. C. Report, namely the proposed Commercial Safeguards, British Companies would be construed to have complied with those provisions of the Law *without actually complying with them*. The reservation of the coastal trade would, therefore, not help in the least the development of Indian shipping. This is how the proposed safeguards will militate against the development of an Indian industry.

Another important manner in which the national shipping industry is developed in all maritime countries is the grant of subsidies. Let us suppose, for a moment, that the financial condition of India improves and the Indian legislature decides to grant subsidy to an Indian company, to enable it to fight against the unfair competition of the vested shipping companies, will it help in any way in building up an Indian Mercantile Marine? Again I say no, because under paragraph 356 the British shipping companies against whose unfair competition such protection by way of subsidy is given will be equally eligible to participate in the grant with Indian companies.

It will now, therefore, be pertinent to enquire of the Government of India how in the face of the commercial safeguards in addition to para 354 of the Report, they would discharge their own responsibility which they have publicly undertaken to promote the development of an Indian Merchant Navy. Let not any one remind us that some sort of an arrangement was effected a couple of years ago. A ship here and a route there might have been granted, but the net position to-day is that the position of Indian shipping in the coastal trade has increased by one per cent, from 21 to 22, while its position in the overseas trade is practically nil. It is not the lack of initiative that prevents Indian shipping from going to the overseas trade, as stated by the Commerce Member in the House, but the real fact is that their hands are fettered and hence they cannot take their share in that trade. Restricted as the activities of Indian shipping are under the present arrangement, it is sad to reflect that the proposed Commercial Safeguards will make it impossible to go any further and I maintain that the Government owe a duty to the country to tell the public clearly how they propose to carry out their own responsibility and discharge their solemn promise of building up an Indian Merchant Navy both in the coastal and the overseas trade of India.

# The Southern India Chamber of Commerce

The twenty-fifth annual general meeting of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce was held on the **23rd March 1935**, at the Chamber Buildings, North Beach Road, Madras with *Devan Baradar Vemulloss Chaitumbhass*, the President, in the chair. The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, said

Under the proposed new Constitution, incipient Indian concern and long-established British business houses will have to compete on equal terms, and the slightest preference or partiality to the former will at once be marked as rank discrimination. I do not want to spend many words upon the much-talked-of question of safeguards and discrimination but I feel sure that conceivable statutory provisions and no Trade Agreements can secure their object if they are forced upon an unwilling people. There can be nothing to sustain them when the goodwill of the people has been so completely lost. The same spirit of distrust and of holding back as much of political power and economic freedom from Indians as is humanly possible, is also clearly seen in the way in which the question of the separation of Burma has been worked up from the beginning so as to culminate in the grotesque conclusions at which the Joint Parliamentary Committee have arrived even to the extent of empowering the future Burma Legislature to refuse free entry of Indians into Burma and to deny them the facilities of holding property or pursuing any trade or profession, while on the other hand, British subjects coming from 7,000 miles away are immune from any restriction whatsoever, and are entitled to treat Burma as if it were their own mother country or Colony. There is nothing surprising in the unseemly hurry with which the Government of India Bill is being rushed through the Parliament, as the Bill is thoroughly retrograde and unacceptable to any respectable section of the people, and delay means strength to the Opposition. It is a covert attempt to parcel up India into disjointed wits, big and small, bankrupt and solvent, to divest India of Adu and Burma, to remove the Army and the Railways from the control of the tax-payers and to deprive the people of the little political education afforded by direct elections now available. The Indian Legislative Assembly has given its verdict on this make-believe attempt and I am sure the country will stand by it.

The economic condition of the people is growing from bad to worse. The burden of taxation is becoming unbearably heavy. Under pretence of an emergency, the heavy surcharges on income-tax and customs duties are imposed. Year after year the camouflage of deficit is sustained on under-estimated revenues. Where is the inducement to Government to curtail expenditure with huge hidden surpluses waiting year after year to be disposed of in all novel schemes? I ask whether the Government are not making a calculated attempt to make the reformed Constitution as expensive and burdensome as possible, so that the tax-payer's back may break under the burden of his political aspiration? With the tax burden remaining so heavy how can there be any speedy recovery of trade or industries? For years together this Chamber has been urging the introduction of the principle of carrying forward business losses against the profits of succeeding years. A wealthy country like the United Kingdom has been long enjoying the privilege of setting off losses against the profits of six succeeding years. The Dominions have adopted it. Even Ceylon where income-tax law was introduced only a few years ago has recognised this principle. Five years ago the Government of India in an half-hearted manner recognised this principle and agreed to introduce it as soon as finances permitted. Huge surpluses have occurred and have been promptly disbursed. Can this Government ever be satiated and persuaded to give up any of the existing revenues, temporary or permanent, however just and reasonable?

Nor has the Government of India or the Provincial Government done anything tangible and concrete for alleviating the effects of the present depression. Conference after Conference has taken place. Saloons of Ministers, Executive Councillors, and Heads of Departments have been running times without number between Delhi and their Provinces. The sum total of their deliberations is that a few men have been employed as marketing officers and their assistants. What have they done? A Marketing Board has been formed in Madras, but not a single Indian merchant has been invited to sit on it. The chief handicap to the marketing of crops is the railway freight. If the Government have no hope of making a drastic reduction in Railway freights for crops moving to consuming centres and for products of mills and factories

moving to the internal markets and to the ports, they cannot hope to tackle the marketing problem at all. The moribund Railways of India become responsive to the national needs, then this most stupendous obstacle to the trade and industry of India will have been finally and conclusively solved. Indian merchants have ceaselessly drawn attention to the fact and the humiliating Railway rates. The Railway rates Advisory Committee is a mere ornament, and merchants have neither the time nor the money nor the patience to fight out cases before that Committee. The Government are helpless because they have no control over the Railway Agents in the matter of rates between maxima and minima, and the Railways give the stereotyped reply that 'the traffic can bear it' or 'that Steamship competition must be faced'. In short the high and preferential rates remain and crush Indian trade and industries day in and day out. After repeated pressure the Railways have taken on hand the work of revising the antiquated General Classification of goods. But it is all a bore and a conning method. They refuse to see that Railway rates are a matter of life and death to merchants and manufacturers and not a mere question of profit and loss to shareholders of the Railway companies. Accordingly the commercial bodies have neither been represented in the investigation nor even consulted. The Railway Board, the accredited tax-payers' representative, has had no say in the matter. Passenger fares are similarly much above the pre-war level. Such conveniences as Movable Coupons, return tickets for long distances etc., are still not a uniform feature of all the Railways.

All advanced countries have been making Herculean efforts to raise the price level. They related currency standards, restricted production, prevented export of gold, restricted import of foreign goods and so on. What have the Government of India done? Instead of devaluing the rupee, they have practically overvalued it. The 161. rupee that ruled from 1895 onwards up till 1925 except for a few months after the war, has been transformed into the 181. rupee, and what is worse, the Government pretend to have done it in the best interests of India. The dollar has been devalued 40 per cent., the yen has been devalued over 40 per cent., so also the Dominion currencies, even the Franc and the Mark and the Lira which retain the gold basis have been fully devalued in the post-war period. The difference between India and those countries is that they have a National Government while we have not. The very natural ratio of 161. is bound to raise the internal price level without disturbing the world market for Indian commodities. Every pound worth of goods sold abroad would then fetch Rs. 15 instead of Rs. 13-5-1 now. Is not that a definite advantage to Indian exporters? If the price of Indian export goods rises the price of similar goods consumed at home automatically rises, the buying power of the masses rises with it, and so the price of imported goods rises and the exporters are also benefited. The question then arises why the Government are so unwilling to introduce this very necessary and harmless change. It undoubtedly is an advantage to the European merchants and servicemen who make their monthly remittances home, thereby getting 2 pence extra for every rupee remitted. It is also an advantage to those foreigners who want to repatriate little by little their capital invested in this country. In that case also every rupee remitted brings 2l. extra. It undoubtedly is an advantage to those exporters abroad who have a grip on the Indian market and want to make their goods as cheap as possible to India, so that their goods will be sold even at the expense of Indian produce and manufactures. In the face of these circumstances is it possible to suppose that Government have devised the 181. ratio in the best interests of India? This great but imperceptible and intangible benefit to foreigners trading with India is priced by the Government of India even above political self-government, because even as they concede a further measure of responsible government, they zealously withhold the right of determining the currency and exchange of the country. The Reserve Bank has every other right for the control and management of the credit and finances of the country but is not trusted with the right of touching the exchange ratio. So also the Indian Legislature. Where is the control over the economic welfare of the people without the right to adjust its currency according to the needs of the country? Are we to believe that the British Government know the economic interests of India better than the Reserve Bank of India, the Indian Commercial bodies and the Indian Legislature? Political freedom will be worth nothing without the freedom to promote the economic welfare of the country.

As though the bondage in the matter of currency and exchange is not complete we have had two recent Agreements made between India and Britain almost in an exparte manner, agreements which cut into the root of the industrial and commercial prosperity of the country, and which were entered into behind the back of the Indian

commercial community as well as of the Indian Legislature. Agreements so detrimental in substance and so suspicious in the manner of execution are going to be cited and immortalised in the Government of India Bill, thereby implying that as India's political freedom is conceded little by little, her economic dependence should be proportionately increased and completed. These agreements have doomed India's future in quite another way also. Very important customer countries of India have been alienated and scared away by our discriminating tariff and they have not been slow to retaliate. Italy, Canada, Germany and smaller countries have definitely trimmed up their tariff to shut out Indian skins and hides, oil seeds, coffee and so on and have been making unmistakable progress with substitutes. Other countries are fast entering into trade pacts with each other on reciprocal basis. The Government of India who showed mad hurry in negotiating the Indo-British and Indo-Burma agreements have remained supremely unconcerned at the rapid loss of Indian markets with the progress of bilateral agreements between country and country all round us. What is to be the position of India in the international market if she allows herself to be jostled out of the comity of trading nations.

It is high time that India woke up from her slumber. We must have our own Trade Commissioners in important centres of the world like New York, Tokio, Cape Town and Colombo. We have absolutely no use for civilian Trade Commissioners such as we have now in London or Hamburg, but practical Indian businessmen should be appointed who can effectively introduce goods, organise exhibitions, bring together buyers and sellers, settle disputes between shippers and consignees and so on. Further, this country should lose no time in entering into Trade Agreements with France, Germany, United States of America, Ceylon, Australia and Canada. There is no doubt that international trade is going to be severely restricted and curtailed by the plethora of bilateral agreements and tariff adjustments that are taking place all over the world. But it is simply impossible for us to sit still and watch the fast approaching isolation of India in the frantic rush of countries to take possession of markets by reciprocal agreement.

Our foreign trade has taken a very unhealthy turn. Ever since Britain went off the gold standard in 1931 and India played the chorus girl to her we have been living on our capital. The usually large favourable balance of trade of this country has been turned down and the imports of merchandise have been paid for, not by exports of merchandise but export of gold. By this time we have exported over Rs. 235 crores worth of gold mostly to England and the United States of America, and Government with all sincerity say it is for the good of the country. This flow of gold cannot be good both to the importer and to the exporter at the same time. But the Government have made for themselves the best of the misery of the people. They have sustained the Indian demand for foreign goods and have made plentiful purchases of sterling at the cost of money stringency in India. It never occurred to Government to utilise this superfluous sterling to convert some of the maturing sterling loans into rupee loans. That our imports are sustained only by an export of gold which props up the credit of the people is not the only unhealthy feature of our foreign trade. Sometimes the trade balance is negligible as was the case in 1932 when it was less than Rs. 5 crores. Even in 1934 the favourable balance was only Rs. 24 crores, imports being Rs. 120 crores and exports Rs. 150 crores, while the normal foreign obligations of India require from Rs. 42 to 50 crores surplus of exports.

Taking the 10 months ending 31st January we find the imports from the United Kingdom increase from Rs. 39 crores in 1933-34 to Rs. 44 crores in 1934-35, while India's exports to the United Kingdom remain stationary at Rs. 39 crores. That is the result of the Ottawa Agreement. On the other hand, the Indo-Japanese Agreement has operated most favourably to India; while the imports from Japan increased from Rs. 13 crores in 1933-34 to Rs. 17 crores in 1934-35 our exports to Japan increased from Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 19 crores the same period. What is more highly deplorable is the position of our export trade to other foreign countries; while our imports from those countries remained more or less stationary, our exports to Germany decreased from Rs. 7 crores to Rs. 5 crores, those to Netherlands from Rs. 3 crores to Rs. 2 crores, and those to France from Rs. 6 crores to Rs. 4 crores, those to the United States of America from Rs. 12 crores to Rs. 10 crores. This is a most dangerous turn in our foreign trade which we ought to deal with without any more delay, and there is no speedier action that India can take in this matter than the appointment of Trade Commissioners in those areas and the conclusion of separate Trade Agreements with those countries.

# **British India and Indian States**

**JANUARY—JUNE 1935**



# The Chamber of Princes

Opening Day—New Delhi—22nd. January 1935

## Viceroy's Opening Speech

The Princes' Chamber met on the **22nd January 1935** at New Delhi with a fair attendance of members and galleries were crowded with Ministers and distinguished visitors. All Princes were introduced to H. E. the Viceroy in the Chancellor's Room.

Thereafter, the Viceroy opened the session, with an address lasting 15 minutes in which he advised the Princes that it was in their interest to join the Federation scheme. The Viceroy said:—

Your Highnesses! This is the third time that I have enjoyed the privilege of presiding at your deliberations in this Chamber and I welcome Your Highnesses more heartily than ever on this present occasion for various reasons. A period of nearly two years has elapsed since the last session took place, but though there has been no regular meeting of the Princes' Chamber during this long interval, Your Highnesses have held many informal discussions among yourselves about the all-important subject which has never ceased of late to engage your attention—the constitutional future of India to which I shall briefly refer later in my remarks.

Let me commence to-day by referring to the losses that your order has sustained in the course of the last two years. There are, I regret to say, no less than four Ruling Princes who were members of this Chamber when last we met and have since then passed away. The first name that I must mention is that of his late Highness the Maharaja Sir Raupt Singhji, Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, who died on the April 2, 1933. As a member of this Chamber the late Jam Sahib attained a prominence that few ruling princes have equalled. He served as a member of the Standing Committee from its very beginning until 1932 when he was elected Chancellor. On no less than three occasions he represented the Indian States at the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. His late Highness was made a Major in His Majesty's Army in 1911 and he served with the expeditionary force in France remaining on field service up to November 1915. In recognition of his war services, he was given the rank of Lt.-Col. in 1918 and his salute was raised permanently to 13 guns with a personal salute of 15 guns. He was at the same time granted the title of Maharaja as a hereditary distinction but it was perhaps as a sportsman and particularly as one of the greatest and most attractive cricketers that the world has seen that the late Jam Sahib was most widely known to the general public outside this country. In every walk of life, he was a man who inspired the affection and regard of all who came in contact with him. In peace and in war, in the sphere of politics and in the field of sport, he was an outstanding figure. As one who was privileged to be on intimate terms with him for many years—for our friendship began long before I ever came to India—I mourn his loss very deeply and I am sure that all those present here to-day who were fortunate enough to know his late Highness personally will fully share the feelings I expressed.

Another sad loss that the States of Western India have suffered is by the untimely death of the late Thakur Sahab of Wadhwan who passed away towards the end of July last at the early age of 35 years. Central India has to mourn the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior). His late Highness was granted the hereditary title of Maharaja in 1918 for his services rendered in connection with the War. He was a man of most devout character, known far and wide for his piety and deep devotion to his faith. The Punjab Princes have lost a distinguished member of their Order by the sudden death in Europe of His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur. His late Highness was also given the hereditary title of Maharaja in 1918. In recognition of his War services, he was also gazetted as Honorary Lt.-Colonel and he was further rewarded by the grant of a personal salute of thirteen guns in 1931. To the bereaved relatives of these princes I know that you will all join with me in expressing your sympathy and I know too that we are all united in wishing every happiness and prosperity to their successors. There are two princes who by the termination of their minorities have become new members of this Chamber—His Highness the Raja of Faridkot and His Highness the Nawab of Janjira. To them also we will all, I am sure, extend a cordial welcome coupled with the hope that they will take a constant interest in this Chamber in all matters that concern the Order of Princes.

## LEAGUE DELEGATES' REPORT

Sahib Zada Abdus Samad Khan of Rampur and Sir V. T. Krishnamachari of Baroda were selected to be delegates at the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly held respectively in 1933 and 1931 and we shall look forward with much interest to the presentation of their report. Since the last session of the Chamber, a great step forward has been made in pursuance of the policy of bringing all Indian States into direct relations with the Government of India. This move has now been completed in the case of all the remaining Bombay States as also in the case of Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces. There are now only a small number of States remaining in respect of which the same change has still to take place. I should be the last to deny that relationship with provincial governments has entailed many practical advantages to the States concerned, for I am well aware that these States have had good cause for gratitude to the Local Governments with which they have been in contact but constitutional developments have made the continuance of such a system impracticable and it is hoped that before long the process of establishing direct relations between the Government of India and every State in this country will be successfully concluded.

Several ruling princes from the States to which I have just referred have expressed strong desire that their claims to membership of this Chamber should be duly recognised. This question has engaged the attention of the Standing Committee and various opinions on the subject have been expressed. One of the cogent reasons as I think you will agree with me for avoiding any precipitate action in this respect is to be found in the fact that certain changes in the constitution and functions of the Chamber itself have of late been informally suggested. I shall await with the keenest interest any proposals in this regard that may be brought to my notice. At present I do not wish to prejudice whatever views Your Highness or those Princes who have up till now remained aloof from the activities of this Chamber may desire to put forward, but I will say this much that I regard the effective co-operation of all Indian States both great and small as an object of the utmost importance to Your Highness and to your Order. It is a time-worn adage that in unity lies strength and I sincerely trust that Your Highness will give your very earnest attention to the benefit of combining together as closely as possible for the good not only of the Indian States but for the advantage of India as a whole.

## FUTURE CONSTITUTION

I will conclude with just a few words on that predominant subject to which I have already alluded—the future constitution of this country. I would remind Your Highnesses of two observations that I made when we last met together, firstly, as I then remarked, it was the Princes of India who at the first R. T. C. by their expressed determination to join with British India in securing a real measure of progress for this country towards responsible government made Federation a practical possibility, secondly, I said that no State until its Instrument of Accession is signed is finally committed to the Federation. Both of these remarks hold good to-day. No one can be surprised that at such a time when far-reaching changes are imminent the States should ask for assurances that their vital interests will not be prejudiced so far as it is practicable to do so. The most painstaking endeavours have been made to see that the position of all States that decide our Federation shall remain secure.

As I told Your Highnesses at our last meeting, I am personally convinced that for the Indian States the wisest course is to accept the federal scheme and I have been gratified to learn that the informal conference of Ministers recently convened at Bombay arrived at the conclusion that the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee represents from the State's point of view a distinct advance of the White Paper specially in the financial field. The Bill itself will very shortly be presented to Parliament and until you have had an opportunity to study the measure and have further more considered the draft instruments of accession and the Instruments of Instructions that are to be given to the Governor-General and to the Provincial Governors, it is but natural that you should desire to postpone your final decision. The choice, as I have said, still lies open to you all.

Your Highnesses are no doubt aware that from time to time allegations have been made in the Press and indeed a further instalment of these allegations has appeared to-day to the effect that pressure has been brought to bear on the Princes by myself or my officers in order to coerce them into Federation against their will. I have already on several occasions declared that their insinuations are entirely and utterly



baseless. I repeat again that they have no foundation whatever and I am sure that Your Highnesses will be the last to deny the truth of what I say. Nobody knows better than the Princes themselves that no form of coercion has been employed and it is, I think, legitimate to conclude that those who descend to entirely false allegations of this description must be hard put to it for arguments to support their case. I trust that enough has been done to convince you that in the new constitution no effort will be spared to protect the integrity of the States and I sincerely hope that the Princes, while not unmindful of their own particular interests, will not stand apart from the development that must inevitably affect the greater part of this great country, but will be ready to take their share in promoting the constitutional progress on sound and satisfactory lines and in helping the new political machinery to function effectively to the common good of British India, the Indian States and the Empire.

### Proceedings and Resolutions

The proceedings began with the Chancellor moving a resolution expressing profound sense of happiness on the completion by H. M. the King-Emperor of twenty-five years of beneficent reign.

*H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala* said that the King-Emperor was the embodiment of enlightened spirit and loyalty to the Imperial throne was the essential creed and the burning living faith of the Indian Princes. The successful conclusion of the Great War, the transformation of the Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations and the recovery from the financial crisis made the present Sovereign's reign a most glorious period in the annals of that historic House.

*The Maharaja of Bikaner*, seconding the resolution, said that no one more truly deserved the loyalty of his people than the King-Emperor and the gracious Queen. His Majesty fulfilled the ideals of kingship, held both in the East and the West.

The speaker hoped that no misguided feelings or political controversies would prevent any section of the people of British India from joining the Indian States in manifesting happiness on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee.

His Highness the *Chief of Sangli* recalled His Majesty's message, in inaugurating the Chamber of Princes, when His Majesty had hoped that he would give the Princes a larger share in the political development of their motherland. It was truly fitting that this Chamber should pass such a resolution.

The Viceroy suggested that the resolution be passed with acclamation.

The *Chancellor* next moved resolutions mourning the loss of the late Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the Maharajas of Sirmur and Dewas (Junior) and the Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan. The resolutions were passed, all members standing.

The Chancellor then moved a resolution congratulating the Maharajas of Nawanagar, Sirmur and Dewas (Junior) and the Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan on their accession to the Gadi and the Raja of Faridkot and the Nawab of Janjira on assumption of power and welcomed them to the Chamber. The resolution was passed with acclamation.

The Chancellor made a statement reviewing the work of the Chamber during the last two years. The Chamber also received the reports of Sir Aldus Samad Khan and Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, as representatives of India at the League of Nations meetings in 1933 and 1934 respectively.

*The Maharaja of Patiala* placed on the table the report of the representatives of the Chamber of Princes at the Joint Parliamentary Committee meeting, in which Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Laqat Hayat Khan and Sir P. Pattani pointed out that they had not succeeded in impressing the Secretary of State with the sanctity of treaties, by including reference in the Preamble to the Act that the treaties were outside the Constitution Act. They had been more successful on the question of internal sovereignty and the maintenance of full autonomy.

### REFORMS REPORT

*The Maharaja of Patiala* next moved the following resolution relating to the J. P. C. Report:—

"The Chamber of Princes reaffirms its previous declaration about the readiness of the States to accede to All-India Federation, provided the essential conditions and guarantees which have been pressed for are included in the constitution.

"The Chamber must however reserve its opinion on the question until the Parliamentary Bill relating to constitutional reforms and contents of the proposed treaty of accession and of Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy are known and have been examined.

"The Chamber also wishes to emphasise that the inauguration and success of the Federation will depend entirely on the good-will and co-operation of all parties concerned and upon the clear recognition of Sovereignty of the States and their rights under treaties and engagements.

"The Chamber further emphasises the necessity of prior settlement of pending claims of individual States."

The Maharaja made a long speech in support of the resolution. He hoped that the resolution would be passed unanimously. It reaffirmed their willingness to enter into the Federation, but the question whether the conditions laid down had been met could only be decided after the Bill had been carefully scrutinised. He said, "On the first examination of the J P C Report, we are advised that some important questions, like the financial conditions precedent to Federation, specially in regard to direct taxation and the content of federal subjects, are left vague and undefined. In certain matters, the powers of the Federation had been enlarged, as for example the jurisdiction of the Federal Court. Subjects which had never been discussed with us, had been added to the Federal list. On many points, further elucidation seems to be necessary, as the recommendations in the Report seem ambiguous and capable of different interpretations. Besides, it is essential that this supremely important document should be drawn in consultation with the Princes, not as an unilateral agreement, with the inherent rights of the States remaining undefined as they are to-day. It is difficult for Princes to consider any scheme of political reform. That was and remains one of our essential conditions to the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. We have not yet been invited to enter into further negotiations."

Visualising future developments, the Maharaja of Patiala remarked: "Who is there who would deny that, in the Federal Constitution, constituent units in the future will have to face liabilities which cannot now be estimated? We have the example of the United States of America and even of Imperial Germany, that even when the States' rights were rigorously and almost religiously safeguarded, the Central Governments have inevitably encroached on the powers of the constituent units."

Referring to the circumstances under which some Princes agreed to consider the Federal proposal, the Maharaja of Patiala said that "it was not from a desire to hinder British India in the realisation of its legitimate aspirations, but rather to help India in her constitutional progress and political development without sacrificing our sovereignty and internal autonomy. But to-day, responsible men in British India, men, who, I know, bear no ill-will towards the States, have not hesitated to say frankly that in the present scheme of things, Indian States have become a positive hindrance, rather than help, to British India. If that is the view of men of moderation in the country, it is a matter for Your Highnesses' serious consideration whether we should put ourselves in a position in which practically every important body of opinion in British India considers us unwelcome partners and looks upon our entry into the Federation with suspicion. While we are willing to enter the Federation, we are equally prepared to stand out of the Federal scheme, if British India is not anxious to have us."

The Maharaja of Patiala referred to the changing attitude of British India towards the States and the opinion of Indian politicians, who favour Federation in the hope that the Princes would be forced by circumstances to introduce a democratic form of government. He said: "While the Princes of India have always been willing to do whatever was best for their people and ready to accommodate themselves and their constitutions to the spirit of the times, we must frankly say, that if British India is hoping to compel us to wear on our healthy body politic the Nessus shirt of discredited political theory, they are living in a world of unreality."

His Highness confessed that he was an optimist and after defining the conditions for entering Federation, said emphatically, "We are not enamoured of the Federal constitution, as such. We have never approached His Majesty's Government and never requested them to devise Federation in order to safeguard our future under the Crown and in British India. As other parties to the constitutional development of India desire the establishment of a Federal constitution, we, for our part, will be prepared to consider it sympathetically and with every desire not to stand in the way of the attainment by India of Dominion Status."

The *Raja of Mandi*, supporting the resolution, referred to the fact that whereas under the White Paper, the authority of the Federal Court was clearly confined to matters arising out of the constitution, under the J. P. C. recommendations, the jurisdiction of the Federal Court was extended to include interpretation of Federal laws. His Highness feared that this might entail the surrender of a substantial portion of the internal

sovereignty of States and therefore, required a careful scrutiny. He also referred to the list of Federal subjects mentioned in the J. P. C. Report, some of which were not clearly defined. Hence, it was extremely difficult to assess the precise effect and scope of these subjects.

The *Chief of Sangli* affirmed that subject to the inclusion of essential conditions and provisions of guarantees, the Princes had no hesitation in joining the Federation.

The *Raja of Korea*, in an extempore speech, said that if the States were to join the Federation, their minimum safeguards must be conceded. He was sorry that several important fundamental conditions had not yet been met. The problem should be, however, approached in a spirit of mutual goodwill and accommodation. At the same time, the claims of individual States must be decided, so that the path of Federation may be rendered smooth.

The *Maharaja of Bikaner* said that subject to essential conditions forthcoming and certain necessary adjustments it would be found that Rulers of bigger States would be only too glad to come into the Federation. His Highness added: "I have also no doubt in my own mind that whether with us or a little time afterwards, given such favourable conditions, the majority of other States would equally gladly follow us."

His Highness wanted legal differentiation between the functions of the Viceroy and of the Governor-General and wanted also that particulars relating to the Treaties of accession and Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy to be made available to the Princes. His Highness claimed for the Princes Order, certain measure of statesmanship and therefore hoped that they would refuse to be stampeded into an ill-considered or hasty decision.

Proceeding, the Maharaja of Bikaner associated himself with the views of Sir Austen Chamberlain that it was in the interests of rulers, their dynasties and States to join the Federation. His Highness then referred to the "astonishing allegations made in the House of Commons by the diehard group, some of whom again repeated in certain London newspapers, to the effect that bribes, threats and intimidation were held out by the British Government in England and India to coax, cajole and coerce Indian Princes to enter the Federation." His Highness remarked, "They are as sorry a compliment to the Ruling Princes in India as they are unfair and unjust to the Viceroy, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. Such wild statements and charges can only result in completely exposing their authors to the lameness of their cause and the tactics adopted by them."

The speaker also referred to the allegation made by one Member of Parliament that before he reached India, certain Princes had been warned that it would be unwise to invite him and his colleagues to stay with them. His Highness declared that at no time did he receive such a warning or suggestion from the Viceroy or anyone else in England or India. The views of Princes were not likely to be swayed by all the horrors of Federation that were being depicted or by their attempts to make their flesh creep by various suggestions and efforts to influence the Princes into playing into their hands. On behalf of himself and other Princes, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner most emphatically contradicted these allegations. The Princes deeply resented the unworthy charges levelled against the Viceroy, so universally respected and popular among Princes, who had done his best to be fair to all concerned and to be just in all his dealings.

The resolution was unanimously passed. The Chamber then adjourned.

## Second Day—New Delhi—23rd. March 1935

The Chamber of Princes met to-day, the Viceroy presiding.

The Chamber passed a vote of thanks to the Chancellor for the work of the past two years and thanked Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Liaqat Khan and Sir Prabhashanker Pattani for their work as their representatives at the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

The Chamber adopted the recommendations of the standing committee regarding radio broadcasting and the construction of dams in Indian States.

### ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS TO STANDING COMMITTEE

The Chamber then proceeded with the election of office-bearers. The Viceroy informed the Chamber that both the Maharaj of Cutch and the Maharaja of Jaipur had decided that they did not wish to stand for any office or membership of the committee. The Chamber held the election by ballot and elected the Maharaja of

Patiala as Chancellor and the Maharajarana of Dholpur as Pro-Chancellor, both receiving 31 votes. Thus both secured unanimous election.

When the election to the standing committee was taking place, the Maharajas of Patiala and Bikaner proceeded to the *dais* and reported to the Viceroy that the Chief of Sangli had a heart attack. Immediately a doctor was summoned and the Chief was shortly removed by car to his residence.

The standing committee election resulted as follows: The Maharaja of Bikaner 32 votes, the Maharaja of Panna 30 votes, the Chief of Sangli, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Maharajas of Dewas (Junior) and Dungarpur and the Maharaja Rana of Jhalwar 29 votes each, and the Raja Sahab of Wankanai, the Raja of Mandi 27 votes each. All these were elected as members of the standing committee.

The Chamber of Princes, before concluding the session, asked the Viceroy for the address.

The *Maharaja of Patiala*, Chancellor, in the course of his speech, said: 'Your Excellency alluded to the allegations against your Excellency of using undue pressure on princes and coercing and cajoling them into the acceptance of the federal scheme. The free and frank discussion on the subject of constitutional reform yesterday should show how unfounded and baseless these charges are. We fully realize the annoyance such irresponsible statements have caused to your Excellency and we take the opportunity of publicly stating in the most emphatic terms that the allegations are utterly without truth.'

The *Maharaja of Patiala*, proceeding, said: 'We have noted with satisfaction your Excellency's assurance that every possible effort will be made to safeguard the interest of the princes according to the federation. As stated by some of us during the discussions, the conditions on which the States will join are to be embodied in our treaties of accession. We are particularly anxious that this document, so far as it affects all States, should be drawn up in consultation with us, and we hope your Excellency will move of this unsavoury matter.'

As regards the delicate question of allocation of seats in the federal legislature, I shall be failing in my duty if as Chancellor I do not bring to your notice that there are several princes who feel considerable dissatisfaction about their quota of representation. I feel sure that his Majesty's Government will give due consideration to the views of such rulers.

'As regards the reorganisation of the Chamber which is engaging our attention we realize "in unity lies strength". Every effort will be made to reorganize the Chamber in such a way as to secure the effective cooperation of all States. We can assure your Excellency that no effort will be spared to evolve a scheme acceptable to a very large majority of States, including those who have associated themselves from the work of the Chamber. We are most anxious that this Chamber, founded by a proclamation of His Majesty should fulfil satisfactorily the objects for which it was called into being. The objects will be satisfactorily fulfilled only by making it representative of all States.'

#### VICEROY'S REPLY

The *Viceroy* sincerely thanked his Highness the Maharaja of Patiala for his charming remarks as regards the conduct of affairs from the chair. His Excellency was struck by the expeditious disposal of business which could be an example to other bodies not only in India but in other countries.

The Viceroy promised to convey to their Majesties the Chamber's felicitations over the Duke of Kent's marriage. The Viceroy said: 'It is a very great satisfaction, indeed, to receive assertions on the part of your Highness, and I hope and trust of princes throughout India, with regard to these unfounded allegations about myself and my officers as to coercion, cajoling and intimidation. I sincerely trust that now the references made by you, princes, will put an end to such allegations on the part of such people and that we shall hear no more of this unsavoury matter.'

Concluding, the Viceroy reminded the princes' order that the coming few months were most critical and hoped that their Highnesses would be guided in all their actions in the highest interests of their own States, their country and the Empire.

The session then adjourned *sine die*.

# The Princes and Federation

## Secretary of State's Reply to Princes' Memorandum

The text of the White Paper presented by the Secretary of State to Parliament was released for publication in India on the **18th. March 1935**. It includes the following documents : (1) An introductory note by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. (2) Sir Akbar Hydari's letter to Sir Bertrand Glancy of Feb. 21 containing the report of the committee of ministers, (3) the resolution passed by the Princes on Feb. 26. (4) the letter from their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner dated Feb 27, (5) a note enclosed with (4), (6) the telegraphic despatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India dated March 14, (7) the memorandum attached to no (6), (8) the provincial draft of Instrument of Accession.

The text of the Instrument of Accession runs as follows :—

Whereas proposals for the establishment of Indian federation comprising of such Indian States as may accede thereto and provinces of British India constituted as autonomous provinces have been discussed between the representatives of his Majesty's Government of Parliament of the United Kingdom of British India and of the Princes and rulers of Indian States, and whereas a constitution for federation has been approved by Parliament and embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 but it is by that Act provided that the federation shall not be established until such date as his Majesty may by proclamation declare; and whereas the Act cannot apply to any of the territories of A B save with his consent and concurrence; and whereas A B in the exercise of sovereignty in and over X in him vested is desirous of acceding to the said federation; (1) now therefore A B hereby declares that subject to his Majesty's assent he accedes to federation and subject always to the terms of this Instrument declares his acceptance of the provisions of the said Act as applicable to his State and to his subjects with the intent that his Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court and any other federal authority established for the purposes of federation may exercise in relation to his State and to his subjects such functions as may be vested in them by or under the said Act in so far as the exercise therefore is not inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Instrument.

(2) And A B here by declares that he accepts the matters specified in the first schedule of this Instrument as matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature shall have power to make laws in relation to his State and to his subjects but subject in each case to the conditions and limitations, if any, set out in the said schedule.

(3) And A B hereby declares that he assumes the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provision of the said Act within the territories of his State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this Instrument.

(4) And A B hereby declares that the privileges and immunities as defined in part VII of the said Act which are enjoyed by his State are those specified in the third schedule to this Instrument, that the annual values thereof so far as they are not fluctuating or uncertain are those specified in the said schedule and that he agrees that the values to be attributed to such of them as are fluctuating or uncertain in value shall be determined from time to time in accordance with the provisions of that schedule.

(5) And A B agrees that this Instrument shall be binding on him as from the date on which his Majesty signifies his acceptance thereof provided that if the said Federation is not established before the.....day.....193—this Instrument shall on that day become null and void for all purposes whatsoever.

(7) And A B hereby declares that save as otherwise expressly provided in this Instrument he reserves sovereignty in and over.....in him vested.

(8) And A B hereby declares that he makes these declarations for himself, his heirs and successors and that accordingly any reference in this Instrument to A B is to be construed as including a reference to his heirs and successors.

### SCHEDULES

*Note.*—The following article is intended for inclusion in the Instrument only in the case of states in respect of which provision is made in the Instrument for agreement as contemplated in clause 124 of the Bill :—

And whereas A B is desirous that functions<sup>7</sup> in relation to administration in his State of the laws of the Federal Legislature applying therein shall be exercised by himself and by his officers and terms of agreement in that behalf have been mutually agreed between A B and the Governor-General and are set out in the second schedule to this Instrument, now therefore, A B hereby declares that he accedes to the Federation on the assurance that the said agreement when executed shall be deemed to form part of the Instrument and shall be construed therewith.

The last and most interesting part of the White Paper is the despatch by the Secretary of State dated March 14 and the memorandum attached thereto. In this despatch the Secretary of State makes clear that though his Majesty's Government recognize the advantage of further clarifying the practice governing the exercise of paramountcy such issues cannot be determined by the consideration whether the States do or do not federate; still less can a settlement of any outstanding claims of individual States referred to in the letter of their Highnesses be based on any such consideration? The Secretary of State welcomes the legal advisers of their Highnesses and is confident that the difficulties regarding the form of the Bill can be satisfactorily adjusted. The Secretary of State's memorandum answering the position taken in their Highness' note states *inter alia*: 'A Federation is a union of a number of political communities for certain common purposes and every such union necessarily involves that the sum of powers of each Federating community shall with its assent thereafter be exercised by the central authority or authorities on behalf of all. It is this organic connection between the federal units themselves and between each of them and the centre authority which distinguishes a Federation from a mere alliance or confederacy. His Majesty's Government have never contemplated the Federation of India only as an association in which British India on the one hand and the Indian States on the other would do no more than act in concert on matters of common concern. From an early stage, discussions have centred on the creation of an organic union between the two with the federal Government and legislature exercising on behalf of both the powers vested in them for that purpose.

*The following note by the Secretary of State for India gives his reading of the entire situation regarding the Princes and Federation as disclosed by various papers.*

"In the course of the debate on Feb. 26., I undertook that as soon as I received in detail criticisms of Indian States on the Government of India Bill I would in some appropriate way put Parliament in possession of them. On March 5, I received from the Viceroy the text of the letter addressed to him by their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner commenting on the Bill. I have since ascertained through the Viceroy that these princes have no objection to its publication as it forms no. (4) of the series now presented in this White Paper. The replies of the princes to Viceroy's enquiry about the publication of this letter confirms—what is stated in the letter itself—that it is in no sense a withdrawal from their adherence to the policy of all-India Federation. It was sent to the Viceroy as a basis of future negotiations and discussions with a view to facilitating the entry of Indian states into the Federation and to explain to his Majesty's Government difficulties which the princes felt so far as they had been able to examine the federal scheme as set out in the Bill. Their note was prepared in the shortest possible time and they are anxious that any impression based merely on the manner in which their case is presented should not lead to a misunderstanding of their attitude.

My despatch to the Viceroy and the memorandum which accompanies it will assist to present the matter in its true perspective. The range of apparent differences in regard to the Bill is in the first place narrowed by the fact that certain matters which have been brought into discussion are quite outside the scope of the Bill. There are certain matters of which exercise of paramountcy of the Crown is an example which are undoubtedly of importance to the States but they have for some years been a subject of discussion between his Majesty's Government and the Princes and are independent of the form of the Bill from which they are a distant issue.

Secondly these papers will, I hope, dispel suspicion that his Majesty's Government has departed from any agreements arrived at or from assurances given. In more than one passage of documents representing the views of the princes there appears a suggestion that in various particulars the Bill is based upon new decisions by his Majesty's Government. But except in regard to two points of secondary importance which are referred to in my memorandum provisions of the Bill embody recommendations of

the Joint Select Committee's report which in so far as the princes are concerned followed substantially the scheme of the White Paper which itself was based on conclusions of the Round Table Conference. There has been no departure from the principle then agreed upon.

Thirdly, the range of difference is further narrowed by the fact that his Majesty's Government has, on examination of the prince's note been able to suggest modifications in presentation of certain details of the Bill which, if accepted by Parliament, should go far without any sacrifice of essential principles of the Joint Select Committee's report to meet the difficulties which the princes have felt in respect to them.

There remains the problem of the precise manner in which the States are to accede to the federation—a problem which arises mainly in connection with clause (6) of the Bill and form of Instrument of Accession. This is in itself a difficult problem if only on account of its novelty and of its far-reaching consequences. But the analysis of the problem in that part of memorandum which deals with clause (6) will show that the point of view of the princes and of the Bill are not as may have been assumed inconsistent. The problem, indeed, is less one of opposing political outlook than of drafting technique. The desiderata of his Majesty's Government and of the princes are not irreconcilable though the problem remains of bringing them together in terms of a statutory document. I am confident, however, that the discussions between legal representatives of States and parliamentary draftsmen to which princes have now agreed will commend themselves alike to States and to Parliament. A careful consideration of documents now available has confirmed the view which I have already expressed that there is no reason for Parliament to delay further the consideration of the Bill pending conclusions on points with which I have dealt in the memorandum.

I shall as opportunity arises in discussion of any subsequent clause which may be affected either propose amendments, or explain to the House the direction in which his Majesty's Government intend to suggest modifications. If it should subsequently appear necessary to put before the House changes in some of the earlier clauses approved by it, the most appropriate method of doing so will have to be considered. But I would emphasise here that our task at the moment is to frame a constitution for India in such a form as may in the judgment of Parliament seem best suited to her needs. In doing so it is our duty to see that while preserving the substance of what in our opinion is essential to constitution the forms of the act shall offer no unnecessary difficulties to States when time comes for them to take their decision regarding the accession.

#### Secretary of State's Despatch

*The following is the telegraphic despatch from his Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the Government of India dated March 14, 1935 :—*

'I have received from your Excellency's Government :

(1) On March 1, 1935 a copy of the letter from Sir Akbar Hydari to Sir Bertrand Glancy dated Feb. 21, communicating the result of the deliberations of the committee of States' ministers on the Government of India Bill (telegraphic summary of which was received by me on Feb. 22, 1935).

(2) On Feb. 26, the resolution passed by the meeting of States' rulers and representatives held at Bombay to consider the report of their ministers committee in which they state their views that in many respects the Bill and the Instrument of Accession depart from agreements arrived at during the meetings of representatives of States with members of his Majesty's Government and that they regret to note that the Bill and Instrument of Accession do not secure those vital interests and fundamental requisites of States on which they have throughout laid great emphasis. They add that 'in their present form and without satisfactory modification and alteration on fundamental points the Bill and the Instrument of Accession cannot be regarded as acceptable to Indian States.'

(3) On March 5, a letter dated Feb. 27 from their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner with an accompanying note in which they had asked your Excellency's Government and his Majesty's Government to consider as a true reproduction of the gist of opinions held by the princes' meeting at Bombay. There have appeared in the press accounts of speeches made at that meeting and I understand that now they have been transmitted to your Excellency. I assume, however, that the above-mentioned documents are those which the rulers

desire your Excellency's Government, his Majesty's Government and the Parliament to take into account. I welcome the assurances contained in their Highnesses' letter of Feb. 27 regarding their motive in addressing you and their declaration that there is no intention on their part to resile from the position which they had previously taken. The substance of the proposals regarding federation has been before the States since the publication of the White Paper in March, 1933 and many of the details were examined in the course of the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee which had the assistance of delegates representing the States. The recommendations of the committee made no material change in the proposals so far as they concern the States and the Bill was drafted with the intention of giving effect as closely as practicable to the recommendations of the committee. In only two points of secondary importance (to which reference is made in the attached memorandum clauses 147 and 279) is there any departure from the scheme as presented in their report. His Majesty's Government regrets that exigencies of Parliamentary business did not permit of any considerable delay between the publication of the Bill and its consideration by the Parliament and this has no doubt curtailed the opportunity which the period of delay might have afforded for discussion with the rulers or their representatives on points which arose in the course of their examination of the Bill.

I can readily understand that the latter circumstance accounts for some of the difficulties which have occurred in apprehending the full purport and intention of the form of drafting adopted in some of the clauses of the Bill. Yet since their Highnesses have expressed the view that the Bill differs in important respects from the scheme hitherto discussed and that the method adopted for establishment of federation is such as to constitute an approachment on the rights of States outside federal sphere, I must state in the plainest terms that there was no such intention in the minds of his Majesty's Government. In order that any misunderstanding on this point may be removed at the earliest opportunity I enclose a memorandum examining in detail the specific points raised in relation to the Bill and the Instrument of Accession. I hope your Excellency's Government will take steps with the least possible delay to place this despatch and the enclosed memorandum in possession of the States.

It is, however, advisable that I should add here a further observation. At the moment the only matter in issue is the terms of the Bill constituting the scheme of federation. His Majesty's Government are prepared to give careful consideration to any views expressed by the ruler regarding the form of the Bill and to recommend to Parliament any modifications which will be consistent with the preservation of its essential provisions meeting any legitimate difficulties which may have arisen from its consideration. But it is not the intention of his Majesty's Government at this stage to seek from them an undertaking to enter the federation or to discuss new matters which have no bearing on the form of the Bill.

There is, however, one which occupies so prominent a position in the note of Feb. 27 that I must deal with it here. In that note their Highnesses put forward a request that various claims advanced from time to time by princes in relation to the exercise of paramountcy should be settled as a condition precedent to the accession of the States to the federation. A greater part of the field of paramountcy is untouched by the Bill.

The Bill contemplates that certain matters which had previously been determined between the States and the paramount power will in future be regulated to the extent that the States accede to the federation by legislative and executive authority of federation. But in other respects and in all respects as regards non-federating States the paramountcy will be essentially unaffected by the Bill. I desire at once to make it plain that though his Majesty's Government recognised the advantage of further clarifying the practice of governing the exercise of paramountcy such issues cannot be determined by the consideration whether States do or do not federate, still less can settlement of any outstanding claims of individual States referred to in paragraph (26) of the note accompanying their Highnesses' letter of Feb. 27 be based on any such consideration.

In para 15 of the same note and at item (3) of the last list attached to it their Highnesses have called attention to the manner in which individual rulers have entered into in relation with the Crown and the matter is also alluded to in para (9) of the note. I cannot believe that their Highnesses in expressing their views on this matter had any intention of questioning the nature of their relationship to the King-Emperor. This is a matter which admits of no dispute.



The accompanying memorandum while designed to remove any such misunderstanding as that to which I have referred in para (2) of the despatch contains also a note in each clause to which reference has been made in their Highnesses' letter of Feb. 27 and in the report of the committee of the ministers. It will, I hope, suffice to meet many of the difficulties to which they have given expression and materially to borrow the field of differences I am glad their Highnesses have now arranged that their lawyers should meet Parliamentary draftsmen in order to explore those points which arise from the form of drafting adopted. This will further facilitate discussions and the disposal of any point which may remain at issue and I associate myself with the expression of their Highnesses' confidence that difficulties which they have felt in regard to the form of the Bill can be satisfactorily adjusted. I am arranging to present these documents to Parliament and shall be glad if you will arrange for their publication in India.

#### Princes' Letter to Viceroy

*The following is the text of the letter to the Viceroy from the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner.—*

The Chancellor has already communicated to your Excellency the resolution unanimously passed by the meeting of the princes and representatives of States held at Bombay at his invitation and we now take the earliest opportunity of sending you the criticism of certain fundamental proposals of the Government of India Bill and draft Instrument of Accession. While forwarding these views we should like at the very outset to point out that it is only now after the publication of the Bill that we have been able during the brief time at our disposal to examine the scheme.

We considered the provisions of the Bill and the Instrument of Accessions and feel that the various resolutions of the Chamber of Princes and informal meeting of the Princes held from time to time have not so far received that attention of his Majesty's Government which they deserved. We should strongly urge that to achieve satisfactory results this representation and others that may follow from us and from the ministers' committee may be given due weight and full consideration. We would, therefore, request your Excellency to be so kind as to forward to his Majesty's Government in full the suggestion contained in this joint letter which should form the basis of further negotiations in this connection. We should like to emphasise that the points contained in this letter are true reproduction of the gist of opinion held by the princes' meeting at Bombay and they should be treated as such by the Government of India and his Majesty's Government. We feel that unless and until we secure full agreement of his Majesty's Government to points herein raised it will be difficult for a very large number of princes at any rate to accept the federal scheme. Most of the points mentioned in our letter are of a fundamental character and the success of our further negotiations between his Majesty's Government and the princes in relation to the scheme of federation will, we believe, entirely depend upon the extent to which his Majesty's Government will be prepared to accept the proposals of States contained herein. The ministers' committee has been asked to continue further the examination of the Bill and subject to confirmation by the princes to keep the Government of India and his Majesty's Government fully informed of their criticism and their findings so as to eliminate all chances of unnecessary delay in placing our observations and criticisms before his Majesty's Government. The princes earnestly hope that they will not be rushed into taking decisions because the problems now before them in final form are of vital importance and it is not possible to over-emphasise extremely the momentous nature of decisions of States in respect of such matter. We confidently rely on your Excellency's full support in this matter and will be prepared, should your Excellency so desire, to meet your Excellency at Delhi or elsewhere for the purpose of further explaining in person to you difficulties which have arisen and which have made it impossible for the Hydari committee and the princes and their ministers present in Bombay to advise States in general to accept the federal scheme in its present form.

We should like to make it clear beyond doubt that there has never been any intention on our part to resile from the position we had all along taken. It has throughout been our contention and we have never departed from the position that acceptance of the federal scheme by us will depend entirely upon the inclusion in the scheme of reforms of certain fundamental conditions and essential safeguards which we consider necessary for unimpaired continuation of our sovereignty and autonomy within our States. The schemes before us has failed in many instances to satisfy us in that respect and we have wasted no time in informing his Majesty's Government

through your Excellency of the view we take of the situation. We are confident that our action will not lead to any misunderstanding. It is, in our opinion, still not beyond the sphere of statesmanship to adjust our differences in such a manner as would lead to satisfactory and desired results. We record in a separate note attached herewith as briefly as possible our criticism in so far as it had been possible for us to examine the proposals of his Majesty's Government regarding the federal scheme as placed before us in the form of the government of India Bill and draft Instruments of Accession.

The note attached to the princes' letter to the Viceroy deals at length with various matters especially clause (6) of the Bill.

The following is the list of points in relation to which the constitution bill has, in the opinion of the princes, gone back compared to the White Paper or the report of J. P. C.

1. *Sec. (6) Instruments of Accession* :—The Committee under Lord Halifax had intended this document as an agreement. An agreement is bilateral in form and creates reciprocal rights and obligations. It is now to be only a declaration by the princes that they accept the Act as applicable to their States and their subjects.

2. The transfer of powers from the Indian rulers was intended to be for federation purposes only. This limited character of the transfer is not brought out in the draft of the Instrument of Accession.

3. Description of the rulers with whom former treaties of alliance and perpetual friendship had been entered into as only under the suzerainty of his Majesty the King.

4. *In the matter of Administration*. The princes are asked by clause 121—to execute agreements that they would efficiently administer a subject matter with regard to which they had agreed that the federal legislature could make laws instead of letters of request being sent through the representative of the King. The Governor-General was to be authorized in his discretion under clause 127 to issue directions that they should make the standard of their state administration even in regard to non-federal departments adequate for the purpose.

5. The sanctity of existing treaties is explicitly safeguarded even in the proposed instrument of Accession.

6. The eligibility of Indian States subjects for appointments to posts under the Crown recommended in paragraph 367 of the Joint Select Committee's report is not reproduced in the Bill.

7. *Finance*.—The maximum limit of the refund of income tax to British India by the princes which was fixed at 50 per cent by the Joint Select Committee is abandoned in the Bill.

8. The Joint Select Committee had removed the fixing of a time limit within which the portion of the income tax revenues refundable to the provinces had to be returned to the provinces. There is no provision in the Bill for extending the time limit.

9. *Financial Emergency as proposed to be defined by the States' delegation when alone*.—A surcharge on the income tax on the capital or income of the companies was permissible which was considered not unreasonable by the Joint Select Committee is not reproduced in the Bill.

10. Against any future refund of excise duty or surplus taxes to the States there had never been any proposal to set off the immunities or privileges as now proposed by clause 147.

11. *The Federal Railway*.—The authority managing the federal railways would also be the controlling authority over the Indian States railway boards. This had never been intended. The federal railway authority was only to be a co-ordinate body and cannot control the working of competitive system of railway in Indian States.

12. The railway tribunal was intended to be an impartial Board of arbitration for both the parties in the Bill. It has become a court for the States' railways to pray for relief like plaintiffs with the invariable onus of proof on their shoulders.

The following is the subsidiary list of amendments suggested to the constitution bill by the princes :—

1. *Clause 26 (4) (b)*. It would look more proper and cause greater satisfaction and goodwill if the same disability is applied to lent officers under the States. The officers whose services have been lent to States still hold positions of profit under the Crown in respect of their pensions. The state representatives should not have the appearance of an official block.

2. *Clauses 119 and 279.* The benefit of these clauses should be extended to the subjects of Indian States

3. *Clause 132.* There is no valid reason to deprive the party dissatisfied with the opinion of the tribunal of his right to appeal to the Privy Council. He may not have elected to entrust his case to the *ad hoc* judicial tribunal.

4. *Clause 151 :—*Reciprocity demands that the States properly like Government securities should be exempted from income tax and other forms of taxation

5. *Clause 169 .—*Retrosession of jurisdiction over railway lands should precede accession to federation and prevent the descent by way of succession of such jurisdiction from the Governor-General in Council to the Federal Government.

6. *Schedule 1, part II :* There ought to be no power to change the proposed allocation of seats without some well defined cause like the increase in population or increase in salutes of guns.

#### Note attached to Princes' Letter

**The following is the extract from the princes' note accompanying their letter to the Viceroy :—**

The special conference of the princes and ministers held at Bombay during this week have unanimously recorded their definite opinion that in their present form and without satisfactory modifications and alterations with regard to the fundamental points, the provision of the constitution bill and the Instrument of Accession cannot be acceptable to Indian States. It is necessary once again to convey to his Majesty's Government those modifications and alterations which would obviously include also additions and supplying of omissions and which the princes have been regarding from the very outset to be vital and fundamental.

In this connection it has been all along understood and had been so agreed at the meeting of the committee appointed under the presidency of Lord Halifax at the third Round Table Conference that the federation would derive its powers in part from the powers which the 'rulers of the States would agree for the purpose of the federation only to transfer to this Majesty the King for exercise by the Federal Government and legislature and other federal organs. In order to effect the transfer of these powers an agreement would require to be made by each State individually with the Crown which might be termed an Instrument of Accession.

These instruments which are further described in the proceedings of the conference to be treaties were intended to be mutual agreements necessarily bilateral in effect since they were meant to provide also for their acceptance by the Crown upon the terms and subject to the conditions expressed therein. These treaties of accession as we want them to be designated were meant to be governed by the ordinary principles of contract and were to be construed in accordance with the generally recognised rules of constitutional law. The princes have never agreed to accept any act of the British Parliament as binding on them and do prince will as contemplated by clause 6 (a) of the proposed bill declare that he accepts this act as applicable to his State and to his subjects. It was only to avoid a verbatim reproduction in the treaties of accessions themselves of the wording of each clause of the act which related directly or indirectly to the States that any reference to the act was thought permissible in the treaty of accession.

The procedure regarding the treaty of accession that comended itself to Lord Halifax's committee was to execute an agreement whereby the states would convey to the Crown a transfer of the necessary powers and jurisdiction in accordance with the specific provisions of the act. This procedure would enable respectively the Governor-General of the federation and the other federal organs established for the purpose of carrying out of the constitution to exercise in relation to the States and the subjects of their rules but only in accordance with the constitution the powers which the rulers had agreed to transfer.

It is obvious that this conformity to the constitution was suggested in order to avoid the reproduction of the wording of each clause in the Act relating to the States in the document, only a labour saving device. The princes have all along looked upon these treaties of accession as the really operative instruments binding them to the federal constitution and not the constitution act which as an Act of Parliament they cannot be expected to accept as binding on them or as applicable to their States and their subjects. With regard to the Indian States the structure of the bill has to be in conformity with the provisions of their treaties of accession, not

that their treaties of accession should be in keeping with the provisions of the constitution act.

We are also of the opinion that it is imperatively necessary to provide specifically in the constitution act that no provision of the Act shall be deemed to override any provision of the treaty of accession and that in case of conflict the treaty of accession shall prevail.

Lord Halifax's committee considered it desirable that the draft of this treaty of accession should be discussed between the Viceroy and the representatives of States. It was suggested that 'opportunity might be found to enable the princes' views on the draft constitution to be made known to Parliament while legislation was in progress' and possibly again at a latter stage (i. e. during the report stage) if important amendments were introduced in the scheme after its discussion in the joint committee where the States would be represented and the introduction of a bill in Parliament. The princes seek this opportunity to press their views on the essential and fundamental points they have urged from the outset. Now the bill has been already introduced in Parliament and they apprehended that in its present form it has altered and omitted several important points from the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee. As observed by our ministers, the bill departs in several important respects from the agreed position arrived at during the meetings of the States' representatives with his Majesty's Government and with the members of the Joint Select Committee. The bill has also embodied certain new features which raise issues of a grave and momentous character that have not hitherto been discussed with the princes or their representatives. A separate note is appended dealing with the matters which had been mutually and finally settled in regard to which the agreement arrived at has not been incorporated in the bill.

These treaties of accession were intended to be bilateral in character creating rights and imposing reciprocal obligations both on the rulers of Indian States and on the Crown. They also expected that the Crown would accept the liability to preserve and safeguard the whole of their sovereignty and not specifically delegated from any encroachment in future. The procedure now embodied in the Government of India Bill is only for a declaration by the Indian ruler that he accepts this act as applicable to his State. His Majesty has only to signify his assent to this declaration which does not commit him to any further obligation to safeguard the remaining power and jurisdiction of the ruler within his State and over his subjects. This position is far from what has been understood by the princes all throughout.

Moreover the treaty of accession was to provide for the transfer of certain powers and jurisdiction of the Indian States 'for the purpose of the federation only.' In order that these powers so delegated may be exercised by the new federal Government and its several organs a situation as contemplated by clause (45) of the bill had never been discussed with us and conceded. If there was a breakdown of the constitution it was never contemplated that the powers so transferred by the States were to be exercised by the Governor-General for an indefinite length of time. If the breakdown was not repaired and the machinery of Government was not restored to its normal structure within a certain definite time the powers transferred by the States must revert to the princes owing to the failure of federation, the sole object of the transfer. Furthermore it must be observed that these powers were being made over to the Crown as a trustee for their delegation to the federation to be jointly exercised by British India and the Indian States. It was thus understood that in the event of a breakdown of the federal constitution or an amendment without the consent of the States beyond such minor changes in respect of which previous consultation may not be necessary by agreement the trust would be determined and the powers transferred would revert to the States. It need hardly be added that when such a reversion has occurred the existing relations between the Crown and the States would be again revived. The princes, therefore, urge that this aspect of the delegation of power should be fully recognized with provisions of the constitution act.

#### Secretary of State's Reply to Princes

The following is the extract from the memorandum attached to the Secretary of State's despatch and this extract is in reply to the observations made by the princes' memorandum on clause (2) and (6) of the Bill.

Clause 2 (1). It is suggested at paragraph No. 10 of the note and in the minister's report that words by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise, should be omitted

from clause 2, page 1, lines 14 and 15. These words are descriptive and have in themselves no operative effect but while his Majesty's Government have no objection to their omission since the essential purport of the clause would not be altered, they must make it clear that they do not thereby accept the claim which appears to be implied in paragraph No. 10 of the note above referred to that the Crown's present relations with the States have a purely contractual basis.

(II) It is further suggested that on page 1 lines 18 and 19 the words 'or as may be otherwise directed by his Majesty' should be omitted. The omission of these words would have the result of depriving his Majesty of the right to delegate certain prerogative powers, e.g., the grant of honours or exercise of prerogative of pardon and for that reason the amendment could not be accepted in the form suggested. It is understood, however, that the object of the suggestion is to avoid theoretical possibility that his Majesty might delegate a part of the powers of the Crown in relation to what is usually known as paramountcy field to some authority other than his Majesty's representative for whose appointment provision is made in clause 3, sub-clause (3) of the bill. It is not intended that special powers in relation to the state should, if not exercised by his Majesty, be delegated to any other authority than the Viceroy as the Crown's representative and an amendment to make this plain will be considered.

Clause 6 (1). In the report of the ministers it is claimed that accession should be by acceptance of specified provisions of the act and not by acceptance of the act as a whole with such limitations and conditions as may be made in the Instrument of Accession. This position is further enlarged in paragraphs 2, 4, and 14 of the note to their Highness' letter where it is claimed that Instruments of Accession (which should in their view be described as treaties of accession) are only operative instruments, that the act should be in conformity with the treaties of accession and not that the treaties should be in conformity with the act which would in case of conflict be overridden by them and further that the treaties should be regarded as bilateral in character creating reciprocal obligation on the part of the Crown to safeguard the remaining power and jurisdiction of the ruler within his State and over his subjects'.

(II) It is necessary, therefore, to state the grounds on which clause (6) has been given its present form for these will in the opinion of his Majesty's Government afford a sufficient answer to the claims in the preceding summary of the position taken up by their Highnesses' note. A federation is a union of a number of political communities for certain common purposes and every such union necessarily involves that the sum of the powers of each federating community shall with its assent, thereafter, be exercised by a central authority or authorities on behalf of all. It is this organic connection between each of them and the central authority which distinguishes a federation from a mere alliance or confederacy. His Majesty's Government have never contemplated a federation of India only as an association in which British India on the one hand and Indian States on the other would be no more than act in concert on matters of common concern. From an early stage discussions have centred on the creation of an organic union between the two with a federal Government and a legislature exercising on behalf of both the powers vested in them for that purpose.

(III). In ordinary circumstances where communities desire to federate they determine by mutual negotiation the form of federal constitution which they desire to establish and if they are independent States they themselves bring federation into existence as soon as an agreement is reached. If they have been autonomous communities subject to British Crown they have sought the sanction of an act of Parliament which alone could make the federal constitution a legal reality throughout the whole area of the new federation. The circumstances of India demand a different procedure. Some of the communities proposed to be included in the new federation are not yet autonomous and cannot federate unless enabled to do so by an act of Parliament. Others are neither in British territory nor subject to the authority of Parliament nor could the provinces of British India and Indian States meet together and agree upon a federal constitution. The provinces had not the legal power to do so and the variety and number of Indian States would, apart from other considerations for practical reasons, have precluded it.

(IV). It appears to his Majesty's Government that a federation of India can be brought into existence in one way only. They have ascertained as far as they were able the opinion both of British India and of the Indian States and have formed with the guidance of the Joint Select Committee their own judgment on problems involved and they have now themselves framed a constitution and have embodied it in a bill which they have invited Parliament to pass into law. The Government of India Bill, if it becomes an act, will be binding upon British India because British India is subject

to the authority of Parliament. The act would not as such be binding upon Indian States and it is incorrect to suggest as their Highnesses' note seems to imply that there is anything in clause (6) of the Bill or in draft of the Instrument of Accession which affords ground for an allegation to the contrary so far.

As regards the States the Bill when it has become law will provide a machinery whereby the Indian States may severally accept that constitution and thus become a part of the federation not because the act is an act of Parliament but because it embodies a constitution to which they have of their own volition acceded.

(V). The Instrument of Accession is intended to be the formal expression by a ruler of his desire to enter the federation which when accepted by his Majesty will make the state a constituent member of federation as soon as the latter comes into being. By thus acceding a ruler necessarily accepts as binding upon him the constitution as a whole. The constitution must be in the form of an act of Parliament because in no other way could it be binding upon British India but it will owe its authority in a federated state to the Instrument of Accession of the ruler. That the constitutional struggle must be accepted as a whole seems obvious.

In their Highnesses' note it is contended that not only ought each ruler to be able to specify those sections of the act which he is willing to accept but also that the federal constitution as regards each state is to be looked for exclusively in the Instrument of Accession of that state. It is not clear from the report of the minister's committee whether even the acceptance of the section specified is not to be made subject to qualifications and conditions. Such a conception of federation would imply the possibility not only of different constitutions for states and for British India but even of a variety of constitutions among states themselves.

(VI) Nevertheless though his Majesty's Government are of opinion that the constitution itself must be accepted as a whole it has always been common ground that circumstances of different states might properly justify some variation in powers exercised in relation to those states by particular federal organs. Accordingly clause (6) of the Bill enables a ruler in his Instrument of Accession to exclude the power of the federal legislature to make laws for his state in respect of some of the items in federal legislative list and to attach conditions and limitations to his acceptance of others and since by clause (8) the executive authority of federation is co-related to legislative power it follows (and indeed it is expressly so provided) that a ruler can to the same extent exclude the exercise of executive authority in his state or qualify it by corresponding conditions or limitations; but his Majesty's Government recognize that in a few instances the bill does confer an executive authority on federation which is not related to an item in federal legislative list and it is undoubtedly the case that as the bill stands at present a ruler could not by his Instrument of Accession exclude or qualify executive authority of the federation in respect of those matters. It may be that this has excited apprehensions of their Highnesses and his Majesty's Government are prepared to examine afresh any particular clauses to which in this connection the states may desire to draw attention to some of those clauses, as for instance clauses 129 and 132 are referred to later in this memorandum and suggestions are made with regard to them.

(VII) His Majesty's Government are of opinion that clause (6) if analysed and correctly interpreted does not disclose any difference which can be justly described as fundamental or vital from their point of view. It is essential that there should be a single constitution and not a multiplicity of constitutions. They realise that states on the other hand desire to secure that the method of their entry into federation should be so expressed as not to subject them to any risk of finding their powers and jurisdictions diminished beyond points which they contemplated when they executed their Instrument of Accession. His Majesty's Government are confident that it is not impossible to reconcile these two points of view and they believe that suggestions in this memorandum with regard to other clauses, for example clauses 45, 127 and 129-132, will facilitate an adjustment of view on clause (6).

(VIII) Their Highnesses further lay stress on what they describe as the bilateral nature of the Instruments of Accession. These instruments are bilaterals in so far as they have no binding force until his Majesty has signified his acceptance of them but his Majesty's Government cannot on that ground accept the view that they are to be described as treaties. Such rights and obligations as flow from execution and acceptance of an Instrument of Accession are to be found in terms of the act subject only to those conditions and limitations set out in the Instrument for which the act makes provisions. The Crown assumes no obligations by virtue of its acceptance of Instrument of Accession other than those which are defined in the act. It is no doubt true

that when a ruler by his Instrument of Accession recognises certain specified matters as federal, the Crown by accepting the accession implicitly assents to a modification in respect of those matters of its former relations with States and renounces in favour of federation any rights, authority or jurisdiction which it may hitherto have exercised in connection with them. It was in this sense that his Majesty's Government understood the terms used at the meeting presided over by Lord Halifax during the third Round Table Conference to which their Highnesses refer but subject to this all Crown's rights and obligations in relation to States remain unaffected.

His Majesty's Government have assumed that this was not open to argument but in any event they are clear that the matter is not one which could properly be dealt with in a document of which the purpose is to regulate the relations of acceding States with federation.

His Majesty's Government understand that the States feel apprehensive as regards the effect of their acceptance of legislative and executive authority of the federation in certain matters upon their relations with the Crown in other matters and these apprehensions have no doubt also influenced their Highnesses in the claim made in paragraph 9 of their note that the bill should reproduce in some form the provisions of section 132 of the existing Government of India Act, 1858 where it was obviously required by reason of transfer which that Act effected of all rights and obligations of the East India Company to the Crown and it was only re-enacted in the Government of India Act of 1915 because that act consolidated the existing statutes relating to India and not because it was thought necessary to reaffirm the obligations which the crown had already assumed. The Crown's engagements towards Indian rulers need no reaffirmation by Parliament but his Majesty's Government are prepared if the rulers so desire to consider the insertion in this bill of a provision to the effect that nothing in the act will affect the engagements of the Crown outside the federal sphere if in addition some states desire a reaffirmation of those engagements towards them in so far as they relate to matters outside the federal sphere. This would as on other occasions more appropriately take some extra statutory form and his Majesty's Government will consider how best a satisfactory assurance can be given to those so desiring it. Such an assurance would perhaps most conveniently be given at the time when the execution of the Instrument of Accession are accepted by his Majesty.

## SECRETARY OF STATE'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT

In the House of Commons, on the 26th February 1935, Mr. Churchill moved adjournment in order to call attention to the resolution on the Government's India Bill passed at a meeting of the Princes at Bombay on the 25th. February which, Mr. Churchill contended, constituted a definite rejection of Federation.

*Sir Samuel Hoare*, replying, welcomed the opportunity of removing misunderstandings. He said that he believed there were only points of detail between the Princes and the Government.

Having remarked that he must not be tempted into the wider fields explored by Mr. Churchill, *Sir Samuel Hoare* said: 'I welcome the opportunity of removing a number of misunderstandings which are evidently also in the mind of Mr. Churchill, misunderstandings possibly connected with the speech I made during the Committee stage last week, and misunderstandings that seem to be in the minds of many Princes and their ministers'. I suppose that it is natural that in questions of this kind these misunderstandings should arise. We are attempting to deal with one of the most complex questions that has ever faced any assembly and we are attempting to deal with that with the principals 6,000 miles apart. Whilst, therefore, I regret the fact that misunderstandings do and must arise, I cannot say that I am surprised.'

*Sir Samuel* said: 'Mr. Churchill has quoted some passages in the resolution passed yesterday by certain of Indian Princes. I think that in order that the House have before them the whole position, I had better to read the whole resolution.' *Sir Samuel Hoare* then read the resolution and continued: 'When I read that resolution last night, it came as a great surprise. Only three or four days ago upon the committee stage of the Bill when it was proposed that clauses 6 and 7 should be postponed I said what at the time was the case that I was under the impression that there were only points of detail at issue between the States and ourselves, and that there was no reason why these two clauses should be postponed. I believe I shall show that that

was not the only correct statement of the position a week ago, but that despite the resolution just read it is equally the correct position to-day.

"There is one statement in the resolution to which at the outset I should like to draw attention, the statement in which it is alleged that the Government has gone back upon the agreement made between ourselves and the representatives of the Princes. Let me say at once to the House and if my voice travels as far let me say to my friends among the Indian Princes that I cannot accept the justice of that charge.

'As far as I know we have carried out in every respect the agreements made between us and the representatives of the Princes. If by mischance, we have failed in the drafting of the Bill to carry out those undertakings, I will see that they are carried out. I can only explain a statement of that kind on the ground that it may be difficult to follow the exact scope of drafting a complicated Bill of this kind, but I do hear and now say that in my view and in the view of the Government in every respect we have carried out the agreements, we have said we would carry out and if the draftsmanship of the Bill fails in any respect to show that that is the case, I will see that the drafting of the clauses is readjusted and beyond the shadow of a doubt that position will be made clear.'

Secondly, the Princes are, as far as I am aware, agreed with us to-day as they have always been agreed in the past that if there is to be a Federation, it must be an effective Federation. I have always made my own position clear, namely, that I would not support any proposals for a sham Federation. The Federation must be a real Federation, exercising effective federal powers over a sufficient field of Indian territory. That is the view we have always taken of the Federation, and as far as I know, in all our discussions that is the view that the Princes themselves have taken upon the All-India Federation. I cannot believe to-day that they have altered in any respect their view in that regard. If they have altered that view—and I do not believe they have—let them tell us so clearly and categorically. The sooner the House know the position (loud cheers) and the sooner everybody in India knows the position the better for all the parties concerned, I can, however, say that despite this resolution I have no reason to suppose that the Princes have altered their conception of what an All-India Federation should be. Assuming that both the Princes and ourselves are still bent upon setting up an effective all-India Federation, I say, after a very careful examination of the points that seem to be at issue, that there is no reason at all why this question should not be adjusted between the Princes and ourselves. I believe myself that many of them are already adjusted in the Bill and that the Princes do not yet realize in detail how far their legitimate desires have effectively been met and where, as I say, they have not been met. I have given an undertaking to meet them.

'Consequently, I say that there is no reason and I shall substantiate in this contention in my later remarks for the House to delay the discussion. Many of the points in which the Princes are chiefly interested, will come at the later stages of the Bill. We shall have ample opportunity of dealing with them when time arises for their discussion. If, however, in the near in future or in the less near future at any time it appears that there are irreconcilable differences between the Government and the Princes, I will at once inform the House of the fact, and I will give an undertaking that we will in that case reconsider the whole position. At present I am going to substantiate these points in the remarks now I am going to make, and I can say that there is no irreconcilable difference between us. I do not believe that when I have finished my examination of the points to which the Princes allude in their resolution, that the House will come to view that there are irreconcilable differences. It is quite clear from the terms of the official report of the meeting that the Princes' decision does not indicate any change of their attitude towards the Federation and it is in no sense a pronouncement against the general scheme of the Bill. The Princes have already made it clear from the start and nobody has ever questioned their claim that it is their right as sovereign rulers to decide how far they are prepared to bring their respective States under the authority of the Federation.

#### RULERS' INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION

"So far as I can see, a major part of the difficulties, they now feel, arises from doubts as to whether or not this position is made clear beyond doubt by the Bill. Both the States and the Government have, I am sure, the same broad object in view. Both desire that accession by a ruler to the Federation shall mean effective participa-



tion by his state in the federal organism. On the other hand, it has always been the States' intention which we, of course, on our side have always freely admitted, that the application of this Act to any Federated State shall be governed in effect by the rulers' Instrument of Accession, that is to say, it is for the ruler and the ruler alone to determine, subject, of course, to the acceptance of his accession by the Crown, the extent of the field over which the federal authorities are to operate in his State.

Clause 6 was designed to make this position clear. The amendments, standing in my name and which I hope to move in the course of our next discussions, are intended not to make any substantial change in the clause as drafted, but make its intention still clearer, and I am confident that a closer examination by the Princes of the clause, which, as I propose it, should be amended, will show them that it goes much further than they suppose, towards meeting their difficulties. The fact will become clear, when I actually move these amendments, I understand and draw particular attention to this point that the main difficulty, which the Princes feel about this clause, is the obligation which it imposes on them to accept the Act as a whole.

"They feel this difficulty despite the fact that this acceptance is immediately followed in paragraph (h) in the first sub-clause by a provision for freedom of choice on the part of a ruler as to the subjects, which he shall accept as federal, or in other words, as describing the field over which the Act shall operate in his State and further freedom to make conditions as to his acceptance of any of those subjects. The intention of the clause was that such conditions would be applicable not only to legislative powers as regards any particular matter of federal legislation in its relation to States but correspondingly to the executive authority of the Federal Government in relation to the same matter. My amendments to this clause are in part designed to make this interpretation perfectly clear.

"Later I shall move another amendment to clause 8 with the same object. I understand that the form, the States would like this clause to take, is a provision whereby they would accept such of the provisions to the Act as they may expressly specify in the Instruments of Accession. There are obvious difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the suggestion on these lines, but the result may well be in theory at all events that every ruler to accede to the Federation, would select different provisions of the Act as a basis of the constitution for his State, with the result that we might have a municipality of constitutions operating in different parts of India as a result of this Bill. I am quite sure that this is not the intention of the Princes. Their fear is—it is the natural fear—that the acceptance of all the provisions of the Act, even subject to the qualification to which I have referred, might have consequences in their States which on the present examination they cannot foresee, and which might lead to results in the way of diminution of their sovereignty, which neither they nor the Government have ever contemplated. I wish to remove the fear. On the one hand it is impossible to contemplate a position in which it will be open to every acceding state to select for itself the provisions of the Act to apply to that State. On the other hand, I am quite prepared to consider sympathetically and to bring before the House any representation which the Princes may think right to make with reference to any particular one of the latter clauses of the bill in which they anticipate disadvantages of the kind to which I have referred".

"Let me put what I have said, into a more concrete form. The Government's proposal is that they should accept the whole Act and that in the Instruments of Accession the Princes shall set out the subject for which the Act is accepted making it clear, firstly that the Act does not touch any other subject, and secondly that the Act does not detract from the Princes' sovereignty in any other respect. The Princes are nervous, because they are afraid that at sometime in the future the Federal Government might as an unexpected result to some other clause in the Act and perhaps as a result of the decision of the Federal Court, encroach upon the field that the Princes have not actually surrendered. The Princes, therefore, say: "Let us not accept the whole Act. Let us set out in the Instruments of Accession only those points in the Act to which we actually accede. I do not think that the Princes have fully considered the implications of the proposals of that kind. The effect will be first of all to throw open to negotiations the whole Bill instead of throwing open to negotiations between the Government and the Princes certain specific points in the Bill. That in itself would prolong almost indefinitely the period of those negotiations, but there is a greater danger inherent in a proposal of this kind. It is this. If it is accepted that Parliament would not know in the least what kind of Federation it is setting up. (Cheers). The question will be left in the air for subsequent negotiations in the whole field between the British Government and scores of Indians Princes. I am quite

sure that Parliament will never allow the Bill of this kind to pass to the Statute Book without knowing what kind of Federation will be set up nor will it pass an Act of this kind if the result is to be not one of constitution in India, but possibly scores of different constitutions. I do not believe that the Princes have realized these implications. They are nervous as I say and, perhaps rightly nervous lest after they have acceded over definite field, other issues encroaching upon their sovereignty might arise in the future. We are prepared to safeguard that position. I am prepared to give an undertaking that we will deal sympathetically with any clause in the Bill within the clauses dealing actually with the Federal List that may appeal to them to be dangerous in the future but we must deal with them as specific clauses. We cannot throw the whole field open without any limitation upon it at all.

I believe that when the Princes have more leisure to study the clause of the Bill and when we have had a further opportunity of discussing these difficulties with them, we will be able most effectively, whilst retaining the general federal structure of the Bill, to safeguard the Princes' position in every respect.

I pass from the question of the method of accession to the second question. They emphasize in the resolution—the question of the inviolability of their treaties. Here I am sure a misunderstanding has arisen they seem to regard it as a breach of faith that we have not in some way dealt with the treaties within the four corners of the Bill or in the Instruments by Accession. I was under the impression that in all our discussions now ranging over many years, there has been a general agreement amongst ourselves and the representatives of the Princes that questions of paramountcy should be kept out of the Federal bill altogether and that it is much safer from the Princes' viewpoint to keep the question of paramountcy out of an Act of this kind. As soon as the questions of paramountcy are included in the Act, they inevitably become a subject of decisions by the Federal Court and I understand that that was the last thing that a great majority of the Princes desired. So also with the Instruments of Accession. Here again I understand that it was the Princes' desire to keep the question connected with the treaties out of the Instruments of Accession—for the same reasons.

The Instruments of Accession will be interpreted by the Federal Court, but because we keep a question of this kind outside the scope of the Bill and outside the Instruments of Accession, it does not in the least follow that we are not just as determined as we have always been to make it quite clear in the most solemn manner that we regard the treaties between the Crown and the States as inviolable and I give this undertaking in the most solemn and the most formal manner—but not within the Bill—that we will give that undertaking.

There are a number of other questions that arise from their resolution. We shall deal with them in greater detail when we come to the clauses, but let me give a general idea of what they amount to. Firstly, there is a point in clause 8. They say that the clause, even as I propose to amend it, does not make it sufficiently clear that the executive authority of the Federation within the range of any matter accepted by a State as a Federal subject can be limited to the same extent as legislative power can be limited. I am sure that this will be found to be nothing more than a question of drafting. Then we are told that clause 8 does not make it sufficiently clear that the executive authority of the Federation extends to placing at the service of the Crown the military means of implementing the Crown's obligations to protect the States. That is a point to which we attach as much importance as the Princes themselves and if a further examination of clause 8 or other clauses should show that our provisions are defective, I am confident that the House will wish that they should be made secure.

The States are inclined to regard the wording of the Governor-General's first special responsibility as described in clause 12 (1) (A) as enabling him in the capacity of the Governor-General to intervene to the extent not hitherto regarded as justifiable in the internal affairs of the States. On this point I would remind the House that, in fact, the special responsibilities merely regulate the Governor-General's relations with ministers in exercise of the power she possesses through the other provisions of the Act. They do not themselves regulate the extent of those powers. Obviously, that criticism is founded on a misunderstanding. The States are not apparently satisfied with the wording of the Governor-General's special responsibility for safeguarding the rights of the States. Here, I believe, there is no difference of intention whatever. It is a question of the manner of expressing what we intend.

The other points on which questions have been raised relate to the conditions in clause 45 on the failure of a constitutional machinery, to the wording of clause 99

defining legislative power and clause 117 which describes the relations between the Federation Government and the States, and certain financial clauses I cannot believe that any of the points raised on these clauses are matters on which permanent difference can be apprehended.

Mr *Isaac Foot* intervened and said that Sir Samuel Hoare had been quoting from certain representation he had received in respect of certain clauses. 'Can he tell us', asked Mr. Isaac Foot, 'when these representations were made and whether when the Princes met they knew of the amendment to be submitted to the House?'

Sir *Samuel Hoare* replied: "The first time I heard these criticisms, was Sunday when I received a telegram about the meeting of ministers. I have at present no more than this comparatively brief telegram, setting out the points to which I have alluded. I will undertake as soon as I receive these criticisms in detail to put the House in possession thereof, but I think that I have said sufficient to-day to show the House that as far as I can judge, none of these seems to be a question of principle and all of them seem to be questions of detail that can be very well and in some cases, easily adjusted.

'Let me, in conclusion, say with great diffidence a word of advice to the House. I would not venture to give a word of advice, but for the last that week in and week out for the four years past, I have been dealing incessantly with these complicated problems. (Cheers) The House is dealing with a question the magnitude of which is unique. At every point there are problems of immense complexity and at every chapter of the Bill, there are angles from which it can be attacked with enfilading fire from both sides. There never was a Bill in which there was a greater scope for criticism, for the opposition, to exploit the vulnerable points. It is very easy to exploit the vulnerable points and very easy to magnify the obstacles in our way and they are sufficiently great in themselves. (Cheers) I hope that the House will realize that this is a Bill of unique character and that whilst there is no reason why with an ordinary Bill we should not make up our points of difference, in this case the House has set itself a task of immense responsibility. It has instructed the Government to produce a Bill upon the lines of the report of the Select Committee. The responsibility is the responsibility not of the Ministers, but of a great majority of the House as a whole. That being so, I hope, we will avoid the temptation to exaggerate the difficulties that from time to time arise. I hope that at all costs we shall attempt to remove rather than magnify them. There will be many perplexing moments in the course of our discussions when there will be ample opportunity for critics to take advantage of the difficult situation. I hope that we will avoid that temptation and show to-day by our action that we are not going to be rushed (Cheers) by the alarmist charges of a character to which we have just listened, but are going to proceed in our way, realizing that the responsibility is the responsibility upon the shoulders of the House, and that whilst we are most anxious to listen to Indian opinion at every possible opportunity and are most desirous to give the fullest possible weight to it, the responsibility is with us and the need is for us to go in our way drafting the Bill in the way we believe best for India, this country and the empire.

'That being so, I hope that when we dispose of this motion we shall resume our discussion of the Bill, clause by clause. I believe that we can meet the difficulties raised by the Princes. If we find that we cannot meet them, I shall be the first to give the House information. (Cheers)

Mr. *Morgan James* (Lab) said that the Labourites agreed with Mr. Churchill in raising the point. He urged the speediest clearing up of the position. The Labourites would not agree to handing a blank cheque to the Princes.

Sir *Austen Chamberlain* did not suppose that there was any one in this House who thought that the Princes were the only people to be considered or who was unaware of the immensely greater responsibilities the House had, because they were more direct and personal to the people of British India than the rulers of the States. The clauses which they were asked to propose dealt with the conditions upon which the Princes would join the Federation and surrender the power they should make on joining. If the discussion dealt more with that particular point and less particularly with British India, it was because it was the rule of discussions of the House that they must be appropriate to the matter before it. (Cheers.)

Sir Austen Chamberlain desired to say immediately that the great mass of members of the House must have listened, as he, with sympathy and admiration Sir Samuel Hoare's speech. (Cheers). He was glad to find that Sir Samuel Hoare with his greater knowledge had formed the same view as himself of the Princes' resolution. He was unable to trace any point which was not present in the minds of the Select Committee

which was not wholly discussed with the representatives of the Princes and the Indian delegates in the Select Committee's discussions with them.

These points had been repeatedly discussed among the members of the committee before the chairman undertook to draft a report and were finally discussed in drafting amendments to the report itself.

Sir Austen Chamberlain agreed—indeed it was the contention of the Princes themselves—that they had not changed their attitude to the Federation, that from the first they had stated certain conditions, but on such examination as they had been presently able to give the Bill they did not think that these conditions were fully met. 'I am confident that it was the intention of the Select Committee report to meet them. I thought that they were points on which Princes had a right to be reassured. I thought we had given that reassurance. I had interpreted the Bill as far as a layman can, as being an expression in statutory language of the intention of the Select Committee.'

Mr. Morgan Jones interposed: We always understood in the Select Committee that while the Princes were agreeable and would put forward their proposals and we were trying to meet them, they would give no final judgment until they had seen a complete picture'.

Sir Austen Chamberlain replied: "That is true. They cannot see a complete picture until the Bill itself is complete and received the approval of both the House. To adjourn the Bill in order to get further light upon the Princes' proceedings is merely entering upon a circle that will lead nowhere. The Princes will not tell us whether they approve of the Bill until they see its final form. We must presume that our work is trying to remove their apprehensions, which we think, are well-founded and trying to meet all that is reasonable in their demands. Let it be well understood that we are unwilling to allow this House being driven from auction for the sport of the Princes, what it thinks right or enter Dutch (Cheers).

Sir Austen Chamberlain was deeply touched at Mr. Churchill's solicitude for himself in what Mr. Churchill thought was his uncomfortable position, but actually he was not in the slightest embarrassed by what he had said earlier in the House on this subject. On the contrary, this latest development confirmed the wisdom of advice he tendered to his friends. Mr. Churchill had approached the matter in the present form as a man who had no love for the national Government and would have desired to resume party politics and was presently going into the lobby with the Socialist opponents (Laughter). I retain the opinion that this great development in the Indian Government would be much more safely undertaken if accompanied on the establishment of the Federation for all India than if the reforms are confined to British India alone'.

"I believe that the interests of the Princes are intimately associated with the British Empire. Similarly, our interests are intimately associated with their interests. I believe that they and we alike shall find safety for ourselves, and security for what we hold dearest in their entry into the great Federation which for the first time will consecrate the political union of all-India (Cheers). He added that Mr. Churchill was not quite candid when he continuously talked of himself as if he had given from first whole hearted approval of the Simon Commission.

Mr. Isaac Foot said that the Samuehte Liberals wished to proceed with the Bill and said that if the Princes stood aside the House might proceed with British India alone and in that event the Princes would regard the day they made their declaration as worst in their history.

Viscount Wolmer said: "There is a clearly fundamental difference of opinion between the Government and Princes. The latter are beginning to realise the true implications of federation. The Government wanted to solve the problem by ignoring the obstacles."

The motion to adjourn the debate was defeated by 283 votes to 89.

# **EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA**

**JANUARY—JUNE 1935**



# Educational Progress in India

## Introduction

The Educational Section quite fittingly receives a large measure of attention in this Register. The Indian Problem, like every other problem, is at bottom the problem of Education—using the word in its most intensive and extensive sense. We recommend the Convocation Addresses of the various Indian Universities and also the resolutions of the various Educational Conferences, whether under official auspices or not, to the most serious notice and consideration of the thinking public. We are encouraged to find that the Government too have waked up to their special responsibilities in the matter of education, and the institution of a Central Bureau of Education is a sign that they are now wakeful. But something more than mere wakefulness is required. They should be resourceful. But what are the resources in men, money and organisation which, under the existing conditions, are open to them? The cost of administration, military and civil, “bleeds” both the Government and the country white, and there seems to be no escaping the process. The future constitution will not change things materially for the better. There will be precious little left for education and nation-building work for the “responsible” Ministers to make much out of it. Will they have recourse to taxation and more taxation? Can a “responsible” Government pretend to think that education and nation-building are the least part of their job, and that these should be the care of the people themselves rather than of the State? We leave however the matter at that.

Whatever the present or the prospective Government may find itself in a position to do or not to do in the sphere of national education, there is no gainsaying that we ourselves should bestir ourselves to do whatever is humanly possible to move and improve matters. In these matters we must help ourselves so long as State help to which we may be justly entitled is but niggardly forthcoming. Not much may, possibly, be effected without State help and initiative. But let us begin with the little that may be possible. And the little, we may be sure, will gather momentum and urge which, State help or no help, will make that little much. By its sheer momentum, it will also compel State help in an adequate measure. For nothing works like work; nothing starts like start.

Now, coming to the Addresses and Resolutions we find that they strike a common note. Of despair? No, dis-satisfaction.

And there are good grounds for it. Indian Education must submit itself to and pass the following crucial tests—

(a) It must create conditions under which Indian men and women can regain health, vigour and longevity. While the general health and longevity index in the country is alarmingly low, that of our student community is also far from reassuring. 90 p. c. of our people live in the villages and must live in them. The education of our boys and girls should be devised with respect to the realities of Indian village

life and with a view to improving its conditions. It is worse than useless to rear them up as "hot-house" products under artificially bloated conditions which, while being economically and physically detrimental to them, do not at all fit them for their actual work and vocation of life.

(b) It must be economically sound. Education should enable one not only to honestly earn a decent livelihood for oneself, but equip one for the task of the economic regeneration and readjustment of the country.

(c) It should be socially and politically sound. Whilst social service must form a part of the training, actual political work should, generally, be avoided, especially in the earliest stages. But education must aim at producing a generation of men and women fully fitted to take up and carry on the work of social and political amelioration and advance true citizenship in the best sense of the term. In India this is and should be more "rural" and "urban".

(d) It should be actually sound. Education must be based on the best elements of our own national culture into which the best assimilable elements from outside should be *assimilated* (not simply engrafted). Our own culture should not only be the Seed Power but also the most essential part of the Environment. Imitation of the West is both humiliating and imbecile. We shall be our Original Self. We are not going to turn out *manusputras* of the West who delight in covering themselves with the discarded, second-hand garments of their spiritual god-father. We must get rid of our slave-mentality and redeem ourselves from our cultural subjection and bondage.

(e) Education must definitely and firmly place us on the way along which we may expect to attain to the highest and truest Values—as represented by our religion and ethics. Education cannot afford to pursue a policy of neutrality with respect to the religions and ethical values: it cannot be godless and unmoral.

As regards our educational programme, we venture to make some suggestions.

(1) Education has very largely commercialised itself. This is wholly against the spirit of our truly national system, which forbids the making of education a sellable commodity. Our educational buildings, hostels etc. are, sometimes, parts of our educational shop-keeping—our show-room to attract customers. Of course, there has been no dearth of customers, already too many for us to properly attend to. But the commodity is selling at ruinously high rates—the poor guardians can hardly afford the cost. Yet the stuff they buy with their life-blood do not sell in the market. It brings them no return, save dire unemployment and dark despair. The commodity should be made as cheap as possible, if it cannot be made free. In a country where the highest culture could be imparted under the genial shade of the banyan or *bat* tree, and *ashramas* would consist of neat and beautiful huts in a most beautiful and bracing natural surrounding, palaces and halls and hostels are badly out of all true proportion and fitness.

(2) Educational institutions (with the possible exception of some technical and higher scientific ones) should be laid out as colonies, spacious and well-kept, not generally in the sanatoria, but in the actual



villages of the country. The student should live in adjacent model villages of their own managed by their own panchayat. Thus train them from the beginning in the discharge of their civic duties and corporate responsibilities. And give this training in the midst of the real conditions. Their villages should be models of plain, healthy, and, so far possible, economically self-sufficient living. Institutions should not be kept alive by "doles" and spoon-feeding. Spoon-fed institutions will never turn out full-grown men and women. They should learn to fight and drive out malaria, tuberculosis etc. These colonies should serve as object-lessons to the villages and towns. Social service to be an integral part of the training.

(3) Girls should not be made "in the image" of the boys or *vice versa*. Their education should be laid upon reasonably different lines. More with reference to the home, requirements of social service, wifehood and motherhood, and more in consonance with the best ideals of religion and morality.

(4) Men and women who go to foreign country to "complete" their education, should receive here, for, say, 3 years, a thorough grounding in the best ideas, methods and practices of their own home culture. There should be *ashramas* for this purpose, where they shall be given the natural "inoculation" to guard against the denationalising and deteriorating foreign "virus" inducing senseless, imbecile imitation. They should go out keeping in view the ideal of the great Swami Vivekananda. (By P. N. Mukhopadhyaya).

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## Educational Reconstruction in India

### Govt. of India Circular to Local Government

The Government of India addressed all local Governments and Administrations (including Aden) inviting their opinion on educational reconstruction, so that they be forwarded to the Inter-University Board as soon as possible. Mr. G. S. Bajpai Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Govt. of India in his letter issued from New Delhi on the 9th. February 1935 said :—

In recent years, notice has been given in the Indian Legislature of a number of resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the present system of education in India and the desire that the Government of India should take early steps to render it 'more practical and useful'. For one reason or another, these resolutions have not been moved but even if they had been moved, the Government of India would have felt themselves precluded by their constitutional position from assuming more than an advisory responsibility with regard to matters which primarily concern Local Governments.

In forwarding the proceedings of the Third Conference of Indian Universities held at Delhi in March last, the Inter-University Board drew the attention of the Government of India in particular to the two following resolutions, which had been passed unanimously—After valuable and protracted discussion, "a practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in radical readjustment of the present system of schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education, either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the universities to improve their standard of admission". In the second resolution, the Conference developed in greater detail their theme of school reconstruction and pointed to the necessity of dividing the school

system into certain definite stages each of them self-contained and with clearly a defined objective, untrammelled by university requirements. "With a view to effecting such improvement of secondary education, the Conference is of opinion that the period of study in a university for the pass degree should be at least three years, although the normal length of the period, during which the pupil is under instruction, should not be increased and is also of opinion that this period should be divided into four definite stages : (a) primary, (b) middle (in both of which stages, the medium of instruction in non-language subjects should be exclusively vernacular), (c) higher secondary (in which stage, the medium of instruction should be vernacular, whenever this is practicable) and (d) university education, covering five (or four) (or three) and at least three years respectively, there being a formal examination at the end of each stage, only thus avoiding the abuse of too frequent formal examinations".

#### U. P. RESOLUTION

The Government of India have observed that many Provincial Governments have been reviewing the system of school education and have been considering the possibilities of its reconstruction somewhat on the lines suggested by the Universities Conference. For example, the recent Punjab University Committee represented that a scheme of school reconstruction is a vital preliminary to the improvement of university teaching. A conference which was summoned at Calcutta by the Governor-General, discussed the means whereby the University of Calcutta could be placed on firmer school foundations and the Government of India themselves have invited the opinions of the University of Delhi on the proposals made by the Universities Conference.

The Government of the United Provinces have gone further and in the resolution dated August 8 last, have worked out in great detail these proposals 'with a view to eliciting public opinion thereon. The publication of this resolution has attracted much attention in the Press and elsewhere and replies will be watched with much interest, not only in the United Provinces, but throughout India. An interesting feature of the resolution is a quotation of several extracts of opinions voiced by educationists and by men, distinguished in public life. These quotations definitely suggest that the "value of university education is impaired by the presence in universities of a large number of students who are unfit for higher literary or scientific education, that these students cannot hope to obtain employment which would justify the expense of their education and that the only feasible remedy is to divert them to practical pursuits in the pre-university stage."

The Government of India are cognisant of the fact that in the present constitution, this and indeed most other educational questions come within the purview of the Provincial Government and, therefore, feel that it would be not only constitutional but also inadvisable for them to seek to impose a rigid and uniform system of education throughout India. In education, more than in most other walks of life, there should be rich scope for experiment and also for variety of treatment and practice. Local initiative is preferable in inert centralisation. Perhaps the most valuable contribution which the Government of India can make towards the right development of education (a matter which is of vital importance to the future of India) is the provision of a clearing house of ideas and reservoir of information. The Government of India are of opinion that the time has arrived for reviving the Central Advisory Board, and therefore, they propose doing so in the next financial year.

In view of the widespread interest taken in these matters and of the dissatisfaction expressed in the Legislative Assembly and elsewhere and also of the desire of the Inter-University Board that these resolutions of the Universities Conference should be promulgated as wide as possible, the Government of India feel justified to bring these important resolutions to the attention of Provincial Governments and through them to the notice of the wider public.

I am also directed to make a few general observations mainly for the purpose of stimulating discussion on a number of aspects, which appear to the Government of India to be of importance. The Government of India are particularly anxious that the purport of these discussions should not be liable to misunderstanding and that they should not be interpreted as a desire to restrict, in any way, the benefits of education. It is neither equitable nor advisable that children should be denied facilities for education, but such facilities should be adjusted to their aptitudes. For such of the pupils as have little or no bent for the literary form of education, other forms of training should be made available. All children who pass beyond the primary stage require a wider measure of general education, whether it be preparation for

advanced literary or scientific studies or for vocational training in one form or another. The latter forms of training can only be successful if they are based on the sure foundation of general knowledge and attainment. Educational statistics indicate, however, that many pupils prolong unduly their literary studies and are thereby in danger of losing their bent for more practical pursuits. On this and other grounds, the proposals of the Universities Conference, which have been generally endorsed by the Government of the United Provinces, deserve serious consideration.

Though of course, subjects such as Manual training, Drawing, and Nature Study, should be developed in all secondary schools and though pupils of these schools should be encouraged to take part in practical pursuits, it is debatable whether the inclusion of vocational subjects along with literary subjects in the ordinary secondary schools and colleges is the best means of achieving the object, which the Universities Conference had in view. To be successful, vocational training requires somewhat expensive equipment and above all experienced and practical teaching. It seems obvious, therefore, that resources should not be dissipated but should, as far as possible, be concentrated in the institutions designed for the purpose. Moreover, there is danger that haphazard intermingling of vocational and general study may defeat the very object, which it sets out to achieve. Pupils may be tempted by bait of somewhat superficial and desultory vocational training to prolong unnecessarily the literary studies and thereby to drift aimlessly into paths which are unsuitable to them. This danger should be avoided. It is on these grounds, among others, that the proposal of the Universities Conference that vocational training should ordinarily be provided in separate vocational institutions, also deserves attention. The Government of India realise that education by itself cannot create new industries and thereby increase opportunities of employment, but boys, who complete the shortened secondary course as proposed and subsequently benefit by the form of vocational training, would be more likely to be absorbed into industrial occupations and to make most of industrial opportunities than are many of those who now graduate or fail to graduate at a comparatively advanced age. In any case they could probably receive education, better adapted to their capabilities.

A feature of the school reconstruction as proposed by the Universities concerned and suggested by the Government of the United Provinces is that pupils would be relieved to some extent from the burden of frequent examinations. It is urged by some that these examinations will militate against the continuity of study. From an early age in life, Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of public examination. After each interruption of his course, the pupil spends perhaps half of the first year in adopting himself to the new surroundings and perhaps half of the second year to cramming for the next examinations. On the other hand, it is contended that these examinations at any rate fulfil the purpose of keeping staffs and pupils up to the mark and discourage apathy. Whatever may be the view held on the value of examinations, the undoubted advantage in the tentative scheme proposed by the Government of the United Provinces would be that each examination will take place at the termination of a particular stage of education and will thereby test whether the pupils attained the objective of that stage. For this reason examinations would have a more clearly defined purpose than they now do.

The Government of India are confident that these proposals of the Universities Conference in particular will receive earnest consideration, which they undoubtedly deserve, especially as they were unanimously accepted by some of the most eminent and experienced educationists in India. The Government of India desire to take this opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the labours of the Conference and the valuable discussions which took place. They would be glad if the Madras Government, etc., after consulting such persons and authorities as they may consider advisable, would express their opinions in particular on the two resolutions referred to in this letter. On receipt of these opinions, the Government of India propose to forward them to the Inter-University Board in response to their request for information of the action taken by the Government of India on their reference and also to all Provincial Governments. By so doing, the Government of India hope that they may be of service in helping to co-ordinate educational discussions in matters which are of vital importance to the well-being of India.

# Education in the United Provinces

It is in the sphere of girls' education that the greatest relative progress is recorded, says the report on public instruction in the United Provinces for the year ending March 31, 1934, according to which considerable progress has also been noticeable in other spheres of educational activities.

The total number of schools of all kinds in the year under review was, according to the report 25,451 as against 25,360 in the previous year, while the enrolment figures stood at 1,578,689 and 1,535,203, respectively. The increase of 43,481 in 1933-34 was mostly in the primary stage. Secondary education accounted for 5,941 and most of the remainder was in the village schools. Of this total increase 13,187 were girls. The increase in primary schools was specially marked in the Allahabad, Lucknow and Benares circles showing comparatively minor increases. A survey made in the large areas of compulsory education showed that the number of boys enrolled was 6.2 per cent. of the total population and 12.3 of the male population. In municipalities, including figures for Anglo-vernacular schools, the percentage was 10.5 of the total male population. These figures show, says the report, that while compulsion resulted in the enrolment of boys to the number of 11 per cent. of the male population only 5.2 per cent. or less than half the number possible under compulsion are attending school in areas where compulsion is not in force.

Though the year was, continues the report, one of economy and retrenchment, it was marked by varied educational activities. The universities showed a continued increase in numbers. The boy scout movement received a stimulus from a vigorous revival of the activities of the Boy Scout Association. The St. John Ambulance and Junior Red Cross made further rapid strides and a marked development was observable in the interest taken in music. In the vernacular schools the introduction of handicrafts and clay methods, particularly in the primary schools, has proved a surprising success and gives great hope for the future. Depressed class education received special attention and is continuing to do so.

As regards girls' education, the report says, that though more figures do not express the change and improvement, yet 13,000 more girls in schools or an increase of about 8 per cent. and an increase of 35 recognized institutions, of which five are English institutions and 16 vernacular middle schools, at a time of deep financial depression, is an encouragement. The universities are being successfully invaded by the women; a hostel for them has been built at St. John's College, Agra and arrangements are in train for such hostels at Allahabad and Lucknow universities. This new spirit in regard to girls' education in these provinces cannot but be looked upon, concludes the report, as the most important outcome of the work of the Education department during the past 20 years and gives the greatest hope for the rapid development of happier conditions in these provinces in the future.

## Secondary Education in Bengal

The Government of Bengal issued the following Press Note on Secondary Education in Bengal in April 1933:—

In Bengal as elsewhere there are three types of secondary schools—the Middle Vernacular, the Middle English and the High English. Most of these schools have primary classes as well. The middle stage consists of two classes only and the high stage four.

The following tables give comparative figures for all secondary schools in the province for the year 1931-32 and 1932-33:—

Number of Schools	1932-33	1931-32
High	1,186	1,157
Middle English	1,873	1,904
Middle Vernacular	62	62
Number of Pupils	436,175	451,672
Cost of Maintenance	Rs. 149,09,770	Rs. 148,50,159

The average annual cost for educating a pupil in a secondary school in 1932-33 was Rs. 32.6 and that for maintaining a school Rs. 4,776-2.

## PLACE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The object of the middle vernacular school is, or should be, to supplement the primary school, to serve those pupils who do not care or are not able to go to English schools. The Middle English schools are however no more than preparatory to the High schools. The High schools again in their turn have two functions to perform, firstly to prepare those who intend to go for higher education in the University and secondly for the large number who do not or cannot go to the University to prove all round training of mind and character complete in itself. Unfortunately however this second object has been completely subordinated to the demands for getting passes in the Matriculation Examination.

## TENDENCIES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

The most noticeable tendency in secondary education has been however for middle vernacular schools to increasingly disappear, sometimes with the introduction of English as an optional subject resulting in their ultimate conversion to Middle English schools but more generally perhaps with a decline in the demand for these institutions. Of the 349 Middle Vernacular schools for boys in 1916-1917, only 54 survived in 1932-33. The only relieving feature is that the average roll strength has increased. It is probable that with the greater importance now laid on vernacular and the inability of parents consequent on economic distress to put their children to more expensive institutions, these schools may continue to exist.

In the Middle English stage there has been an all-round improvement as the following figures will show—

## INDIAN BOYS' SCHOOLS

	Number	Papils
1926-27	1,616	142,884
1931-32	1,845	177,102

## INDIAN GIRLS' SCHOOLS

	Number	Papils
1926-27	48	5856
1931-32	59	7009

Nearly 3 out of 4 boys in the highest middle class continue their studies in the High School. Majority of the girls however do not go beyond this stage and that explains why these schools still occupy the most prominent place in girls' education.

There is however considerable wastage from stage to stage an idea of which can be obtained from the table below—

## WASTAGE IN DIFFERENT STAGES

Boys in first middle class to those in last primary class	67 p. c.
Boys in first high class to those in last middle class	72 "
Boys passing the Matriculation to those in last high class	41 "
Boys in first college class to those passing the Matriculation	63 "

From the upper primary classes to the middle classes and from those to the high school classes there is a fairly steady flow of pupils. But only about 2 in 5 of the boys in the Matriculation Class actually pass the Matriculation. There is an enormous wastage at this point just as there is wastage in the lower primary classes. This wastage can only be stopped if boys who would not ordinarily proceed for the Matriculation Examination are encouraged to finish their general courses of study at the end of class VIII of a High School.

## MANAGEMENT &amp; CONTROL OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

There are three different types of management by Government, local bodies and private bodies. Of the schools under private management, some are aided from public funds and some are not. The percentage of Government aided and unaided high schools to total number of high schools is as follows :—

	Govt. and local bodies.	
1921-22	...	4.5
1926-27	...	4.1
1931-32	...	3.8
	Private	
	Aided	Unaided
1921-22	38.6	36.9
1926-27	48.4	47.5
1931-32	47.5	48.7

There are two facts apparent from these figures firstly that in Bengal the overwhelming majority of schools are private, a feature which is to be found even in the case of primary schools and colleges as well; secondly that about half of the high schools in Bengal receive no grant from public funds. The position in the rest of India excluding Burma is however otherwise. The other provinces of India put together had amongst them in 1926-27—the position is much the same now—4590 secondary schools under public and 2439 under private management, the corresponding numbers in Bengal being 119 and 2686. And in the other provinces with their considerably fewer number of schools the aided schools outnumber the unaided ones in the proportion of more than ten to one. Out of 1268 unaided secondary schools in India in 1931-32, no fewer than 903 were in this province.

It is only in the case of those schools which receive grants-in-aid given on certain prescribed conditions, that it is possible for the Education Department to exercise some control. It is true that the unaided schools have to conform to the University requirements and that this affords some common basis for control but the extent of this control is never very great. It has to be said therefore that the large number of private and especially unaided schools over which very little effective control is exercised is one of the main reasons for the low standard of secondary education in the province.

The quality of teaching in any school depends both upon the kind of teachers entertained and their number. In Bengal though the total number of trained graduate teachers has risen from 389 to 744 in the quinquennium ending in 1931-32, there is now not even one on the average per school. Except in the Government schools, the trained teacher is still a rare phenomenon. The number of trained teachers in all secondary schools was 4,771 as against a total of 20,069 untrained or 19 per cent.

The paucity in the number of teachers will be apparent from the following figures, it being understood that Madras with which Bengal is being compared in the table below has about the same population as Bengal.

	Bengal.	Madras.
Average number of teachers per school	12.8	20.1
Average number of trained teachers	1.8	15.6
Percentage of trained teachers to total	14.2	77.8

The teaching profession with its low pay does not attract the best type of men and very few graduates, though economic stress is forcing more and more graduates into this profession. The average salary of a high school teacher is nearly Rs. 56, of a middle English teacher nearly Rs. 22. The average in aided and especially in unaided schools is very much lower and what is worse the teachers in these schools are often subjected to forced subscriptions.

The inevitable consequence of these conditions has been that the practice of private tuition has become almost universal. The surprising thing is that the parents, quite forgetful of the fact that higher fees would enable schools to employ more efficient teachers and thus ensure greater attention towards each boy would rather pay Rs. 10 to a private tutor than Re. 1 more to the school.

The education Department have however taken cognizance of this evil and have accordingly laid down definite principles to regulate private tuition by teachers.

The introduction of provident fund scheme—adoption of which is also insisted upon by University has effected a real improvement in the prospects of teachers. Under the Government Provident Fund scheme teachers of schools which have been allowed to participate in this scheme are to contribute one anna in the rupee, the school management half an anna and Government half an anna. Middle English Schools as well as High English Schools can participate in the scheme.

#### CURRICULUM AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

A new curriculum of studies have been introduced with effect from January 1931 for all classes from III to VIII of all secondary schools in Bengal. Nature study and science, music, the History of England, Civics, Cooking, Hygiene, agriculture and manual work find a prominent place in the new syllabus. The Matriculation syllabus of the Calcutta University is followed in the two upper classes.

There is an insistent demand for vocational training mainly arising from the failure of educated men to earn a decent living. But in the absence of a tradition of technical education and clearly envisaged or well-defined aims and standards, numerous subjects such as spinning, weaving, carpentry, tailoring, soap-making, metal work, basket-making, dyeing, music, agriculture, type-writing were tried at random in the secondary schools. The danger in such course and in accepting popular demands

which are often uncritical and proceed from one extreme to the other is that the needs, aptitude and capacity of the child and the feasible lines of educational advance are apt to be ignored and the schools run the risk of being pushed out of their proper lines of work. The problem is how to co-ordinate vocational with general education. For that the need seems to be to have technical schools to give technical education with a modification in the syllabus of general schools to provide for "educational handiwork" giving the necessary hand and eye training.

For agricultural education Government give an equipment grant of Rs. 550 for a garden measuring half acre and its 2,000 for a farm measuring five acres. Teachers have been trained for giving this education and for the present 16 middle English schools will be financially developed into a special type of agricultural education schools, on condition that they are not converted into high schools.

The most outstanding reform has however been the introduction of vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination in all classes below class VII. In the top classes it is at present optional but University has definitely expressed itself in favour of the vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination generally.

#### SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR INDIAN BOYS

The total number of secondary schools for Indian boys fell during year 1932-33 from 2975 to 1966. There was however an increase in the number of high schools, the decrease being all in the number of middle English schools. The number of high schools was 1103 against 1076 in the previous year and that of middle English schools 1809 against 1845 in the previous year. Middle Vernacular Schools on the other hand remained stationary at 51. Pupils reading in high schools rose by 7,560, while middle English and middle vernacular schools reported a loss of 3627 and 198 pupils respectively.

##### (a) FINANCE

Total expenditure on boy's secondary schools according to sources was as follows:—

	1926-27	Rs.	Proportion to total.
Provincial revenues		15,80,308	
Municipal Funds		27,791	17.9
District Funds		3,22,238	
Fees		70,72,943	65.9
Other sources		17,33,795	16.2
		<hr/> 1,07,37,075	
	1931-32	Rs.	Proportion to total.
Provincial revenues		17,94,440	
Municipal Funds		42,929	17.8
District Funds		3,34,786	
Fees		82,21,730	67.4
Other sources		18,07,923	14.8
		<hr/> 1,22,01,808	
	1932-33	Rs.	Proportion to total.
Provincial revenues		16,58,957	
Municipal Funds		42,182	16.6
District Funds		3,45,757	
Fees		84,73,408	68.9
Other sources		17,75,889	14.5
		<hr/> 1,22,96,139	

The shrinkage in expenditures in 1932-33 was mainly brought about by the enforcement of the emergency 10 per cent cut in almost all expenditure except that for Girls' Secondary Schools.

Total expenditure according to types of schools was as follows:—

	1926-27.	1931-32.	1932-33.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
High Schools	83,35,947	92,77,423	94,56,310
Middle English Schools	23,35,361	28,68,776	27,85,136
Middle Vernacular Schools	65,767	55,809	54,747

The most interesting thing to know however is the cost per head. The following table gives this information :—

Management	Cost per head.		Cost per head to Govt.	
	1926-27	1931-32	1926-27	1931-32
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Government	76 06	80 65	40 8	50 3
District Board & Municipality	35. 8	37. 5	6 6	6 5
Aided	36. 2	40.08	6.8	7 3
Unaided	30.2	27 2		

It will be seen from these figures that Government bear a substantial proportion of the cost per head.

The total expenditure on secondary schools had increased by 26 per cent in the quinquennium ending 1926-27 ; in the next quinquennium it increased by nearly Rs. 14 and two-third lakhs or 13 7 per cent. In 1932-33, there has been a further increase. The chief source of additional increase has been fees, a natural result of the growth in the number of pupils though the average fee per pupil is practically the same being near about Rs. 18-8-0 a year.

Average costs in different types of boys' secondary schools were as follows :—

	Cost per month per school.		
	1926-27.	1931-32.	1932-33.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
High Schools	705	718	714
Middle English Schools	120	130	128
Middle Vernacular Schools	74	86	86

  

	Cost per year per boy.		
	1926-27.	1931-32.	1932-33.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
High Schools	35.7	36.2	35.8
Middle English Schools	16.3	16.2	16 06
Middle Vernacular Schools	13.6	13.9	14.5

In 1926-27 the average expenditure on a boy's high school in Madras per month was Rs. 1,587, in Bombay Rs. 2,208 and in Bengal Rs. 705. The average aid per school from Government and local funds was Rs. 4,066 in Madras, Rs. 7,415 in Bombay and Rs. 1,997 in Bengal.

The average cost of an aided high school was Rs. 795 in 1931-32 and 1932-33 and of an unaided high school Rs 521 in 1931-32 and Rs. 536 in 1932-33. All these figures require a word of explanation. A school depends chiefly on fees and grants. The fee income has not increased as the average enrolment per schools remains the same nor is it likely to increase as long as new schools continue to be established in large numbers. And if the number of schools to be aided increases the average Government grant must correspondingly decrease unless the amount which Government can distribute in grants increase proportionately. In the present inelastic finances of Bengal, with numerous pressing calls on them, such a possibility has to be ruled out. The real problem therefore is a problem of numbers. Nothing perhaps shows better the real nature of this problem than the figures below.

#### BOYS' HIGH SCHOOLS IN MADRAS, BOMBAY AND BENGAL

	Boys High Schools, 1926-27		
	Madras	Bombay	Bengal
Average area per High School (sq. miles)	416	662	77
Average number of High Schools per district	12.7	6.4	35.8
Average male population per High School (thousand)	61	54	24

The contrast in Middle Schools is even more striking.

#### BOYS' MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN MADRAS, BOMBAY AND BENGAL

	Middle Schools 1926-27		
	Madras.	Bombay.	Bengal.
Average area per middle school (sq. miles)	671	485	46
Average number of schools per district	8	9	60
Average male population per school (thousand)	90	40	14



The average number of pupils per high school in 1926-27 was only 238 in Bengal while it was 408 in Madras, and in the three upper classes, Bengal had 71 boys per school and Madras 138. The average number of pupils who pass the Matriculation from a high school is only 10. No school can be efficiently run on Rs. 521 or even Rs. 536 a month and hundreds of unaided schools are able to exist only because they have little or no equipment, employ the minimum staff and pay them a mere pittance. These schools unfortunately tend to drag the others down to their level.

It has been suggested that Government schools should be deprovincialised and the savings allotted to private institutions. In 1931-32, the average expenditure on a Government school was Rs. 2,228 per month. But this is no more than the general average of all schools in Bombay. Even a deprovincialised school should be efficient and if the average cost of these schools were reduced to the average amount spent on a school (not a Government School) in Madras the total ultimate saving would be about Rs. 3,17,000 sufficient to give each of the private schools about Rs. 25 a month, a sum inadequate for any useful purpose. To make all schools financially stable a sum of about Rs. 40 lakhs is necessary. Even with the deprovincialisation of all Government schools Government will not be able now or in the future to provide for all high schools in Bengal the financial basis for an efficient education. Improvement of secondary education in the province is indeed a problem which should engage the attention of all public-spirited men.

## Physical Education in Bengal

The report on Physical Education in the Schools in Bengal issued in January 1935 states:—

In recent years it has been increasingly felt that greater attention should be paid to the physical fitness of the scholars than had been done in the past. The problem has been attacked from different angles.

Hygiene has been made a compulsory subject in the primary and secondary school curriculum except for the two top classes in the latter. At the same time medical examination of the health of the students has been arranged. Altogether 16,700 boys and 524 girls have been medically examined during the last few years on the initiative of the Public Health Department. Of the boys examined 23 per cent were found to be well nourished, 53 per cent fairly nourished and 24 per cent ill-nourished, of the total number examined 67 per cent were found to be suffering from bodily defects and 14.7 per cent to have eye troubles. In primary schools 26,392 pupils have been medically examined under the supervision of the District Health Officers. Of these 59 per cent were found to be defectives. In 1932-33, the Medical Board attached to the Students' Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University examined 2,743 students (including 500 recalled for special examination). A disquieting increase in the incidence of mal-nutrition was noted.

Since February 1933 the medical examinations of school children in Calcutta has been carried on by three part-time Medical Officers under the Education Department. Of the 5,000 boys examined in Calcutta High and Middle English Schools in 1933-34, 35 per cent were found to be under-nourished, 50 per cent defectives and 30 per cent with eye defects. Preparations are now almost complete for the establishment of a central clinic at which defective children who are in poverty may receive free treatment. Free spectacles are supplied to all deserving cases.

Physical training was made compulsory in all Government and aided schools in 1927. It was laid down that all classes should have physical exercise twice weekly during school hours and games one hour weekly after school hours. A few schools still avoid these provisions for want of an expert teacher, but the majority have effective schemes in operation. The syllabus of physical training (1930) was completely revised in 1933. Provision was made for the introduction of a large variety of interesting activities to replace the antiquated "drill" methods, such as, free-hand exercises, major games, small area games, gymnastics on apparatus, swimming and life-saving athletic sports, rowing and folk dancing. The syllabus leaves it to schools to select from this list the activities which the instructors are capable of teaching and which

are possible under local conditions. Scouting, Guiding and Bratachari activities are also strongly recommended by the Department to schools as voluntary activities. Government have assisted the central associations of these movements to conduct training classes for leaders and to establish branches in schools.

#### INDEX OF LOCAL INTEREST

The Government provided a considerable sum of money for grants to secondary schools and madrasahs for apparatus, medical inspection and organisation of games. The condition of the grant was that each school should contribute double the amount of the grant from games-fees and, apparently as an index of local interest, from other sources. Many schools were unable to satisfy this condition owing partly to lack of trained teachers and partly to general financial distress. Of Rs. 80,500 available between 1929 and 1932, only Rs. 48,172 was utilised by the schools. In the circumstances, it was decided to establish a Physical Training Centre in Calcutta for teachers and also to assist schools to develop inter-school sports associations. The Government Training Centre in Physical Education was opened in Calcutta in July 1932. The cost of running the institution was Rs. 13,064 in 1932-33 and Rs. 16,705 in 1933-34. In 1933-34 a grant of Rs. 940 was given to the Indian Schools Sports Association and Rs. 1,000 to the mufassil organisations. Similar grants are being distributed this year too. The aim is to build up subdivisinal districts and divisional associations or committees to organise school competitions on a systematic basis. These associations get affiliated to the central association by paying an annual subscription. They adopt the rules, etc., of the Indian Schools Sports Association and receive assistance both directly and indirectly in organising activities. Such progress has been made within this short time that a complete chain of subdivisinal districts and divisional inter-school associations affiliated to the central association is expected to be firmly established before long.

#### SPORTS AND GYMNASIIC CLUBS

The valuable work done by voluntary sports and gymnastic clubs which organise activities for young men and women unconnected with educational institutions has been recognised since 1933 by providing financial assistance to all deserving clubs. The Physical Director has attempted to assist these clubs financially and in other ways and has received excellent response from all parts of the province.

The training of teachers in physical education is being carried on as follows :—

(a) Graduate instructors are supplied for High Schools and Normal Training Centre in Physical Education. It is intended gradually to replace the drill-masters of the old type by instructors who have undergone a training of one academic year in all the practical subjects of the new syllabus and in associated theoretical subjects, such as anatomy, physiology, psychology, etc. It is further intended that these instructors should take over the teaching of hygiene in which they are specially trained. There are now seventy instructors in various parts of the province, of whom 36 qualified themselves at the Y. M. C. A. College of Physical Education, Madras. From 1934 the efforts made by schools to obtain the services of a qualified instructor have been taken into account in distributing grants-in-aid.

(b) The needs of Middle English Schools and Junior Madrasahs are being met, so far as is possible at present, by conducting annual courses for teachers from these schools. About 40 to 80 teachers are brought each year at Government expense to the Physical Central Training at Calcutta and awarded certificates on successful completion of the course. From 1934-35 onwards there will be three centres including the one at Calcutta, the other two being at Dacca and Rangpur and it is expected that it will be possible to train more teachers than was practicable hitherto.

(c) Training courses have been held for Inspectors of Schools of various grades in order that the supervision of physical training may be capably carried on.

(d) During 1929-32 training courses for teachers from Guru Training Schools were conducted, so that the approved methods of physical training might gradually be introduced in Primary Schools.

One of the most important questions associated with physical education in all schools has been that of tiffin supply. The difficulties have been fully investigated, and it has now been decided that a compulsory scheme will be tried out in all Government schools during 1935. It is hoped that the experiment will be a success and will justify the establishment of a permanent scheme suited to all parts of the province.

## PHYSICAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The physical education of girls has received close attention since 1926, Government are subsidising the Y. M. C. A. in return for the services of their physical directress. The latter conducts training classes for teachers, visits the schools in Calcutta regularly to assist teachers in their work, and tours to mufassil schools to give demonstration lessons and advice on the spot. Despite great difficulties definite progress has been made and rapid developments are expected in the near future.

## WELCOME CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

With the initiative taken by the Government in the development of physical education there has been a welcome change in the outlook of the people during the last five years. It is now more generally recognised that regular physical exercise helps in the production of vigorous mind as well as a vigorous body, and that success at examinations is useless if it leads to a weakly body and constant ill-health. The old objections so often brought forward by schools such as lack of space, cost of apparatus, difficulty of finding skilled organisers (and of paying them), prejudice due to convention of caste custom, fear of neglect of studies or of injury during games and many others are gradually disappearing. There is, however, much room for improvement yet. The response to notifications issued by School Medical Officers regarding defects of students is still inadequate. The majority of parents do not yet seem to realise that a boy with short sight, deafness, throat affections or digestive troubles cannot benefit to the fullest extent from the teaching for which he is sent to school.

## All India Science Congress

22nd. Session—Calcutta—2nd. to 5th. January 1935

## Welcome Speech

Colour and pageantry marked the opening of the twenty-second session of the Indian Science Congress which function was performed by His Excellency Lord Willingdon at the Senate Hall, Calcutta on the 2nd. January 1935.

Welcoming their Excellencies and the members of the Congress Mr. *Syamaprasad Mookerjee*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said :

"This is the fourth occasion that Calcutta has been chosen as the seat of the Congress. During the last twenty-five years India has made noteworthy progress in the domain of higher scientific study and research. On an occasion like this we cannot but recall with pride and pleasure that this has been achieved mainly through the efforts of Indian scholars who after assimilating the best that their own Universities could bestow, travelled abroad, equipped themselves with new knowledge and experience and came back to their motherland, trained for national service.

"In this great movement Calcutta has played her part with far-seeing vision and courage and has produced a band of capable and enthusiastic workers, who have by no means remained confined to their own University—scholars whose contributions in the different branches of science have elicited the admiration of eminent scientists in other and distant parts of the world.

"The splendid work which the Calcutta University has been fortunate enough to accomplish has been possible as much on account of the far-sighted policy initiated by *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee*, your first President, as through the munificence of two of our illustrious countrymen, *Sir Taraknath Palit* and *Sir Rashbehari Ghosh*, and later of the Kumar of Khaira.

"Outside the University the two institutions which have added most to Calcutta's fame and prestige are the Bose Institute and the Indian Science Association for the Cultivation of Science. Much valuable work has also been done in the several scientific departments under State and private control which have been adorned by officers renowned for their ability and attainments.

"If Calcutta was the pioneer, other provinces have not lagged behind and the presence here of this distinguished galaxy of talent from all parts of India bears ample testimony to the progress which has been already achieved.

It will however be unwise for us to assume that we have reached our goal or have even come near it. Indeed much more remains to be done if India is to contribute her legitimate share to the scientific knowledge of the world. It is not for me to discuss here in detail the form your future activities should take. But, if you will permit me, I shall mention for your consideration only two problems of outstanding importance which must be solved if we are to enhance our national efficiency and prosperity.

"It has been said that the future of civilisation depends upon the widening spread and deepening hold of the scientific habit of mind and it becomes an urgent duty with you, who represent science in this ancient land of ours, to think out and promulgate practical methods for effecting this. It is for you to indicate how to develop "that questioning, impartial, problem-solving attitude of mind, which must obtain if truth and sanity are to rule the world." It should be as much your duty thus to contribute towards the making of the Indian Citizen as your privilege to closely relate science to our everyday life, to regard it not as the special field of work for the gifted few but to make it the inheritance of the many.

"It is for you to raise the standard of education, to enrich its quality by interpreting the manifold discoveries of science to the lay public in non-technical language, preferably through our vernaculars, to unfold how the secrets of Nature have been brought to light, how resolutely darkness has been chased away, how science, like sunshine before mist, has cleared away doubt and superstition and opened up a never-ending vista before despairing humanity. This is one of the problems to which I venture to draw your attention.

"The other is concerned with the possibility—nay the imperative necessity—of an increasingly closer connection between the institutions you represent and the development of Indian industries. While it is true that by your original researches you have attained individual eminence, and some have acquired international reputation, inspiring others to follow your examples, it is time for you to consider what contributions you can make for the industrial regeneration of your country for the proper utilisation of the inexhaustible raw materials in which India abounds and which are at present being but partially utilised and that also not always to India's best advantage. Modern India asks you, have you considered the problem of helping the cause of our national progress not from the political platform where differences of opinion are bound to exist but from your quiet and peaceful laboratories and from your organised workshops? Have you considered how science should be applied towards the alleviation of poverty and suffering of millions of your countrymen? It is for you to undertake a systematic and scientific investigation of India's industrial problems, the solution of which would result in the improvement of our economic condition. Who are better fitted for this great work than you, who are expected to act inspired solely by the lofty motive of serving your country and humanity and not for personal gain or profit? What nobler return can you give for all the facilities which you have been privileged to enjoy and for the confidence which your countrymen have reposed in you?

"Your responsibilities are indeed immense. You have taken upon yourselves the sacred task of widening the boundaries of knowledge. Your contributions are subjected to searching examination by the master minds of other countries which offer opportunities to their scholars on a scale which we have yet to attain. On you rests the maintenance of India's prestige and reputation as a home for scientific and technological study and research. You cannot remain satisfied with academic achievements only. India expects you to utilise your attainments in such a way as to benefit your country and humanity at large—to regard science not as a powerful instrument of destruction but as a vital factor for the promotion of the good of mankind. To enable you to fulfil this noble mission, you are justly entitled to unstinted assistance from the people and from Government. As trustees of the precious heritage of knowledge, may you use your gifts in a manner which may not at any stage be marred by petty jealousies or unprofitable friction; may you extend the usefulness of your organisation from more to more, cementing all differences and raising higher and higher the mighty fabric of the Temple of Truth and Service whose doors will be thrown open to all seekers of knowledge, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

#### Viceroy's Opening Speech

Opening the Congress, His Excellency The Viceroy traced its history and its sessions at different centres and said :—

"It is apt to be forgotten that India is a Sub-Continent, with many centres of vigorous and expanding intellectual life. A body, which confines its activities to any

one place, can never achieve that synthesis of national service which must be the aim of, as indeed it is the sole justification for, an All-India organisation.

Though your activities thus extend throughout India and though they indubitably exercise a widespread and an expanding influence, the Viceroy has never yet been present at one of your meetings. I am confident that my friend and Joint Patron of this session of the Congress, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, will not grudge me the pleasure (which would otherwise have fallen to him) of opening the present session and of affording a practical demonstration of the keen interest which I and my Government take in your deliberations.

"I am even more glad that my presence here to-day coincides with what may be termed the "coming of age" of the Congress. In describing our present age as predominantly the age of science, the Viceroy said, "Every aspect of human activity bears testimony to this contention. Even literature has been enriched by the concepts and terminology of science. Economics and industry depend for progress, on its quickening force. Human life has been shorn of many terrors of disease by the light which scientific investigation has thrown on their causes and on the methods of their prevention and cure. The data of science have provided new and fascinating material for those brilliant minds whose speculations seek the inner meaning of the nature of life and the universe."

"India, the birth-place of philosophy, cannot but aspire to an active and honourable share in these movements, whether utilitarian or philosophic. But, as I have already suggested, India is a land of vast distances, and the isolation of scientific workers presents a grave disadvantage. It is, therefore, at least something that once a year, leaders in science have been enabled to meet together in order to exchange experiences and also to examine and discuss the several contributions which have been made by scientists in India to the common stock of scientific knowledge.

"I offer my sincere good wishes not only for the successful deliberations of the present session, but also for the future development of your Association which having completed twenty-one years of fruitful activity, now "comes of age". In the days that lie before us, India will need, more than ever before, your help and guidance.

It may be asked what part does Government play or propose to play in India's contribution to science. Members of the Congress will need no elaborate reminder of what the Government of India have done and are doing in this respect. Three scientific services, whose work has won world-wide recognition, owe their inception and existence to their initiative. I refer to the Geological, the Meteorological and the Zoological Surveys of India. Further, the Medical Research Department of the Government of India and the Indian Research Fund Association, which is financed by them, have done much to alleviate human suffering in combating those fell diseases which are still so powerful and so destructive.

"In the promotion of agricultural research, on which the prosperity of our agricultural masses so vitally depends, they still take a useful share through the agency of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The problems of India's forests, a great economic asset, also receive attention in the laboratories of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun.

"Again, a Bureau of Industrial Information and Research is in the process of formation, and only last month a Congress of Road Engineers met to devise ways and means of organising research in problems of road construction. In modern times, a country, without maps, is a "dark continent". The preparation of such maps has been accepted in India for many years past as an important function of Government; the topographical maps of this country, which the Survey of India produce, bear comparison with those of any other country.

"I hasten to add that we shall continue to render assistance in the directions to such extent as our resources permit. Nor is my account in any sense exhaustive of the share of the State in scientific research. Under our present constitutional structure, responsibility for many branches of scientific activity, as, for example, in medicine, industry and agriculture, rests, within their own territorial limits, with Provincial Governments. I have not touched upon their achievements owing to limitations of time as well as of information.

"But, Ladies and Gentlemen, Government can be only a single factor in what is a nation-wide undertaking. Scientific research demands the sympathetic interest and the effective support of all who have India's welfare at heart, of Governments, Central and provincial, of universities, which must remain the principal homes of fundamental research; of pioneers of industrial development; of landed magnates, and last, but not

least of scientists themselves. Those private individuals or organisations whom fortune has favoured with command of material resources, can afford the much needed augmentation to the financial assistance rendered by the State and by Universities. The example of late Sir Jamsetji Tata, and of late Sir Tarak Nath Palit, and of late Sir Rash Behari Ghose should be an emulous stimulant to private benefactors. Only then can universities and leaders of science satisfactorily enrich the stream of scientific activity.

"I have viewed with special interest and appreciation the growing contact between scientific research and the practical demands and requirements of industry, of which the liberal assistance given by the Burma Oil Company towards the foundation of the College of Engineering in Rangoon, and the recent donation of Messrs. Steel Brothers for research in oil technology at Lahore are outstanding examples—examples which are also significant of a growing and beneficial contact between universities and industry and which, I earnestly hope, are but the forerunners of a far closer intimacy between these two in the realm of scientific research.

"As for scientists themselves, besides directing the efforts of others, they can, by teamwork in the broadest sense of the word, ensure the maximum of achievement that is possible within available resources. For, however great may be the future assistance given by Government and by private benefactors, it can never be sufficient to satisfy the ever-increasing demands of scientific research. I would suggest, therefore, that there is urgent need for an effective and an economical husbanding of your resources. A well-devised co-ordination of scientific activities has become imperative; it is from this standpoint that I especially welcome the functions and outlook of your Association."

### The Presidential Address

Dr. J. H. Hutton then delivered the Presidential Address. He referred to the work of the Academy Committee appointed last year at the instance of Professor Meghnad Saha, who presided over the 1934 Congress. He explained briefly the composition of the committee and its work during the year, alluding to the controversy with the Bangalore Academy of Science and stated the present position, which is that the Academy Committee of the Science Congress recommends that the body initiated by the Science Congress shall be called the National Institute of Sciences of India and shall be co-operative with the three existing bodies of Academy status in different parts of India and any such other bodies as may be formed in the future. He recommended the Science Congress to accept their Academy Committee's report, and regarded it as an advantage that the General Committee of the Congress was not necessarily limited to scientists.

He went on to dwell on the need in India for the organised efforts of science, pointing out that the statistics available for sociological work are scanty and inexact. He said that although it was probably true that the population of India was not outstripping its potential food production, there were circumstances which made it probable that the population engaged in agriculture was more numerous than such a calling could support economically. A life on the land seems to be desired by the majority of Indians for its own sake, and not only as a mere means of subsistence; consequently there was very great need of an extension of part-time industries which could help to maintain an agricultural population. The application of scientific methods to the rearing of silk-worms and the production of silk might make India the premier silk-producing country in the world.

Much of the disease in India is due less to lack of food than to a badly arranged diet and there is a need for local and practical surveys of foodstuff on the lines of the food survey of the principal castes in Baroda published by Dr. Antia and Mr. Kale in the Baroda Census Report.

In this connection Col. Chopra's work on vitamins has shown the dietary importance of home brewed beers in India and temperance reformers need to beware of carrying their propaganda so far as to deprive parts of the population of a source of vitamin which may be irreplaceable. Even blindness has been shown by Sir R. McCarrison to be frequently due to a diet deficient in certain vitamins.

Turning to urban as distinct from rural population, Dr. Hutton emphasised the dangers of overcrowding, which is very great in many Indian cities. In Bombay 74 per cent of the population live in one-roomed tenements at more than 4 persons per room, and the fact that urban populations in India live so largely in houses of one storey makes the figures of overcrowding actually higher than they appear to be when compared with those of British cities.

In any case there is a real need for scientific town-planning in India such as that carried out in Great Britain by Sir Raymond Unwin. In this way the worst features of urban and industrial life may be avoided for the future.

Dr. Hutton next emphasised the quite exceptional opportunities afforded by India for anthropological studies. Among other matters he referred to recent discoveries in fresh cultural links between the Khasis and Syntings of Assam and the Far East, and to recent work on the butterflies of Malaya as pointing to the comparatively the date of land subsistence in Indonesia. He went on to urge detailed studies of the physical anthropology of Indian castes and tribes through the co-efficient of racial likeness, used for instance by Dr Guha in the 1931 Census, and through the study of blood groups. He also advocated a study of genetic questions for which caste system offers exceptional opportunities. In prehistoric archaeology he wished to see the explorations of the Indus valley extended to the valleys of the Jumna and Ganges, while in linguistics there is a very pressing need for a survey of Indian languages south of the Godavari river. In particular it was necessary to know whether any trace of Munda languages was to be found in Southern India.

"Another branch of research likely to yield very important results, if applied comparatively in India, was the psychology of dreams and the symbolism of the subconscious mind. The collection of folklore material was also important in view of the very rapid changes now taking place in life in India generally and particularly in communications. On the religious side survivals of beliefs were to be found in India which went back to a primeval stage of human history.

All this indicated the enormous field in India for anthropological research in all its branches, and what was most urgently needed was intensive local work in the collection of material before it was lost in the very rapid changes now taking place, as an instance of which was cited the rise in the figures of road transport of almost all kinds at the 1931 census. Extensive work involving generalisation can always be done later. Dr. Hutton then turned to the practical value of the study of anthropology. He suggested the application of anthropological investigation to the question of the excess of males over females in the population of India, its causes and its consequences; it is possible that the caste system and endogamous marriage may be partly responsible, through excessive mortality among girls aged 15 to 30 as a result of early marriage undoubtedly contributes. Above all, the study of anthropology should help to supply that 'new outlook on life. It would assist in getting rid of ideas of tabu which were confined by any means to savages but flourished wherever there was a highly organized hierarchical religion. Untouchability was quoted as an instance. Dogmatic religion always tends to be rigid, whereas the standard of human mortality, as pointed out recently by Professor Haldane, always tended to be quantitative or relative. Too rigid a code was apt to involve us in restrictions in custom and behaviour which are contrary to the welfare of Society.

Anthropology was also qualified to afford a better understanding between races. This was not only needed as between Britons and Indians, but between different component races of India itself. We have to learn to adapt ourselves to a world which is rapidly shrinking, and bringing into contact peoples and races with standards and ideas not readily compatible. Failure to adapt ourselves to new and possibly unwelcome contacts will merely cause discomfort to all.

Finally, any knowledge about the human race which anthropology could offer was to be welcomed as necessary to its survival. Great extensions of knowledge have been and are being made in matters which give man control of his physical environment, but the merest beginning has been made in knowledge of man's own nature and the control and the development of the human race itself. It has taken the human race about a million years to reach its present stage of development. Change has been slow in the past, but is now proceeding apace.

Sir James Jeans' estimates that the world will remain inhabitable for a million times a million years, and if humanity is to survive the incalculable changes which must take place during such a period, it will need all the knowledge of itself that it can acquire. The complacent attitude that "Truth is great and will prevail" was unduly optimistic, but it was the duty of all scientists to labour to that end.

### Second Day—Calcutta—3rd. January 1935

The second day's session of the Congress opened to-day with the holding of Sectional meetings under various Presidents at the Presidency College and the Institute of Hygiene on the Chittaranjan Avenue.

Dr. F. J. F. Shaw presided over the Section of Agriculture, Dr. J. H. Mitter over the Section of Botany, while the Section of Medical and Veterinary Research was presided over by Major K. R. K. Iyengar;

### Agriculture Section

Presiding over the Agriculture section, Dr. F. J. F. Shaw, D.Sc., A.R.C.S., F.L.S., spoke on Indian agriculture and plant breeding. The improvement of the produce of the soil and the consequent improvement in the conditions of rural life in India, he said, is the objective of every agricultural department in India. In the various departments of agriculture, workers in all branches of agricultural science have each contributed to the mass of knowledge which we possess to-day, and we are only just realizing that, if we are to exploit to the fullest economic advantage the results of scientific investigations in agriculture, we must add to the work of these specialists the labours of officers concerned with the investigations of marketing—the organization of production and exchange.

Dealing only with improvements in Indian crops which have resulted or may result from the work of plant breeder, the President said:—"The work of the plant breeder has for its object the improvement of agricultural produce either in quality or yield. At the present time when prices of agricultural produce are low the improvement of the quality of agricultural produce offers a more promising field of research, in the economic sense, than the production of high yielding varieties. It is, however, not possible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between these two goals of the plant breeder.

A field of work which has, until quite recently, been relatively neglected in India is the breeding of varieties resistant to disease. Varieties which possess various economic advantages in yield and quality and which also are said to possess disease resistance have been bred in considerable numbers, but the deliberate direction of a plant breeding investigation towards the production of a disease resistant type has in India been very rare. At Pusa recently we have succeeded in producing types of 'rahar' (pigeon pea) which are resistant to the wilt disease caused by 'Fusarium'. These results have been published and further work, not yet published, has been carried out on the inheritance of the property of resistance to wilt.

"Recent progress in wheat breeding in India has resulted in the production of races of wheat of high grain quality. The results of milling and baking tests carried out in the United Kingdom with Pusa wheats have shown that in a new type, Pusa 111, India possesses a wheat which is from the bread making point of view equal in quality to the best Manitoba wheat. Another new wheat, Pusa 114, is almost equal to Pusa in quality and has the added advantage that it has proved disease resistant both in northern India and in Sind.

Oil seeds are a crop of great importance in Indian agriculture, and as a result of the Ottawa Trade Agreement Indian vegetable oils and oil seeds now enjoy substantial tariff preferences in the United Kingdom. To exploit fully the advantages of these tariffs, work on the improvement of oil seeds is essential and is in progress at various centres in India.

While the main object of the genetical research on linseed at Pusa has been economic, the work has yielded results of considerable scientific interest and the full scheme of inheritance of colour in the petal, style and seed has been worked out and published.

The present situation of potato growing is unsatisfactory. All the potatoes in general cultivation outside South America appear to have been derived from one or two varieties that were introduced into Europe in the 16th century. The number of varieties was increased by selection from seedlings and by crossing, but with such poverty of initial breeding material it is hardly surprising that little real progress has been made. It will be clear that there are many difficulties to be surmounted in effecting potato improvement in India. Up to now almost nothing has been done in this direction, practically all the previous work on this crop having been limited to storage problems. Recently, however, a comprehensive scheme of research and breeding at Pusa and at a sub-station in the hills, with the aid of a grant from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, has been drawn up.

Sugarcane like potato is a crop which is vegetably propagated and in this sense offers a relatively easy problem to the plant breeder with the accompanying disadvantage of the ready perpetuation of disease in the so-called 'seed'. The advantage lies in the fact of course that a desirable hybrid can be readily propagated without being fixed in the Mendelian sense.



There is one aspect of the plant breeders work which we, who labour for agricultural improvement in India, should not lose sight of. We, who are botanists, may produce a heavier yielding variety of a crop, but there is a limit to the productivity of the soil as it is generally cultivated by the ryot, and therefore improved methods of cultivation must accompany the introduction of improved varieties if we are to maintain the fertility of our lands. The labours of all of us in all our respective branches of science are equally important in the advancement of the oldest and most important industry in India.

### Medical and Veterinary Section

Presiding over the Section of Medical and Veterinary Research, *Major K. R. K. Iyengar* M.D., D.P.H., I.M.S. spoke on Rabies. Rabies, he said, has been known to mankind for over 2000 years. In the earliest pages of the history of medicine there is evidence of a very remarkable knowledge as to the character of rabie infection. The first reliable information of this disease among dogs is found in Aristotle (B.C. 322) who was familiar with the spreading of the disease from dog to dog by means of the bite. In 1804 Zinke observed that the saliva of dogs was infective, and he artificially infected healthy dogs, rabbits and fowls with rabies by painting the saliva of rabid dogs into freshly made wounds. This was the beginning of experimental research work in rabies. From 1881-1888 Pasteur, by a series of brilliant researches, provided the constant occurrence of the rabies virus in the central nervous system of diseased animals. He further showed that other animals could be infected with it by direct inoculation upon the surface of the brain and thus resulted in the method of certain diagnosis of rabies. He offered to the world a method which would overcome the infection after it was received by the inoculation of the rabbit fixed virus in various stages of attenuation and thereby placed the coping stone upon a life-work which has transformed the whole face of medical theory. As the immunity response appeared analogous to that met in bacterial diseases, Pasteur considered he was dealing with an organism which he was unable to see with the microscope then available. Up to date no discovery concerning the disease is on a par with the classical work done by him. The failure to isolate the virus and cultivate it was still the main difficulty in making progress.

Of the many experiments carried out in the cultivation of rabies virus, not one can stand criticism. A successful cultivation would provide the correct basis for prophylaxis as well as for a specific therapy. In 1913, Noguchi claimed to have grown successfully the rabies virus in test tubes but he could not proceed with the work and every one who has repeated his procedure has failed to confirm his results. Although the nature of the causative agent is still unsettled it must however receive consideration in any discussion on diseases caused by filtrable viruses.

By far the largest proportion of persons who come to anti-rabies institutes for treatment have been bitten by dogs. Dogs must therefore be regarded as the chief agents in producing mortality from hydrophobia in man. Jackals inflict about 5 per cent of the bites; cats still smaller proportion; whilst other animals may be left out of consideration. If rabies amongst dogs were to be practically eliminated, not only would the greater number of deaths from hydrophobia in man be prevented, but also a large number of cattle and domestic animals would be saved. Stray dogs when rabid transmit infection here, there, and everywhere until they succumb to the disease.

In Germany rabies has been so successfully controlled that it is now regarded as entirely a frontier disease, that is to say, every case in man and animals can be traced to an importation and rigorous preventive measures are promptly taken. In Australia I believe that rabies is now unknown. In the British Isles the muzzling order was introduced followed by the quarantine of all imported dogs, and this has resulted in the eradication of the disease within a few years. At the time there was a public outcry against these orders but yet the end justified the means and persistence was crowned with success. To control rabies, dogs must be controlled; and if any class or individual is beyond control they must be gradually eliminated and not allowed again to come into existence. In this endeavour the State and the public are interested and earnest co-operation is necessary on all sides if anything is to be achieved in the way of regulating the dog nuisance and the danger from rabies.

### Third Day—Calcutta—4th. January 1935

#### Anthropology Section

In course of the third day's session of the Congress three sectional meetings were held in the Baker laboratories of the Presidency College.

Presiding over the section of Anthropology, *Dr. G. S. Ghurye*, M. A., Ph. D. (Cantab) spoke on "Anthropology and our Educational System." He spoke on the scope of the study of the subject and the assiduous researches so far, which shed light on the early stages of cultures of Egypt and Palestine, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Added to the prehistoric cultures of Western Europe the work of scholars for two generations has revealed the prehistoric culture of Central and South-Eastern Europe, of the Caucasus, and of the Caspian, of Central Asia, of China, of India and in particular of the Indus Valley and of Africa.

Now it is well-known to the students of the history of human culture (continued the speaker) that the early stages of the civilizations of man are to be looked for in these lands rather than in the prehistoric soils of Europe or Africa. The way, commerce, invasions and other human activities brought into close contact, one with another, the various cultures in the Caucasus, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in the Aegean and even in China is a fascinating and an instructive study in the development of civilizations. It established the reality of culture-contact and its effects in furthering the cause of higher civilisation.

That culture does not run uniformly but has its own cycles is another important lesson which is impressed upon the minds of students of the civilizations of these areas. It leads the thinking mind to probe into the causes of cyclical changes of civilisation. Study of the cultures of these areas is bound to tell the students the extent to which every succeeding and higher phase of civilisation is reared on the basis of the preceding ones.

Altogether it furnishes the best proof of the conscious or unconscious co-operation of the human mind in creating the civilisation that Europe, before the development of modern science, became an heir to and thus emphasizes the supreme need for patience, tolerance, and respect for some of the contemporary peoples for their present backwardness.

To Indian students it will bring a mental balance which will enable them to avoid a sense of inferiority or of complacency whose manifestations are very detrimental to our national interests. And yet this important and significant aspect of a study of culture does not find its proper place in the official conception of Anthropology, which deals almost exclusively, in the practice of anthropologists, with the culture of preliterate peoples. Even in the syllabuses of the degree-courses in Anthropology of many of the British Universities such a study is not prescribed. The syllabus of the London University in this subject is perhaps the most comprehensive and conceived in a very liberal spirit. But even in that syllabus the study of culture that is expected of the candidates for the Honours-degree in Anthropology does not extend to the study of most of the great ancient civilizations.

Recently there has been a tendency in some of our Universities to introduce in their curricula the subjects of Anthropology and Sociology. At this juncture it is desirable to define our province in a catholic spirit so that there may not be disassociation nor overlapping. Unfortunately there is already prevalent the view which confines Anthropology to preliterate peoples, Sociology to modern nations, and Ancient History to ancient civilised peoples.

It is my earnest desire to protest against this view that has led me to address you on this subject. I firmly believe that courses in Anthropology must include one on the comparative study of culture and another on comparative social institutions, embracing the culture and institutions of preliterate, ancient civilized and modern nations. Similarly, courses in Sociology must include them both, and in addition a course on Race. The distinction between the course in Anthropology and the one in Sociology must lie only in their emphasis. While in Anthropology racial evolution and distribution and the cultures and the social institutions of preliterate peoples are studied in vastly greater detail, in Sociology this stress must be laid on modern nations. Any other distinction is, I submit, spurious and detrimental to the best interests of both the subjects and of society.

In the present condition of our country, Anthropology ought to prove useful in both these ways. There are a number of peoples, jungle tribes and others, whose assimilation in our civilisation is one of the important problems awaiting solution. In order to be able to solve the problem their past and present condition must be carefully studied, their cultural affinities fully investigated. No doubt an amount of good material is already available. But the problem has not been authoritatively enquired into in the light of the material. It is time that an expert committee were appointed either by our Congress or by the Government to discuss this problem and to lay down a plan and a programme to be worked out with a view to ameliorate

the condition of these peoples who have remained outside the main path of cultural development in our country. It is clear that the District and other officials who have to come into close contact with these peoples in their administrative capacities ought to have a good training in Anthropology in general and the ethnography of the specific area in particular.

The need for a study of Anthropology because of its other use is even greater in our country. I believe, as all educationists must, that knowledge sooner or later influences our attitudes and practices, to a greater or less extent. I have already dwelt on the liberalizing and liberating influence of a comparative study of culture. At the present juncture, when we are passing through a trying phase of contact with Western culture, a deep study of cultural process, the need for contact and interaction, and the cyclical nature of civilisation ought to orient us properly towards the situation.

It is accepted by a large number of our educated countrymen that there is much maladjustment in our social institutions, and anachronism in some of our religious beliefs and practices. It is also felt by many that one of the chief causes of the lack of unity between the Muslim and the Hindu sections of our nation is mutual ignorance of their respective cultures. A general study of culture thus becomes a national necessity with every educated Indian. It therefore ought to find a place in our University curricula.

It is well known to you that many of our social reformers when they suggested certain reforms in our social customs and religious beliefs appealed to—and there are many who still appeal to—the old scriptures and tried to gain support for their ideas by interpreting the scriptures in such a way as to uphold the ideas they wished to promulgate. In so far as such an attitude assumed that many of the desirable reforms were only our ancient customs and beliefs enshrined in the scriptures but latterly mis-interpreted it engendered—and even now it does so—a firm belief in the minds of laymen that our scriptures are all comprehensive and we need not go outside them for reform. It strengthened and strengthens the common belief that our scriptures are infallible.

If the reformers interpreted the scriptures in a manner to uphold their views scores of Pundits could vouchsafe for the accepted and routine interpretation which fully endorsed the current practices and beliefs. Laymen already very favourably biased on behalf of their customs were and are swayed by the interpretation of their beloved Pundits. The result is that in spite of the splendid endeavour of the many high-souled and earnest reformers the desirable reforms have been very slow to come into practice. I firmly believe that the right method of approach towards the problem of social and religious reform is not by way of an appeal to a fresh interpretation of scriptures but by way of presenting to all educated people—and through them at second hand to even the uneducated ones—a comprehensive picture of social institutions, customs, and religious beliefs of peoples of different climes and times and of various stages of cultural development. It is only when our educated brethren are armed with a comparative study of this kind that some of them at least will develop a proper attitude towards our existing customs and beliefs.

All those, therefore, who will have the chance of leading public opinion in however a small area and in whatever capacity—whether as a taluq-officer or as a political leader or as a social worker—should have made a comparative study of social institutions and religious beliefs. I submit that the end can only be achieved if this aspect of Anthropology is made compulsory in many of our courses of study for various examinations.

The considerations set forth above have led me to the opinion that the examination for the recruitment to Civil Services ought to have certain subjects compulsory and of these at least the two aspects of Anthropology—viz., a general study of culture and a comparative study of social institutions and religious beliefs—must be one. Similarly to achieve the objective they ought to be introduced, along with some other social sciences, as compulsory subjects in Degree-courses which pertain to non-specialized examinations.

### Romance of Coal-Tar

Dr. A. C. Sircar, President of the Section of Chemistry in his address on "Recent work on the Higher Coal-Tar Hydrocarbons", gave in the beginning a short review of the recent work that had been done with the object of utilising that commodity. The chemical investigator, said Dr. Sircar, has always a flavour of romance attached to it, although to the lay public coal-tar, judging by any of their organs of senses,

has nothing to recommend in its favour. But the chemist who searched for its secrets has produced from it a constant stream of most wonderful and varied products of both scientific and commercial importance. Although it is only recently that the commodity has received any important technical application as an intermediate in the dye-producing industry there was every prospect that further research in the field would yield results of importance and perhaps of considerable commercial value.

### Bihar Quake Study

Presiding over the Section of Geology, Dr. *M. S. Krishnan* dwelt on the study of Dharwarian rocks in India, particularly those of Chotanagpur where he had worked during the past nine years. In that connection he discussed their bearing on some problems of correlation and sedimentation. He stressed upon the necessity of periodic review and statement of informations relating to the subject since, in spite of the large amount of painstaking work devoted to those ancient rocks, the present state of knowledge about them has shown that there were still large gaps to be filled up by further intensive and systematic study before anything like universally applicable and acceptable generalisations can be made about them.

In a symposium on the great North Bihar earthquake of January 15, 1934, Dr. *S. C. Roy*, Director, Colaba Observatory, Bombay, gave an account of a 'seismometric study' from the available records of Indian and neighbouring extra-Indian stations lying within a radius of about 4000 miles from the place of origin of the shock. The seismic phases which are important in the study of very near earthquakes were discussed. The seismographic observations showed that the disastrous earthquake of January 15 was preceded by several feeble foreshocks. The epicentral region of the great shock was located near latitude 26 deg. 6 N and longitude 86 deg. 2 deg. E with origin time as 14th 13m 16s I. S. T. The depth of the local region was about 8 miles below the earth's surface.

The seismic data also threw light on the stratification and constitution of the earth's outer crust in Bihar, which was estimated to be about 36 miles in thickness. The outer crust is stratified over Bihar in four layers (1) a sedimentary layer about 1 mile thick (2) a granitic layer about 8 mile thick, (3) a basaltic layer 14 miles thick and (4) an ultra-basic layer 13 miles thick. The disastrous shock originated near the interface of the granitic and basaltic layers. The seismograph of the Indian stations were put out of action by the strong shock and failed to give more valuable information. The working tool of the seismologist is the seismograph and it may be well if the Indian seismologists review their position in the light of the behaviour of their present instruments during the occurrence of the great earthquake.

At present the Indian seismic stations have mainly two types of seismographs,—Milne-Shaw and Omori-Ewing. The Milne-Shaw instrument is a delicate one and is intended for recording distant and weak shocks. All seismologists with experience of various types of instruments agree that the Milne-Shaw is the best for the purpose for which it was designed. It should, however, be remembered that any delicate instrument designed to record distant and weak shocks cannot but be upset by strong, and near shocks. There is, therefore, nothing surprising that all the Milne-Shaw seismographs at the Indian stations were put out of action by the great shock.

The Omori-Ewing seismographs at present in use at Indian stations have practically no damping arrangement to prevent them from oscillating in their own natural periods and producing a very complicated record of great shocks. With such undamped instruments and with strong shocks the pendulum movement as recorded can have no relation to the earth movement, with the result that the records of such instruments fail to give any reliable information regarding the amplitude and the period of the maximum waves of great shocks.

Severe earthquakes are, of course, of relatively infrequent occurrence at any given place, but it should be remembered that engineers need more exact knowledge in regard to motions of strong earthquakes in designing various types of structure and models of buildings. It appears desirable that the Indian seismic stations should each have also insensitive modern instruments with suitable damping arrangement.

### 4th. Day—Calcutta—5th. January 1935

#### Mathematics and Physical Section

Three sectional meetings of the Congress were held in Calcutta in the Baker Laboratories of the Presidency College and the Institute of Hygiene on the Chittaranjan Avenue.

Dr. N. R. Sen, presiding over the Section of Mathematics and Physics, delivered an address on the development of Modern Theoretical Physics and its limitations, in course of which he dwelt on the "bond of continuity" that had existed between the mediæval and modern physical science. Passing on the consideration of the New Mechanics with its achievements and limitations he pointed out the lines on which further development was to be expected.

### Psychology Section

Presiding over the Section of Psychology, Dr. Suhrit Chandra Mitra of the University College of Science spoke on "psychology and life". He referred to a tendency in many intellectual centre, especially perhaps in our land, to decline to put serious conditions on any proposition that does not bear the mark of some one or other of the recognised philosophical schools or is not amenable to the process of measurement by some one or other of the accepted ethical standards. The tendency is certainly not healthy for the development of any science.

After crossing the "hurdles" of behaviourism and philosophy, Dr. Mitra came to the centre of his theme, and referred to the problem of the individual—how to adjust one's self to the social conditions of life or to make the social conditions suitable to one's self—and on the ability to offer useful solutions of this problem depends the success of psychology as a practical science.

Dealing with the individual abnormality, which is anti-social and which society devises mean to counteract, Dr. Mitra said: "Preservation of the harmony is the goal of all man's striving and the effort to maintain it is the spring of all the everyday actions. For these reasons, I consider that the definition of disease given by Dr. Bosc is the most accurate and logical one from the theoretical standpoint as it has also proved to be the most fruitful in the practical field. He defines disease "as an abnormal and an anti-social trait" and by an abnormal trait he means a trait whose deviation from the average is greater than the standard deviation of the group to which the individual belongs. The conception of abnormality thus varies not only from group to group but also from age to age.

"The method of dealing with abnormalities, when by accident or for reasons not yet discovered, they happen to be present in rather a large body of persons, varies in different societies and history shows that only these societies have flourished and continued to live which found, let us call it, the social method of treating them.

"For example everyone agrees that Hermaphroditism is an abnormality and is present in almost every society perhaps in much larger numbers than is usually imagined. But a society which refuses to tolerate them and imposes restricting legislations regarding them only weakens itself; because by forcefully shutting out these victims of circumstances for traits for which they themselves are certainly not responsible, a society creates dissensions among its own members and invites the hatred and antagonism of a large section of its own populace. The net result of this turns out to be the loss of that adjustment which is the essence of a living society. But in some societies as e.g. in our Hindu society, all these dissensions and consequent tension of feelings have been avoided by a very simple but at the same time highly ingenious method, viz., by giving these unfortunates a distinct social status. They have been made to feel that though abnormal they have certainly some function to fulfil in the service of society and this at once removes the sting from their grievances. Being assured of a safe and somewhat responsible place in society they do not feel themselves compelled to wage war against it, as similarly deformed persons have to do in other lands. Witness, e.g. the efforts of Miss Radcliffe Hall in her book "The Well of Loneliness" or the attempts in some other countries to obtain legal sanctions for acts of homosexuality.

"Now these Hermaphrodites cannot be at once cured of their disturbing hereditary defects by means of medicine, neither can they be all on a sudden removed from the face of the earth by more magic or murdered all together by acts of legislation. Therefore, however paradoxical it may sound, the only effective way of dealing with them and of preserving society against them lies in taking them within its fold and by an amoeboid movement absorbing them into it.

"A large number of abnormal persons has been integrated into social groups by the simple device of providing for them an appropriate social atmosphere as is to be found in the different religious sects. The religious practices of these sects are often very queer but because of the fact that they have a social sanction behind them a good deal of individual mental struggle is avoided. The operations of the herd instinct, in providing mental equilibrium are to be seen in these so-called abnormal

groups. This fact should serve as a warning to reformers who aim at a summary revolution of the entire social fabric.

"Following a similar trend of thought one can easily understand that an idea becomes a false one only when it cannot be assimilated with other ideas that have already co-ordinated themselves and formed a system. Such an unintegrated idea is a superstition with reference to the already existing system.

But a superstition cannot be removed simply by pointing out the finger of scorn to the person or nations supposed to have it. The only method of dealing with it is the psychological method which starts with a ready assent to the superstitious idea but gradually works up and out of it. One must know why a superstition originates and what individual demands it satisfies before one could cure it.

"Children have too many wrong notions in their heads and possess quite a number of superstitious beliefs but to wipe out all such absurdities from their minds, mere dogmatic assertion of statements contrary to their cherished ideas and beliefs will avail absolutely nothing however often they might be repeated. It is for this reason that it has been said that one has got to be a child with the children. It has been repeated many times in theory but unfortunately forgotten an equal number of times in practice.

"To bring about a better adjustment between the individual and the society, the disturbance of which causes much personal suffering and a good deal of social unrest, there are three ways left open. It can be done by changes introduced in the environment, by modifications wrought in the psychical constitution of the person or by a combination of both these methods. The remedies suggested by psychology are not however wonder-working miracles like those medicines so much advertised in the daily papers and 'guaranteed to cure all ills whatever within a few hours of being taken otherwise money to be refunded.' To suggest psychological remedies, investigations into the material conditions of the cases as also psychological analysis of the human elements involved are the first prerequisites and both these steps of the procedure need time. Hence it would be demanding too much from psychology when she is asked, as she has sometimes been asked, to prove her mettle by freeing the society of all evils immediately and at a single stroke."

Dr. Mitra then traced the influence of psychology on trade and industry and referred to the researches in the west in this respect. "Strikes and lockouts", he said, are more often than not a result of bad management which brings about the gradual collapse of that spirit of co-operation which ultimately is the rock upon which any organisation where many people have to work together must rest. The personality of those entrusted with the task of making men work together is an important factor and should always be given weighty consideration. This may sound as a common place observation to make but be it stated that it is modern psychology that has found means for the proper selection of such personalities.

"The method of selection is of course not perfect as yet and certainly there is need for its improvement; but the programme has been laid and it may very well be hoped that the time is not far off when in the free and civilised countries of the world different posts requiring different capacities will be filled by just the proper set of persons certified by the psychologists as possessing the required abilities. And these certificates given by the psychologists will not depend on their whims or idiosyncracies but will be based on objective tests from which the personal factor of the examiner will be as far as possible eliminated.

"These tests, vocational tests, as they are called, are now in great demand everywhere. They are a crying necessity here too, but I am afraid that the sad spectacle is witnessed here in abundance of M. Sc., B. L's earning their livelihood by doing petty clerical jobs, or of people of no calibre whatsoever holding high executive appointments, of skilled artists compelled to hide their talents in the dusty archives of a mercantile firm, of the legal profession being filled to over-flowing by wits, half-wits and no-wits even, of teaching being the last refuge of the despondent unemployed, the sad spectacle of these and of others too numerous to mention cannot be removed by the application of the vocational tests alone. The application of such tests presupposes that a certain degree of efficiency is desired and therefore they are of no avail where efficiency is not a prime consideration."

Speaking on education, Dr. Mitra said, "I may be permitted perhaps to point out with some pride one remarkable achievement that has already been accomplished by the Calcutta University. The introduction of Vernacular as a medium of instruction in high schools even has been a step, as you can easily understand, of every great psychological importance. I have no doubt that as a result of the deliberations of the

various committees and subcommittees which have been appointed by the University, a better system of education, more suitable to the modern conditions of life in our country, will emerge which will help to stem the tide of disappointment and distrust that has overtaken our youths and to root out from their hearts the source of all mad and reckless activities.

"Let it however be brought home to all concerned that however ideal a school curriculum may be from the theoretical standpoint it may not be possible for every boy and girl to go through the course prescribed. It is sheer waste of energy to attempt to force down the same matter in the same way through the throats of all. The time and the effort of the students unfit for such a curriculum but compelled to undertake same are entirely lost. Such a student when he grows up becomes merely a burden to society, whereas the chances are that had he been given proper facilities for developing his own innate aptitudes which did not perhaps lie in the line of the prescribed course, he might have been one of the most useful members of it.

"It is in connection with this problem that the Intelligence Tests perfected by the psychologists are of the greatest use. In other countries periodical tests of the intelligence of every student have become a regular feature of all school work and in some countries college freshmen even are subjected to tests with a view to helping them with suggestions as to the courses best fitted for them.

"I should mention, that in India too some work in this direction has been done. Dr. Rice has translated the Terman tests into Hindusthani, and attempts to form suitable questionnaires and to determine norms of Bengali children have been made and are still being made by Mr. H. P. Mati and Mr. G. Pal, both of our Department in the University here, the former of whom was elected President of the Psychology section of the Philosophical Conference which has just concluded its deliberations at Waltair. I would like to suggest here that the preparation of standardised sets of intelligence tests, suitable to the different provinces of India be at once undertaken by the respective Universities and the labours of the different Universities in this direction be co-ordinated through the medium of the Inter-University Board. The determination of norms is no doubt a task beset with difficulties but they are not insurmountable ones. As regards the University of Calcutta, I think, the already existing Board called the Students' Health Welfare Committee may be enlarged by the addition of Psychologists and recognised teachers whose duties it will be to collect psychological statistics along with other information regarding the physical health of the students. When these statistics have been collected they may be sifted and analysed and out of them the norms may be prepared".

Dr. Mitra then referred to the value of psychology in revealing the contents of the infants' mind and in this connection paid a tribute to the work of Freud and said that psycho-analysts have unjustly been accused of 'sox mama'. The educational significance of Freud's researches lies specially in the theory which he has propounded regarding the development of the sex life of the infant and the interplay of the emotions of love and hatred towards their parents.

"It is very much to be regretted", he said, "that while the number of mentally afflicted persons is steadily going up in our country, the attempt to grapple with this growing evil is limited as yet only to a few persons".

## The National Institute of Sciences

The inauguration of the National Institute of Sciences in India was performed on the 7th. January 1935 in the afternoon at the Senate House of the Calcutta University by His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal.

In course of a short speech Dr. Hutton, President of the Indian Science Congress, invited His Excellency to perform the ceremony.

### Governor's Address

Inaugurating the first session of the National Institute of Sciences of India, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in course of his speech said:—

The popular conception of a scientist is that of a man who pursues truth for its own sake and with no interest, or at any rate no selfish interest in the practical

application of his discoveries, and I can conceive no better way for scientists each pursuing his own special line of research to co-relate their investigations and to turn them into practical channels than the formation of some central institute by means of which their ideas can be pooled and brought into relation with each other. I can see no limit to the field of usefulness which this new institute of Sciences can cultivate for its purpose is to co-ordinate the work of such academic bodies as have already been created in various parts of India and as may be created in the future.

#### ACADEMIC GROVE

Many members of this Institute are Chemists and will be aware of the remarkable progress made in synthetic chemistry during the present century. These members may wish to employ some form of synthetic action in building the structure of this academic body. Others who are Anthropologists or Psychologists will naturally apply the lessons of their sciences to the aspects of social life and human organisation presented by this institution. Those who are Botanists or Agriculturists, understanding all the mysteries of seedtime and harvest, may be expected to be valued gardeners in, shall I say, this academic grove. If the creation of this new body has given rise to some birth pangs, the medical members will know that this is nothing strange and they may be able to prescribe a regime of life calculated to promote healthy growth and to inhabit the normal disorders of youth and adolescences. And as man is after all a member of the animal creation, it is probable that the Zoologists may find in their own science matter which may be of help to this new body. Even the Mathematicians should have some ideas on such aspects of structures and numbers as must be manifest in the life of an academic body. In short all the sciences represented in your institution are capable of contributing to the wise guidance of your body corporate. Even the Geologists who at first sight might seem to be rather out of the picture should be able to help, for their study of fossil bearing strata may enable them to detect and to avert any premature fossiliferous tendency should this begin to manifest itself. With considerable diffidence I suggest that this consideration may have been one of the reasons why you have chosen as your first President a distinguished representative of geological science whose special knowledge of ancient putrefaction makes him so fully aware of the necessity for mobility and vitality.

#### ORGANISED STEPS

To turn from a consideration of the competent parts of this new body and of the way in which they can function to the best possible advantage of the whole, I should like to attempt a very brief summary as I see it of the sequence of events which has led up to this evening's gathering. A philosopher has rightly characterised the great intellectual transition in the west, contrasting the mediaeval with the modern conception of life as the transition of an attitude in which man interpreted nature by tradition to an attitude in which he corrected tradition by observation of nature. The first organised step in this direction in India may be said to date from the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in this very city in 1784. The second step dates from the middle of the last century. In 1857 the Calcutta University was founded, followed at short intervals by a number of other universities. In addition there were a series of great scientific surveys during the 19th century. The third step was the meeting of the Indian Science Congress for the first time in 1914. To-day as a fourth step in the progressive organisation of modern science in India we are met together to inaugurate the National Institute of Sciences in India. We have here the sequence as follows :—

First a society of a varied and comprehensive character. Secondly, three quarters of a century later, Universities and specialist scientific services.

Thirdly, half a century later, the annual meeting of individual scientists.

Fourthly, after another quarter of a central and all-India co-ordinating body, embracing all modern scientific research in this country.

It seems to me that this gradual, and yet at the same time accelerated, progress is regular and natural and therefore highly satisfactory. The various steps forward indicate the gathering of sound fruit produced as the result of steady labour. There is in this evolution no putting of the cart before the horse.

#### A BRIGHT FUTURE

That this Institute should be the result of steady and healthy growth augurs well for its future and for the quality of its work, because it will have to deal with gigantic problems. Science in the modern sense of the word has been implanted in



India through the largely accidental external influences of colonisation aided by free communications with other parts of the world which have themselves developed differently and at a different pace. The vast country which is inhabited by at least 350 million people is as regards the illiterate masses in much the same condition as Europe during the middle ages. To those who have the time and the inclination it may afford an interesting field of speculation to consider what will be the result of the interaction between this modernism of the few and the traditionalism of the many. There is a humorous if cynical cliché on this subject to the effect that "He who bets on a certainty is a rogue; he who does not is a fool." This much however is sure that the eventual results will largely depend on the wisdom, insight and intellectual calibre of those representing the ideas and sciences which this Institute has been founded to promote.

I am sure from my personal observation that at its inception at any rate this Institute will be served by members blessed with wisdom as well as learning and that in consequence, its future is bright. I would only add, if I may one word of caution and of exhortation. I know from my own experience how, by reason of their training and of the nature of their work, men of Science tend to become strongly individualistic in their outlook and impatient of any form of constraint or discipline. The success of this Institute will depend, I believe, very largely on the extent to which this very natural tendency can be held in check. No one, I am sure, need be apprehensive lest his work may suffer in freshness, originality or vigour from loyal adherence to the aims and objects of this Institute. On the contrary union is strength and inasmuch as the boundaries of science are constantly expanding and the interdependence of the individual sciences constantly increasing, I trust that this Institute will continue to be, as I am assured it is to-day, truly representative and that its members will all derive from it strength and inspiration and a greater capacity for service. In inaugurating this first session of the National Institute of Sciences of India, I wish the Institute all possible success.

#### Dr. Fermour's Address

In course of his inaugural address *Dr. J. L. Fermour* said :—

It is desirable to clarify our ideas about our National Institute; and this can best be done by sketching briefly the development of scientific research in India so as to show the position of our National Institute of Sciences with reference to other scientific organisations, followed by a discussion upon what our National Institute should do.

In the present century we have entered on a new stage in the development of scientific research in India. In the matter of specialist scientific societies the geologists gave an early lead with the foundation of the Mining and Geological Institute of India in 1906. The Indian Mathematical Society was started in 1907 in Madras as the Indian Mathematical Club and at present the office thereof is in Poona. This was followed by the Institution of Engineers (India) founded in 1921, the Indian Chamber Society, was founded in 1924, as also the Geological, Mining, the Metallurgical Society of India; whilst in the past year, three all-India societies have been founded in Calcutta, namely, the Indian Physical Society, the Indian Society of Soil Science, and the Indian Physiological Society. There is also the Society of Biological Chemists founded at Bangalore in and the Institution of Chemists (India) founded in Calcutta in 1927, the Calcutta Mathematical Society founded in 1908.

In addition to the Government scientific services there are also in India several research institutions viz. Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research at Muktesar, the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa (1903), the Central Research Institute at Kasauli (1906), the Imperial Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun (1906), and the All-India Institute of Public Health and Hygiene in Calcutta (1934), the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, and the Haffkine Institute, Bombay.

Further, there is an Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore founded in 1911.

#### THE UNIVERSITIES

Finally, we must mention the Universities which as their title indicates may be concerned with all branches of knowledge. The oldest universities in India are these of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, all of which were founded in 1857, followed by the University of the Punjab in 1882 and University of Allahabad in 1887. In those Universities Chairs of Mathematics, Chemistry, and Physics are almost universal and, in addition, most universities have chairs of Botany and Zoology, but only a small proportion of them have Chairs of Geology.

With this multitude of new bodies there is an increasing need for organisations directed to counteracting fissiparous tendencies so as again to bring men of science and other branches of learning back to a common fold providing for a free exchange of views. At the beginning of this century the only organisation directed to this end in a really comprehensive manner was the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In 1902, however, the Government of India made provision for the co-ordination of official scientific enquiry in a Board of Scientific Advice.

There is now no official Council of Scientific Research in India dealing with science as a whole, although there are two official councils dealing with important sections of scientific research. One is the Indian Research Fund Association and the other the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

The Indian Research Fund Association was founded in 1911. It is entrusted with the duty of organising medical research institutes throughout India and of deciding the allocation of available funds. In this the Association takes the advice of an Annual Research Workers' Conference held in Calcutta.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was formed in 1929 for purpose of research in agriculture including veterinary research.

#### THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

The isolation of certain scientific workers, to which I have already alluded, is partly the geographical isolation of those who live in places where there are but few scientists, and partly the specialist isolation of large numbers of scientists one from another due to their specialisation. In order to counteract to some extent both forms of isolation Prof J. L. Simonsen of Madras and Prof P. S. MacMohan of Lucknow, both Professors of Chemistry, proposed in 1911 the formation of an Indian Association for the advancement of science, analogous to the British Association. As a result, the Indian Science Congress was born, the inaugural meeting being held in 1914 in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the patronage of Lord Carmichael and the Presidentship of Sir Asutosh Mookherjee. There can be little doubt that the Indian Science Congress has proved of very great benefit in promoting intercourse between the scientists of all parts of India and all sciences thereby mitigating both forms of isolation. But this Association meets only once a year, and it is for one week only during 52 that scientists are afforded the opportunity for this fruitful intercourse.

#### THE ACADEMIES

There is no doubt that there is a great need for the existence at the important centres of scientific research of bodies in which workers in various branches gather not for the reading of specialised papers dealing with minor details and specialist problems, but for the reading and discussion of papers with broader outlines and for the interchange of views. This brings us to the Academy.

An attempt to found an Academy to serve so large an area as the whole of India is probably misdirected effort, until rapid means of transport become very much cheaper than they are at present. From this consideration it seems also to follow that the promotion of the regular intercourse of the men of letters and science throughout India is only feasible in the first instance on a regional basis, so that each important region, in which there is any volume of research, should have its own Academy, preferable of both science and letters jointly, but otherwise Academies of science and letters separately. It is impossible to foresee at present what number of Academies of Science so large a country as India really needs.

#### ALL-INDIA ACTIVITIES OF ACADEMIES

While Academies must, therefore, function locally or regionally in the most important portion of their activities, they can also legitimately make a wider appeal. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, originally founded as the Asiatic Society, with the intention of investigating within the geographical limits of Asia 'whatever is performed by man, or produced by nature', has as the result of its researches secured a membership that is not only all-India but international. Nevertheless the major benefits of its activities accrue to those who are within easy reach of its headquarters, and eventually the Society has had added to its name for purposes of identification a territorial or local designation, so that it is now called the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

#### THE UNITED PROVINCES ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The United Provinces Academy of Sciences, has already secured numerous members outside the geographical limits of the United Provinces, so that its activities, like those of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, are partly local or regional and partly all India.

## INDIAN ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES

When in 1933, the proposal was mooted to found an Indian Academy of Sciences, some of us overlooked the fact that there were already two such Academies in existence,—one called the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the other the United Provinces Academy of Sciences. The proposal, therefore, to found a third Indian Academy which was entrusted to a Committee appointed by the Indian Science Congress, logically meant either the creation of a fresh garden in another part of India, or of a body to co-ordinate the already existing gardens. Our friends in Bangalore knew all the time that they needed a Society of Academy status with its headquarters in Bangalore. Had they boldly said so at the beginning, the confusion that has arisen in scientific circles during the past year would have been avoided, because it is obviously correct that Southern India should have its own philosopher's garden. However, Bangalore did not do this, so that the general problem was entrusted to the Academy Committee appointed *ad hoc* by the Indian Science Congress. When this took place logic necessitated, though the position had then been analysed by no one, the formation of an Academy of Sciences in Southern India, and possibly of others in Western India and the Punjab, and then the formation of a co-ordinating body for all the Academies, three, four or five in number.

## THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, BANGALORE

Object as we may to the manner in which our Bangalore friends cut adrift and abruptly started a new Academy, their action has at least had the merit of revealing the logic of the situation, so that we can appropriately end by welcoming the Indian Academy of Sciences founded at Bangalore.

## THE FORMATION OF THE INSTITUTE

But we still need a co-ordinating body; and that is why it is necessary to found the National Institute. Obviously this co-ordinating body should not compete with the Academies in such a way as to harm them. The prime function of the Academies is to arrange for regular meetings for philosophic discussions on a suitable periodic basis, and for the regular periodic publication of the results of these meetings and discussions. With these activities of the Academies our National Institute should not seriously compete. Instead, our National Institute should have as one of its major activities the co-ordination of the labours of the various Academies. This may prove to be a task of some importance and magnitude, for since India is as large as Europe without Russia, so eventually, as the progress of science so justifies, it may prove desirable to found Academies of Sciences for several of the larger units of territory in India.

## LIAISON OF NATIONAL INSTITUTE WITH THE ACADEMIES

There is at present no organic relationship between the co-ordinating Institute and the co-operating Academies. Each of the Academies is a completely independent body and the extent to which co-ordination of their labours can be effected through the National Institute depends upon the measure of concord that is established. We have arranged, however, for an effective liaison with the three existing Academies by providing on the Council of the National Institute for additional Vice-President and an additional Member of Council for each of the co-operating Academies to be nominated by the respective Academies. In addition also, partly because common sense requires it, and partly in acknowledgment of our debt of percentage, we are providing for an additional Vice-President and an additional Member of Council to be filled from the Executive Committee of the Indian Science Congress.

## FELLOWSHIP OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE

After full discussion the Academic Committee decided that our new body should have a membership sufficiently restricted to make it a distinction to belong thereto, but at the same time not so limited as to prevent us having at our disposal a useful volume of scientific experience and ability. After full discussion the Academy Committee decided that our new body should have a membership sufficiently restricted to make it a distinction to belong thereto but at the same time not so limited as to prevent us having at our disposal a useful volume of scientific experience and ability. We decided that it would be suitable to start with 125 Foundation Fellows and to elect 10 new Fellows annually thereafter. In selecting the Foundation Fellows the Academy Committee first assigned quotas on a percentage basis to the various sciences

and then appointed small sub-committees to make nominations upto the quotas for the first 100. In order to provide for rectification of inequalities and omissions should such have occurred, the Academy Committee placed the remaining 25 names for election before those of the first 100 who had accepted Foundation Fellowship. That our methods have met with approval is shown by the fact that out of the 125 scientists invited, 113 have already accepted Foundation Fellowship, 6 only have declined, whilst three unfortunately have died.

Our Foundation Fellows are disturbed throughout the length and breadth of India and include representatives of every branch of science. They include all the Fellows of the Royal Society resident in India, all the past-Presidents of the Indian Science Congress resident in India but one, almost all the heads of the Government of India scientific departments and research institutes, and many distinguished occupants of University professorial chairs throughout India.

#### THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE

In framing our Council we found necessary the large number of 25 in order that after allotting to the headquarters station sufficient members to ensure the possibility of always being able to secure a quorum, we should also be able to have Members of Council in as many of the important centres of scientific research in India as possible. We hope in this way that our Fellows in all parts of India will be kept in touch with the doings of our Council. In addition to these 25 Members of Council representing the National Institute, we have, as already mentioned, made provision for each of the three co-operating Academies, as well as the Indian Science Congress Association, to be represented, by an additional Vice-President and an additional Member of Council, selected by the Academy from amongst our Fellows who are members of the respective organisations. In all the cases the representatives appointed by co-operating bodies must be Fellows of our National Institute.

It is obvious that one of the functions of our National Institute should be to act as the organising body of a National Research Council in India.

#### THE CO-ORDINATION OF LABOURS OF MEN OF SCIENCE

Coming now to the question of the aims and objects of our National Institute, these have already been defined in a note issued with the Academy Committee's report. These, as you know, are substantially the same as the aims and objects that were placed before the Academy Committee as a result of the series of resolutions passed by the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress in Bombay in 1934. In my opinion the most important of our objects are to be prepared to co-ordinate the labours of the scientists in India to effect co-operation between the various bodies of Academy rank, and to render possible the formation of a National Research Council.

#### MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE

In my view our Institute does not exist primarily for the purpose of reading papers so that we shall not need to hold regular monthly meetings. We have suggested that to begin with two general meetings in the year for business purposes will suit our purposes. One of these will be held at the city where the Indian Science Congress meets, so as to render possible the largest attendance of Fellows. The other will be held at the city selected for the business headquarters of the Institute.

#### AN ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE IN INDIA

In addition, we propose to resuscitate in a different form the labours of the Board of Scientific Advice by publishing annually a review of the progress of science in India. Our reviews will, however, differ from those published by the Board of Scientific Advice, in that they will take account not only of the labours of scientists employed to Government services, but also of unofficial scientists throughout India.

#### CONSOLIDATED COMPTES RENDUS OR PROCEEDINGS OF ACADEMIES

Another matter that is of serious concern to scientists is the increasing number of new scientific journals, so that it is becoming increasingly difficult for any worker in science to keep up with the progress in the branch of science in which he is more particularly interested. From the point of view of a scientist in a particular science, specialist journals are the most convenient, and to this extent those published by bodies of Academy status must be regarded as a source of inconvenience. Therefore, we require some means by which the productions of all the Academies may be made

conveniently accessible to all workers of science in India. For this reason it has been agreed that one of the duties of the National Institute will be to issue a consolidated Comptes rendus or Proceedings containing summaries of the papers read before all the three co-operating Academies. I can imagine that later it may be asked why we confine our activities to papers read before Academies only, and I can foresee as a development that eventually it may prove desirable to include also summaries of papers published in specialist scientific societies, and in this way to produce a consolidated Comptes rendus of all papers read before both Academies and specialist societies in India.

Although normally scientific research is severely specialised, so that scientists tend to work in water-tight compartments, yet every science has its borders where it touches one or more other sciences, so that there are fruitful fields or, shall we say, gardens, of possible co-operation along these boundaries. It is, therefore, sometimes suitable and desirable to promote special meetings for the purpose of arranging discussions, by scientists of allied sciences of problems of joint interest. These discussions are usually known as symposia (literally drinking together) and it has been agreed that the arrangement of symposia may be regarded as one of the functions of the National Institute.

You will remember that in accordance with the resolutions passed in Bombay last January one of our purposes should be to promote and maintain a liaison between men of science and men of letters. The Academy Committee decided during the year that our first task must be to found an organisation devised specifically to suit the needs of scientists and that the question of providing for this liaison with letters must be left for the future. You will, I hope, all agree with me on the great desirability of ultimately effecting such a liaison which would be brought about ultimately if my vision of National Institutes of Arts and Letters co-operating with our National Institute of Sciences of India should come true. For the present we may consider that the desired liaison has been effected in an indirect way by the fact that one of the Academies co-operating with the National Institute, namely the Asiatic Society, is an Academy both of sciences and of letters.

Our provincial rules do not name any place as the headquarters and there is nothing in them to prevent a change of headquarters at any time should the interests of National Institute render this desirable. Meanwhile convenience and common sense appeared to require that we should, to begin with, locate the office of the Institute in Calcutta. Once concord had been established with Bangalore. Sir C. V. Ramana himself suggested that this was obviously the logical and correct course to follow. We have accordingly decided to start in Calcutta, but in accordance with the statement made to our Foundation Fellows in our note on the aims and objects of the National Institute, we propose during the first year to take the opinion of our Fellows on this point.

As we have decided to make a commencement in Calcutta, the Asiatic Society of Bengal has generously offered to provide us with office accommodation; and also to permit us to meet in Council and to hold ordinary meetings of our National Institute as necessary in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In making this offer the Asiatic Society preserves its traditional position as the mother of the development of science in India. We hope also that the Government of India will assume towards our National Institute its traditional position as father by providing suitable funds. For I hope you have realised from my address that the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Government of India between them are the mother and father of the development of scientific research in India.

## All-India Muslim Educational Conference

The following is a summary of the presidential address delivered by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, M. L. A., at the 45th annual sitting of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Agra on the 19th. March 1935.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed said that they were on the eve of a revolution in education with which the Government, the people and parents were all dissatisfied. The Government of India had recognised the feelings of the people, and they had accepted the opinions of Provincial Governments in a circular issued two months ago. The present problem could only be solved by the co-operation of the Government, the

capitalists, industrialists and educationists. The Government should be prepared to spend large sums of money of finding employment and in financing new industries. The present attempt of the Government to provide more technical education would lead to greater unemployment, unless some provision were made to open out new industries. Dr. Ziauddin then gave a detailed description of the Educational Conference formed by the minority communities in Central Europe; and he gave a vivid description of a German Educational Conference which the German Minority established in Czechoslovakia. He then recommended that the Conference should now have three distinct sections under three responsible officers. "The first section should deal with the question of unemployment. This section should be a sort of Service Securing Agency which should publish the prospectuses of Government and semi-Government services, and should help the students in their preparation for competitive examinations. The prospectus issued by the Government of services in its allied departments should be published periodically in the Conference Gazette."

"The second section should deal with the co-ordination of Muslim schools, and the representation of their grievances before the Government. Muslim schools are, at present, handicapped in two ways: (1) the chances of promotion of teachers are very scanty and dismissal is the only punishment which is exercised even in minor offences; (2) schools are suffering from unsympathetic treatment, they are receiving by the Government in matters of grant, and routine life. This section should lay the grievances of the Mussalmans not so much by the resolutions of the Conference but by means of questions, resolutions, memorial presented through the Muslim members of Legislature, who should be taken as ex-officio members of this section. These members can do greater service to educational problems than the resolutions passed by Academic bodies."

"The third section should deal with the new problem of village uplift. The Rt. Hon'ble His Highness the Aga Khan also suggested that the All-India Muslim Educational Conference is more competent than any other body to deal with this problem. This Conference can always count on His Highness the Aga Khan for assistance and support. Village uplift is a very vague and wide term and it may be interpreted to mean anything; but this Conference should draw out a scheme of village uplift and should carry out its work extensively in all provinces and intensively in selected places. For the success of this movement, education is very essential. Primary education may not be compulsory but it should, at least, be extensive."

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed then discussed the question of an educational plan and the period of instruction in the schools of different grades. In his opinion, education upto the degree stage should be divided into the following four grades (1) Primary education. Its period of study should be four years and education should be imparted in the mother tongue. Religions should be a necessary part of primary education; (2) Middle stage. Its period of study should be three years and instruction should be in vernacular. English language should be an optional subject, and provision should be made for the study of the technical subjects. Public examination at this stage may be optional. (3) High School stage. Its period of study should be three years. Instruction should be in vernacular and English language should be a compulsory subject. It should have a variety of professional subjects as alternatives to some liberal subjects. There should be a public examination at the end of this course, which should qualify candidates to join a University. (4) College stage. Its period of study for the degree course should be three years; and it should have only one examination at the end of the degree course. The medium of instruction should be both English and vernacular.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed emphasised the fact that the change in periods of instruction if made at all, should be made simultaneously in the whole of India. This question should be taken up by the Provincial Governments and by the new Educational Advisory Board which the Government of India are now setting up. As for primary education, Dr. Ziauddin said that the Government of all the provinces had admitted the need for free and compulsory education, but they had shifted the responsibility to bankrupt bodies as District and Municipal Boards. These local bodies had neither got funds nor could they levy any taxes without seriously paralysing trade and industry, as the Central and local Governments between themselves had squeezed out the last penny which the people could pay.

As regards secondary education, Dr. Ziauddin advocated that the State should take the entire responsibility, as in every country the State was responsible for secondary education, and should maintain sufficient number of high schools at suitable centres. As regards higher education, he said that its problem among the Mussalmans was intimately connected with the problems of the Aligarh Muslim University. This university

should continue to be a centre of Muslim culture and learning ; and it should provide teaching and research in Islamic subjects for which no provision could possibly exist in any other institution. For technical education, he advocated the establishment of a Polytechnic Institute which might provide teaching in a variety of subjects.

Regarding female education, he regretted the lack of education amongst the Muslim women. The people were inclined to send their girls to schools, but opportunities did not exist. He advocated separate schools for Muslim girls for three reasons : (1) Absence of Muslim traditions from the text-books in Government Girls' School ; (2) Lack of provision of Pursha and religious instruction ; and (3) unsympathetic treatment of the staff. He advocated that liberal grant should be given to girls' schools. In the end, he emphasised the importance of separate courses and separate public examination for women, with schools which should be accompanied with all those privileges that are given to parallel examinations conducted by boys.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed then discussed the question of examinations and pointed out some of its important defects. He said that the whole of education was dominated by examinations. He held that success in examinations was more a question of luck than merit. Discussing the objects and scope of the Advisory Board of Education to be established from April, he said that its work and its functions should be similar to those of the Council of Agricultural Research. Educational changes of all India character should all be initiated by this body. It should co-ordinate the standard of High School Examinations all over India, and should make known the results of experiments carried on in various provinces. It should maintain a good library and periodically publish pamphlets in special subjects.

In conclusion, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed reviewed the work of the Provincial Conferences and said that they should also modify their system of work on the same line as is suggested for the All-India Educational Conference. The Provincial Conferences existed in many provinces, but for lack of definite ideals before them, their activities had now become seasonal. He said that though education could not solve all the problems of India, yet no such problems could be solved at all unless education was put on right foundation.

## All Bengal College Teachers' Conference

### Tenth Session—Calcutta—20th April 1935

Presiding over the tenth conference of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association at Feni on Saturday the 20th. April 1935, Prof. H. K. Sen in course of his address on some Problems of Modern Education said :—

When one notices that the fruits of education are not all that could be desired, in despondence, one naturally asks, what is wrong with the system ? The faith in the art of educating prompts enquiry into the fundamentals on which educability depends. Can these be anticipated and influenced ? Can the element of mystery be removed from phenomena related to the mind, by bringing them on a par with the positive sciences ? If evolution has been rendered possible by a limited variation in hereditary, does it imply a corresponding limit to the subject and scope of education ? Are we wasting substance and energy in trying to educate all ? Can we institute a mechanical analogy as to the task before us ?

We are beginning to realise the possibility of overcoming many of the so-called defects of the mind or intellect, either by resorting to special considerations of the physical side, or by devising means of intellectual appeal suitable for the individual in question, or by applying a combination of both methods. At the same time, this conception of education has in it a further important implication, namely, the ready adaptability of certain types to certain definite but distinct modes of training. The probable variations being very large, if not indeed infinite, may we not after all be performing a most objectionable function by trying to convert all into one type ? Should all be either lions, or tigers or apes ? Is there not the desirability of producing the best of each according to tendencies with which they are born ? Should then, the method of handling be alike ? These are questions which should be considered in developing the future education of humanity. The theoretical complexity may at first stagger us, but fortunately, the various types can be, for all practical

purposes, grouped under a few. The older schemes of education have to step aside to provide for these types, confining its activities to the greatest common measure of human similarity.

It is the general experience that if 100 students start in a lower form, by the time they reach the matriculation class, a good third drops off, and hardly more than five or six get to the M. A. or M. Sc. stage! And this is what should be, if the present system be pursued. The elimination in the examinations does not indicate incapacity in but general incapacity of a particular type. The square holes have eliminated the round men! This, at least, may be said to be the general picture of the present system of education. There are a certain number of round men whose diameter is such that they can pass through the square holes but they never pass filling up the squares. The rejections may be theoretically useless, depending no doubt upon the standard set up for the square holes, but the more rational way of looking at the problem would be to concede to these big round men much larger square holes or apposite round holes! A system of education which aims at certain patterns only, lacks in University, and, as such, cannot claim the high position which it has had till recently. One can understand a position in which educational institutions aim at imparting a minimum of education which may be termed the greatest common measure of child intellect. The extent of this must vary with environments. An English school boy, the product of hundred years of a particular set of environments, could not be compared with an Indian or Chinese school boy, whose educational environments are quite different. The dose which one can easily take and assimilate would not be the same. But yet, with the lapse of time, the doses administered might vary in quantity and quality. The elastic limit is reached not all at once, and the risk of overstraining must not be lost sight of.

An important question is that of the language by which the intellectual shocks are to be imparted. This, to a subject race, brings in a confusion by virtue of the utilitarian quality of the language of the ruler. But since the large masses of the population of all cultured countries can write and think in their own respective language there is no inherent impossibility in our doing the same in our own language. It certainly involves waste of energy to learn through a different language, though in countries where a really expressive and elastic language does not exist, modern requirements could be better fulfilled by adopting a language which has the greatest currency. Whether a dialect of a country or province should not be glorified into a language, is a different problem altogether, depending upon the height it has already attained even under the comparative isolation of older times, and on the potential capacity for expression. No doubt language is nourished by national characteristics, but the importance or usefulness of any one of them will be judged by its suitability and elasticity. In fact, the effect of language depends upon the writer, as that of the musical instruments on the player. The comparative expansion of one language or the other may depend upon political reasons, but every language should be ennobled by the work of its writers. The national or political value of a language may be an accident, for there are those languages which are as yet far from being as expressive and sublime as the military, scientific, technical or commercial attainments of the lands of those languages. Long centuries of culture only can evolve a beautiful and useful language, and while on the one hand, its cultivation need under no circumstances be discontinued, the adoption of a world language has its very distinct advantages. Thus in most countries where a language (as distinct from a dialect) already exists, the attempt should, on the one hand, be made to improve it, and, on the other, to acquire the world-language, which ever that may be in the generation. Whilst the mother-tongue will be best suited to acquire facts and theories, the world-language would be the international currency.

Thus the decision of the Calcutta University to impart education in the school stage through the medium of the Bengali language has been a rational one, the non-recognition of which was in no small measure responsible for the slow development of Bengal's intellectual qualities. The proper perception of a fundamental principle, is a step forward, and the most imperative task of an educational system to administer it through a language which the student best understands. For Bengal a most important step has been taken, and we, as teachers, should cooperate for this renaissance. If any province in India has for some reason or other absorbed the English language so far that in the particular case, teaching through the medium of the English language is more effective, it will be a wasteful philological exercise to try and impart education through the less developed language of the province. Here utility should take provincial pride away! As acquirement of education is essentially and



finally a personal matter, encouraging the habit of reading for one's ownself should be the basic principle of teaching whether in the universities or in the schools. Hence libraries should be available to students and people generally on the one hand, and popular addresses, visits to exhibitions and museums should be encouraged. The gamut of understanding should not be very hurriedly accentuated, and only a normal and easy growth through education can bring a nation or a race to a higher standard of cultural living. The most healthy sign of a national evolution is its demand for cultural, and not that culture is thrust upon any one. Here in India we are constantly speaking of mass education, but not the masses. Is the time ripe for it? The success of compulsory education will be very much reduced, if the desire to have it did not come from within. In other words, the proneness for education must be shown by the person himself, otherwise education will be misplaced, and expenses incurred without corresponding benefit.

This may look like an advocacy of retrogression, but when one desires compulsory mass education to be introduced he must be prepared for the corresponding alteration in the outlook of life. If then the circumstances, social, economic and political do not afford him the chances of fruition, his whole life becomes a philosophy of discontent. This education instead of being a source of happiness, brings misery in its train. The central plea is that the urge must come from inside for the acquisition of knowledge, as much as appetite from a natural healthy physical balance. Then food is relished and absorbed, and the system has the sense of well-being. In any case, one has to believe in this appropriate evolution not only amongst the masses, but also amongst the so-called privileged classes. The fruits of university education are only indifferently enjoyed by the general educated community. The sense of comfort, the standard of living, the possibilities of the joys of life, all which education unfolds can hardly come to the lot of many, as they constitute mostly material comforts and, as such, economic sufficiency is at the bottom of such a realisation of life. There is thus unconsciously created a situation in which competition of a gross or vulgar type springs into existence, and a group feeling against groups automatically results.

All questions here must be considered from two points of view, the internal (national) and the external (international), and a philosophy harmonising these two should be defined. The moral value of such a dual system of treatment may indeed be enhanced to a degree of sublimity bordering on a universal federation, and the modern youth tendencies go far to show the necessity for expanding the geographical boundaries to combat against this isolation of the races. Such and similar ideas must proceed from educational institutions, where youths are prepared for the battle of life. The mere imparting of the three R's is the least part of human education. While equipping men and women for some kind of work, they fail to equip them for the real struggle of life where the philosophical fundamentals regulating the relation between individuals, nations and races, are of primary importance. Hence it is that culture has more value than civilisation, and religion more than science?

Now, as it is important to bring these thoughts within the scope of modern education, no less important is the unification of the natural forces with the higher problems of spiritual life. In other words, to harness material forces so as to serve the higher ends of human destiny, should be the end of scientific discoveries. Unfortunately, however, much good has been adulterated with much evil by the material progress ashored in by the brilliant success in scientific research! The march of destruction proceeds apace with the institutions of healing; pleasures have to be brought by the usury of pain! A problem that is not considered gentle enough for educationists in this country to touch upon is the problem of sex. To-day is the day for sex-problemists. They have tried all their ingenuity to justify unbridled sex. It would have been so simple, and not a matter for justification, if only they would combine the necessary element of truth and justice in such relations. If they would, they soon notice that the relation of sex is not at all ugly, but full of joy and creative glory. Under conditions of truth and justice, even if the present system of marriage were discontinued, a system would ensue which is no less binding than marriage and no less sacred because it was not performed at the altar. If the marriage system has degenerated, it is for deficiency in truth and justice, and any future relation between man and woman would not last, unless these two elements are present. No amount of sex appetite can be sufficient to bind two together, unless the higher traits of human character influence their actions. In educational institutions, co-education is assuming an important aspect. Now, speaking frankly, if our daughters and sisters are to enter the struggle of economic life, is it possible to segregate the two sexes? If the former is accepted, the latter

i.e., co-education is not only inevitable but salubrious. On the other hand, if the economics of a nation is so ordained that women have no function to play in the work-a-day out-door life, co-education may be to a great extent regarded unnecessary. But this differentiation in the vocation of the two sexes, cannot be absolute, as the fullest expression of individual life demands extended experience, and, on the whole, if the ideals of truth and justice be inculcated, disturbance in social organisation is not to be feared about.

In education, if not in any other province, the alertness of teachers to the organic evolution of the student-mind is of the highest importance. From the time that a boy is admitted to a school, whether primary or secondary, to the time he leaves the University, there is the period which taken seriously and intelligently, will pave the path to prosperity and happiness, and which if misused, will probably forever cripple the physical intellectual and spiritual resourcefulness of the student. Herein lie the difficulty and the responsibility of a teacher. But the responsibility of those institutions which co-ordinate the educational methods of the land and control its development is no less. As a matter of fact, these superior organising bodies have to show indefatigable patience and utilise their best intellectual perceptions in order to construct a synthetic whole for the educational development of our boys. Although there is no difference of opinion as to the necessity of introducing such measures in our educational system as are calculated to develop one's natural gifts, to their fullest, it is not clear that our present-day mode of imparting the same type of intellectual exercise to every individual student, is the best course to follow whilst admitting that it would be often that a genius finds himself in an uncongenial surrounding in a mechanical system of education. It cannot be contended that there is a greatest common measure which satisfies most persons whose intellect is neither too sharp nor too dull. The delicate nature of child's upbringing therefore, is quite apparent, and it is one in which no amount of theoretical or practical experimentation can be considered too much. The study of child psychology is important and urgent from whatever point of view we may look at it. It would not do to-day to speak lightly of the Kindergarten system—a Pestalozzi or a Froebel is fundamentally greater than even the conqueror of an empire.

As the beginning holds within it the end, our first reformation should commence from the early stage. There is no question of encouraging the habit of dependence on teachers but what I contend for is, that the unfolding of the child-nature must not be through the rod but through a gradual and natural process of mental development through object lessons and discipline which the earnest teacher improvises and to which the child willingly submits. The whole ethical value of punishment corporal or otherwise, must be carefully considered and more often than not, it will be found that the very best educationists have had the least occasion to take recourse to the ferule. The idea of child education based upon threat and punishment must be considered as obsolete and 'spare the rod and spoil the child' must not be taken literally.

It is evident that the ideal of higher education cannot really be fulfilled in all its details unless there is a well thought-out co-ordination between the higher and the lower studies. The problem of a nation is not to produce the greatest of its men but also to confer upon the mass an education instilled with all sorts of useful information based upon the fundamental knowledge of facts. Such a system alone can produce uniform results as far as uniformity may be expected with such diverse units of intellectual capacity as are to be met with in the human system. It is this want of co-ordination which strikes me as being one of the chief reasons amongst many which have rendered our educational system comparatively sterile. The scheme does not make for the development of the practical sense of our boys. The measure of real success in our system has been so little that the business man is not far wrong when he thinks that education has till now created men with crippled commonsense although its avowed and acknowledged function is to develop it. A most critical period has now arrived when a reckoning of this matter is being found essential from the point of view of national economics. The postgraduate system which is the highest educational activity of this University, attaining a fair share of success in research, leaves much to be desired in the domain of teaching. This is mainly due to an imperfect and unassimilated training in the lower courses. It would appear, therefore, that for the highest educational development of the nation, the basis must be broader and built on a fundamentally sound preliminary education. One feels that much of the value of higher discipline is being lost because of this imperfect preliminary training of students in general. It would be vain to expect that in two years of postgraduate study our students could mend all the imperfect methods they had learnt during their first 20 years. Want of method which is the prevailing curse amongst most of us, has arisen

from the homes and in the schools. The remedy is difficult seeing that co-operation between parents and teachers is sorely wanting. He that knows the practical importance of method would have no hesitation in declaring from house tops, that national efforts are realising an unspeakably low efficiency for want of method.

A comparison of the knowledge of a city boy and a village boy of the same age brings out very clearly the need for some radical change in the practical side of our educational schemes in addition to the hereto accepted cultural training of the boys, the business of the life requires the development of what may be called vocational culture to which little or no practical step has yet been directed. Industrialisation of school education carries with it the highest ideals of a democratic nation, and it is by combating the fewer incidents of failure by the more numerous ones of success that its usefulness has to be universally proved and established. For a country with the full prospect of economic independence, both by virtue of its extensive agriculture and mineral deposits as also by its huge population there can be no doubt that the development of practical trend of mind by incorporating industrial education into the fabric of its culture, a position of contentment, power and dignity could be attained which would take years to be distributed by international squabbles. It was, therefore, thought necessary at the Conference in Bengal to form a Committee for the consideration of this subject with the speaker as the convener. It would be only apposite to refer to the unanimous opinion which the Committee held with regard to the introduction of practical methods in the training of boys and as to the advisability of imparting education through the medium of the vernacular. It behoves me further in this connection to refer to the problem of secondary education. Personally I feel that by retaining intermediate colleges under the University, the University is accepting too much responsibility on the one hand, and unintentionally stunting the growth of secondary schools on the other.

It is generally agreed, after a course of training in the school, a boy should be fit to undertake the ordinary avocations of life (not that of a specialist). The curriculum of the schools should therefore be so framed and the teaching so synchronized that this object may be practically realised. It can be stated, without fear of any contradiction that the present system has failed to achieve this end; even after passing the intermediate examination, a boy's equipment is below the requirements of ordinary life. It is sad to admit that even the degree course does not lead any further. The real reason is that no serious attempt has been made to develop the understanding of the boy, in spite of the high-sounding syllabus prepared from time to time by the University. Unless we do away with the necessary details of education, and stock our schools with real teachers who feel their vocation, and who sincerely believe in an ideal of education not divested of the requirements of daily life, no amount of legislation, no amount of secondary board, would make for any substantial advance in the educational problem of our country. The first incongruity is the medium of instruction, which is now expected to be remedied.

The rather unusually large number of students seeking admission to the degree and post-graduate classes, has disturbed many educationists. In an extremely thoughtful address at the Mysore University Convocation, Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, discussed several years ago, a natural remedy for the 'mass-production of graduates' as so expressively put by Sir P. C. Ray. "Once high school methods are discontinued at the College stage, students incapable of working according to University standards will drop out. Employment of specialists, diversified courses, increased options, smaller classes, self-help and self-reliance on the part of students, the joy of research work, the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, and daily contact with noble souls—all these go together, and they will help to obviate both mass production of graduates and sterile insignificant careers. It is mis-education, not over-education that has been the bane of this country". Others would secure efficiency by strict examination. I have no doubt this would be a remedy, but to secure efficiency by ruthless elimination is one thing, and to bring up the general standard of students' intellectual calibre is another.

I confess there is not a human system that cannot be improved. The post-graduate system is a human system. With all its imperfections, the academic freedom, its chief characteristic, which it has enjoyed since its inception, has been more than justified by some of the most brilliant contributions from its members. It was a bold experiment, probably conceived a little ahead of the times, but even this short period has proved the sagacity of the step. Bengal should see that no short sighted policy may cut at the root of this sprouting tree.

Those reformatations in some points, at any rate, are not dependent upon a wholesale change in the existing machinery of education. The machinery, though not of the best, has been rendered powerless of much improvement through economic insufficiency. Unless a teacher were freed from the condition of a drudge, clamorous complaints about the inefficiency of education should be hushed. As long as we, teachers, alone are interested in education, and as long as the public at large have no intelligent perception of the need for good education, I fear, we shall be crying in the wilderness. The public is a pretty good judge, for our schools and colleges, libraries, laboratories and museums have no significance to them, unless they find that through them come civic comforts and economic well-being. A greater understanding between the teachers, and the public must be cultivated when the latter would realise that education is not a dividend-paying concern in the sense that a coal trade or a manufacture is. Educational dividend must be reckoned in other units of coins. Its beneficial influence is ever present like that of the sunshine and the air we enjoy. Its powers are more felt in its absence, if we are not sagacious enough to understand it by its presence. Like all other business, education can be choked for want of capital, with this distinction, however, as the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee once said that you can never over-finance it. Let us, therefore, unite and plead not for our own sake but for the sake of nation-building; let the teachers of affiliated colleges assemble together to give a new fillip to the existing scheme of education by establishing a more satisfactory academic and financial condition. A democratic governing body with adequate staff representation, should be a distinctive feature of such a reconstructed machinery for college management. Let us at least spare education from the rod of the Dictator!

The special advantage of such a democratic governing body would be the investment of its members with responsibilities. Unless a sense of responsibility is developed in a person, he cannot really be expected to identify himself with the cause he serves. I feel positive that such an innovation would make for the best management of the institutions, with a better contented band of professors and lecturers. In such a system there will be less chance of government by personal idiosyncracies and less room for personal preferment. Stabilisation of service, rules for leave and provident fund, scale of pay, would all then come to be determined by the workers themselves who would each feel himself responsible for the disbursement of the resources of the college. The principal, as the head of all the departments and as the ex-officio secretary of the Governing Body, would be the natural leader of all the staff, and each department could be conveniently conducted by a committee of its own with the senior professor as the chief. Such a division of duties with a larger share of internal freedom, will develop a better system of college administration on the whole. I would go a step further even at the risk of being ridiculed by you. The voice of our students, for whose good institutions exist, should not be absent in the deliberations of college discipline. The natural aspirations of the youth, their ideals and desires are not to be brushed aside by the cold, unimaginative and colourless outlook of age. Experience is something that can only be acquired and cannot be accepted from others; nor is it safe to take anything on trust. Of far greater importance is sympathy. Religion, sociology, politics are all subjects of engrossing interest for youthful minds and who is there that wishes well by them that would ban one or the other of these from their unsophisticated mind!

The Student Welfare Committee organised by the University has given us the warning in unmistakable terms. The health of our students,—boys and girls,—is getting worse from day to day, and the future citizen is digging his own grave with his own pen! This criminal negligence of the students' health is a more serious problem than education itself. As ignorance of health laws can be combated by knowledge, a regulation of our social laws would bring in a joy of life which alone can sustain mankind. With increasing economic changes, these are problems of the greatest importance in the reconstruction of our educational pagoda.

In concluding to-day, I would refer to an interesting article which I read recently in the "Advance" by H. N. Chatterjee, on unemployment and its remedy. It deserves special mention here, as a scheme of social and economic interdependence between the educated and the mass has been developed there. It comes with a great force at a time like this, when the value of knowledge has been almost doubted. "The quality of human life," says Julian Huxley, "is determined by the social organisation, much as the quality of a commercial product is determined by the machinery and processes to make it." The author (Chatterjee) emphasises upon the need of village organisation through educated young men, not on a basis of exploitation but on the basis of mutual

rendering of service, to raise the standard of health, sanitation, quality of food, to devise means of improved marketing of agricultural products, etc. He further suggests that Universities, Schools or Colleges should incorporate in their system such activities as outlined above, in order to make education a factor linked with real life, and not a hot-house plant.

## The Punjab Students' Conference

Opening Day—Lahore—15th. February 1935

The fifth Punjab Students' Conference commenced at Bardlaugh Hall, Lahore, on the 15th. February 1935 under the presidency of *Dr. Rabindranath Tagore*.

Attendance numbered more than 10,000 and a number of ladies and girl students attended. Prominent among those present were Mahatma Hansraj, Dr. Sir Gokulchand Narang, Dr. Harvey, Principal Government College, Ludhiana, various heads of educational institutions in Lahore and the mofussil and Mrs. Naidu.

*Dr. Datta* in his inaugural address made some constructive suggestions to free University education from restrictive external control and to have free Universities as in the West. He also suggested the formation of a student representative Council to shoulder the responsibility for the welfare of the student body and also envisaged the formation of a student co-operative body whose purpose would be to help their fellow students. *Dr. Datta* reviewing the progress in collegiate education in the Punjab said that during the last seventeen years, there had been an increase in the collegiate student population of more than 10,000 and in no other Province in India during this period has population shown similar growth in the increase of collegiate population and collegiate institutions.

### Dr. Tagore's Address

After the inaugural speech by *Dr. S. K. Datta*, Principal of the Forman Christian College and the Chairman's welcome address, *Dr. Rabindranath Tagore* delivered a highly philosophical and instructive address, in which he dealt with the highest purpose of education, nationalism and patriotism, the idolatry of geography, civilisation and the meeting of the East and the West, good and bad in India's inheritance and above all his educative mission in life in which connection he made frequent references to *Vishwa Bharati*. "know thyself" was his message to the students and he said that his own task was to lift the people who were submerged for centuries in degradation, to help them find themselves and be freed from bondage of indignity. He deprecated the great gulf between the so-called enlightened and unenlightened India and said that "where the greater part of human resource lies buried and unused, you can never hope to realise the great human wealth which is freedom."

In an inspiring plea for a living mind with courage and power to create, the Poet said: "Our true claim to be proud depends upon our capacity to give and not in any display of foreign feathers, however gorgeous they may be. That India after long ages of spiritual and intellectual magnanimity should be allowed to carry on in penurious existence, eking out her living by gleanings in foreign fields of harvest is an insult to our ancestors. It comes from utter forgetfulness, the origin of which is in our persistently turning our face away from our own inheritance."

Referring to village life, the heart of the nation, which in India was lying entirely dormant, *Dr. Tagore* said, "The country can only be free, when the real children of the soil become conscious of their own selves. The country where the vast human power has not come to itself is like an island that has not risen up above the level of sea. The multitude and the so-called enlightened upper classes belonged to the two different times and to two different worlds. In fact, in our country, the educated minority lives in solitude of illimitable self-satisfaction which in another name is self-delusion. When we talk of freedom, we unconsciously mean real freedom for the insignificant few. Yet, the left force of the strength of will needed for the attainment of freedom lies hidden in the unfathomed soul of these very people who are to-day as good as non-existent. To dream of freedom without a mind illuminated with an intelligent will and possessing self-discipline as well as dignity is something which the history of mankind contradicts."

Dr. Tagore struck on an optimistic note when he said, "We have often seen in human history that at every time and place where facts appear overwhelming in their concerted attack on the majesty of man, there appears the prophet who discovers some sovereign truth which raises its head above the turmoil. And because in India the heterogeneity of races is a most overbearing fact that has produced such incoherence of mind, such division in life, making our present problem seem well-nigh insoluble, there is the strong hope that in the India of to-day will be evolved one strong spiritual guidance which will lead her on to an enlightened future across irrational dogmas and practices. For the obstacles are like blocks of marble with which those who are artists among men fashion the best living images of truth." Concluding, the Poet said, "We have been waiting for the Person. Such a personality we see in Mahatma Gandhi. It is only possible in the East for such a person to find recognition."

### Second Day—Lahore—16th. February 1935

An exhortation to the students to give more attention to the development of village life and not to turn their backs thereon after coming out of the portals of the University was made by several speakers at the second day's session of the Conference, Mrs. *Sarojini Naidu* presiding.

Principal *Moulik* said that modern education gave rise to artificiality and there was great need for simplicity of outlook and the personal needs of students. He urged students to eschew every artificiality and luxury.

Professor *Carter* of F. C. College, addressing the Conference as an American, laid great emphasis on the importance attaching to the re-construction of village life. The prosperity and welfare of the country depended on the tillers of the soil and in America as much importance was attached to framing as to any other branch of economic activity. The Punjab students should study how to reconstruct their villages, where life greatly deteriorated during the last ten years compared with the conditions in the cities.

*Dr. Gopichand*, who was closely associated with the All-India Village Industries' Association, pleaded for Swadeshi among students, keeping among their aims a return to village life and to play their part there.

*Mrs. Sarojini Naidu*, closing the discussion, delivered a stirring speech telling the youth that they were the pledge and promise of the nation and their promise was only realisable through the poetry. The field for work was villages which were destitute and badly needed their help. "If you really believe in freedom, that an Indian had a right to be free, then give proof, that you can create the substance of freedom."

### Third Day—Lahore—17th. February 1935

The Conference concluded its three days' session this evening, after discussing the various aspects of student life.

*Mr. Bhulabhai Desai*, presiding over the evening's session, when the subject for consideration was unemployment among the educated classes, said that in dealing with this question, they should search deeper. "When you have individually," he said to the 10,000 students who heard him, "every single talent, every power and every ability, as anyone else in the world, what keeps you perpetually in subjection? Individually you are as good as any others in the whole world, collectively you seem to be the weakest race on earth. If instead of 335 million human beings, we had an equal number of dumb driven cattle, they would have required more keepers. To know that is the true problem for the student to-day."

*Prof. Brij Narayan*, suggested that the Government should raise Rs. 20 crores for unemployment relief schemes inter alia by imposing 15 per-cent cut in the Government salaries and pruning the military expenditure by Rs. 10 crores.

*Dewan Chamanlal* contrasted the yearly expenditure of Rs. 60 crores in England on unemployment relief with practically nothing done in India. He said that only a complete overhaul of the present system would solve their difficulties.

In concluding the students' Conference, *Mr. Bhulabhai Desai* made a fervent appeal for the observance of Swadeshi by students and added that the Punjab students could do a great deal in this connection. An regards unemployment, he remarked that if they were prepared to adopt simple life, he was willing to enrol 20,000 young men for village reconstruction work. Each one of them could take charge of 5 villages in any part of the country and give the benefit of their education and leadership for improving village life in respect of the removal of illiteracy, ignorance and insanitary conditions and be a Guru to the villagers generally.

# The Benares Hindu University Convocation

Following is the full text of *Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's* Convocation Address at the Benares Hindu University on the 8th. February 1935 :—

The call of of invitation that has led me on to this platform to-day, though imperative in its demand, is, I must confess, foreign to my temperament. It speaks of a responsibility which I am compelled to acknowledge owing to my previous Karma that has identified me with a vocation specially belonging to that beneficent section of community which surely is not mine. Believe me, once upon a time I was young, in fact, younger than most of you ; and in that early dawn of mind's first urge of expansion I instinctively chose my own true path which, I believe, was to give rhythmic expression to life on a colourful background of imagination.

Pursuing the lure of dreams I spent my young days in a reckless adventure—forcing verses through a rigid barricade of literary conventions. Such foolhardiness made with serious disapproval of the severely sober among the overripe minds of that epoch. If I had persisted exclusively in this inconsequential career of a versifier you would not have ventured to ask such an unadulterated poet to take a conspicuous part in this solemn occasion when a great University has gathered her scholars to remind them of the high obligations associated with their success in college examinations.

However, towards the period of my declining youth, I took upon myself, for no ostensible reason whatever, the deliberate mission of the teacher. This transformation in my life helped to unlock the gates to me at those institutions where my right of entry could legitimately be challenged. While enjoying the unaccustomed honour thus acquired I should confess to you that it was not a compelling sense of duty which guided me to this field of education but some long maturing ideals in my mind that constantly troubled my imagination claiming definite shapes. I have decided to speak to you about these ideals.

Before I broach my subject to-day I shall claim your indulgence in one or two points. It is evident to you that I have grown old, but you, who are young cannot fully realise the limitations of old age. That I am not in a full possession of my breath may not be of any importance to others whose lungs are strong and whose hearts render loyal service to them without murmur. It may have a salutary effect upon me in curtailing the garrulity to which an old man's tongue has the habit of gliding in.

But what is more significant about man who has crossed his seventieth year is that by that time he has concluded most of his opinions and thoughts and thus is compelled to repeat himself. This is one of the reasons why the young persons bored by his reiterations become naturally excited to a violent fit of contradiction which may be courteously suppressed and therefore all the more outrageous. But to save my energies I am ready to take the consequence and openly to plagiarize my own store of thoughts and even words. I strongly suspect that you have missed them, for, not being in your text books, they must have remained beyond the reach of your serious attention, and I am confident that there is very little chance of your taking the trouble to explore them in obscure pages of publications generally overlooked by my countrymen.

In modern India centres of education have been established in large towns where the best part of energy and interest of the country is attracted. The constant flow of stimulation working upon our mind from its comic environment is denied us who are bread in towns. A great deal of the fundamental objects of knowledge with which nature provides us free of cost is banished into printed pages and a spontaneous communication of sympathy with the great world which is intimately ours is barricaded against. I who belong to the tribe of the born exiles having been artificially nourished by "the stony hearted stepmother"—a modern city, keenly felt the torture of it when young and thus realised, when opportunity was given me, the utmost necessity of Nature's own bonities for the proper development of children's mind.

It helps me to imagine the main tragedy that I believe had over shadowed the life of the Poet Kalidasa. Fortunately for the scholars, he has left behind him no clear indication of his birth-place, and thus they have a subject that obvious time has left amply vacant for an endless variety of disagreement. My scholarship does not pretend to go deep, but I remember having read somewhere that he was born in Kasmir. Since then I have left off reading discussions about his birthplace for the fear of the meeting with some learned contradiction equally convincing any how it was perfectly in the



fitness of things that Kalidas should be born in Kashmir—and I envy him, for I was born in Calcutta. He was compelled to suffer an honourable banishment from there to a city in the plains, and his whole poem of "Meghduta" reverberates with the music of sorrow that has its crown of suffering "in remembering happier things". It is not significant that in this poem, the lover's errant fancy, in the quest of the beloved who dwelt in the paradise of eternal beauty, lingered with a deliberate delay of enjoyment round every hill, stream, or forest over which it passed; watched the grateful dark eyes of the peasant girls welcoming the rainladen clouds of Juno; listening to some village elder reciting under the banyan tree a well-known love legend that ever remain fresh with the tears and smiles of generations of simple hearts? Do we not feel in all this the prisoner of the giant city revelling in a vision of joy that, in his imaginary journey, followed him from hill to hill, awaited him at every turn of the path which bore the finger-posts of heaven for separated lovers banished on the earth?

I wish to impress you with the fact that one of the noble functions of education is to reconcile our human mind with the world of nature through perfect knowledge, and enjoyment. The great universe surrounding us with endless aspects of the eternal in varied rhythms of colours, sounds and movements constantly mitigates the pressure upon us of our small self along whose orbit whirl like meteors dense fragments of ephemeral interests. Education must have for its fulness an environment of a detached mind like the aerial atmosphere which envelops the earth opening for her a path of communication with the Infinite.

The 'mantram' which I have accepted for my own purpose of life, and which carries within it in a concentrated form the true ideal of education is Infinite Peace, Infinite Wellbeing the Infinite One.

Peace there is in the depth of the universe, the peace which is not of inertia, but for the constant reconciliation of contrary forces, the peace that reigns in the sphere of the stars among gigantic whirlpools of clashing flames. This spirit of a mighty peace we must win in our life through the training of self-control and balance of mind. Our individual beings are universes in a self-luminous field of consciousness; they have their instincts and desires as inflammatory elements which should be brought under control to be coerced into perfect creations. I was about to say that these were universes in miniature but I hesitated when I realised that spiritual entity cannot be measured by a criterion which is that of spatial expansions. Also we cannot be certain about time limits of those realms just as we are doubtful about those of the suns and stars. In fact there is a strong reason in favour of their being eternal pilgrims passing through countless cycles of renewal but for which the whole world would have gone out of existence long before this.

The human spirit whose highest aim is to realise itself in the supreme spirit, in its progress towards finality is enjoined by our scriptures to choose for its initial stage "Brahmacharyya", the stage of self-discipline. This is in order that it can be established in the heart of 'Shantam', in the infinity of detachment. The basis of education has to be acquired in this Shantam, the harmony of the soul in its unobstructed sense of the Eternal. The idea of pilgrimage that prevails in India has the same educational meaning. Its sites have been specially selected where nature reveals overwhelming magnanimity in its aspect of the beautiful and the grand. There at the touch of the inefable our worldly experiences lose their tenacious grip of immediacy and life's truth is rescued into the light from the density of entanglements.

There is another pilgrimage for us which is in the world of knowledge. This journey in the open road gives us emancipation not only from illusions of appearance and peremptoriness of the prevalent unreasons, but also from wrong-valuations of reality, from all kinds of bias that obscure our vision of truth, from the enchainment in the narrow cage of provincialism. It is a strenuous walk, every step of which has to be carefully taken with a solemn eagerness for the truth which is to be its goal. There was a time when the University had its origin in man's faith in the ultimate value of culture which he pursued for its own sake. But unfortunately in the modern days greed has found its easy success into the sacred shrine dedicated to the cause of mind's fulfilment. The sordid spirit of success has allowed the educational institutions to be annexed to the busy market where 'vidya' is bought and sold according to the standard of worldly profit, where cheap facilities are offered for acquiring, in place of true education its make-believe substitute.

It is fully worth-while to emphasize the truth that the ultimate purpose of education is to enable us to live a complete life which can be realised through our complete unity with existence, a part of which consists of the physical nature and the



other than that of the human community. For as the world nature has no reciprocal path of union which may be termed as moral. Its manifestations in the predestined course of activities take no heed of our conduct or necessity, make no distinction between the good and the evil. The human relationship with the blind forces combining in an eternal game of creation, indifferent to our personal cry, can only be established through our own personal faculty of reason whose logic is universal. By understanding Nature's laws and modulating them to our needs we reach the Shantam in the extra-human world, the Shantam which is the fundamental principle of harmony. Such an adjustment of Nature's workings to human intelligence has been progressing from the beginning of Man's history, and according to the degree of that progress we feel that department of our civilisation, which we generalise, very often wrongly, as materialistic.

The Supreme being, says the Upanishad, has to be realised with our heart and mind as well as Visvakarma and as 'Mahatma sadajananam hridaye sanvishitah'. His name Visvakarma implies laws that are universal through which his activities in the physical world are revealed. They would elude our reason if they were expressions of a capricious will, then we could never depend upon the inevitableness of their influences upon our destiny, the influences which can only be turned to our favour if we have perfect knowledge of them. There are individuals even to-day, who believe in some happenings in nature which are arbitrary and local, which ignore all the endless links of causes that keep the world in order. They imagine that the physical phenomena are liable to sudden outbreaks of catastrophic chasms which are like special ordinances originating in isolated causes. Faith in such cosmic arbitrariness derives men to the primitive mentality of fear, to unmeaning ritualism, to imputations of special purpose upon natural events according to one's own personal tendencies of mind. We ought to know that numerous evils which in olden days were considered as punitive weapons in the arsenal of God have been tamed to innocuousness through accurate comprehension of their character.

It has been said in our scripture that 'avidya' which means ignorance is the root cause of all evils, the ignorance which blinds us to the truth of the unity of our self with the not-self.

Man's 'sadhana' for his union with nature depends for its success upon his faith in his reason and his disinterested endeavour in an atmosphere of detachment. A perfect technique of such a training is largely found in the West, and there the people are fast assimilating in their own power the power that lies in 'Anna' Brahma, the infinity manifested in matter. In fact they are gradually extending their own physical body into the larger body of the physical world. Their senses are constantly being augmented in power, their bodily movements allied to nature's forces of speed. Every day proofs are multiplied convincing them that there is no end to such intimacy leading to the extension of their self in the realm of time and space. This is the true means of realising Visvakarma, the universal worker, by a mind divested of all doubts and by action.

Shantam, the spirit of peace which can be attained through the realisation of truth, is not the whole object of education: it needs for its finality Shivam, Goodness, through the training of moral perfection, for the sake of the perfect harmony with the human world.

The greatness which man has reached in the expansion of the physical and intellectual possibilities in him shows, no doubt, a great advancement in the course of his evolution. Yet in its lop-sided emphasis it carries the curse of 'avidya', the mother of all sufferings and futility, 'avidya', which obscures the warning for him that his individual self when isolated from all other selves misses its reality and therefore suffers unhappiness, just as physical body is thwarted in its function when out of harmony with the physical world.

The union of our self with Brahma as Visvakarma may bring us success in the province of living, but for the peace and perfection in the realm of our being we need our union with Brahma who is Mahatma, the Infinite Spirit dwelling in the hearts of all peoples.

With the modern facilities of communication not merely a limited number of individuals but all the races of men have come close to each other. If they fail to unite in truth then humanity will flounder in the bottom of a surging sea of mutual hatred and suspicion. Things to-day have already assumed an angry temper of a growling beastliness ready for an enormous catastrophe of suicide.

Most problems to-day have become international problems and yet the international mind has not yet been formed, the modern teachers' conscience not having taken its responsibility in helping to invoke it.

The world "International" may sound too indefinite,—its meaning appearing large only because of its vagueness, like water acquiring volume by turning into vapour. I do not believe in an internationalism which is amorphous, whose features are broadened into flatness. With us it must be internationalism of India, with its own distinct character.

The true universal finds its manifestation in the individuality which is true. Beauty is universal, and a rose reveals it because, as a rose it is individually beautiful. By making a decoction of a rose jasmine and lotus you do not get to a realisation of some larger beauty which is interfloral. The true universalism is not in the breaking down of the walls of one's own house, but in the offering of hospitality to one's guests and neighbours.

Like the position of the earth in the course of its diurnal and annual motions, man's life, at any time, must be the reconciliation of two movements, one round the centre of its own personality, and another whose centre is in a luminous ideal comprehending the whole human world. The international endeavour of a people must carry the movement of the people's own personality round the great spirit of man. The inspiration must be its own, which is to help it in its aspiration towards fulfilment. Otherwise, mere cosmopolitanism but drifts on the waves, buffeted by wind from all quarters in an impossibility of movement which has no progress.

As a people we must be fully conscious of what we are. It is a truism to say that the consciousness of the unity of a people implies the knowledge of its parts as well of its whole. But, most of us not only have no such knowledge of India, they do not even have an eager desire to cultivate it.

By asserting our national unity with vehemence in our political propaganda, we assure ourselves that we possess it, and thus continue to live in a make-believe world of political day-dreams.

The fact is, we have a feeble human interest in our own country. We love to talk about politics and economics; we are ready to soar into the thin air of academic abstractions, or roam in the dusk of pedantic wilderness; but we never care to cross our social boundaries and to come to the door of our neighbouring communities, personally to enquire how they think and feel and express themselves, and how they fashion their lives.

"The love of man has its own hunger for knowing. Even if we lack this concerning our fellow beings in India, except in our political protestations, at least love of knowledge for its own sake could have brought us close to each other. But there also we have failed and suffered. For weakness of knowledge is the foundation of weakness of power. Until India becomes fully distinct in our mind, we can never gain her in truth; and where truth is imperfect, love can never have its full sway. The best function of our Education Centres is to help us to know ourselves; and then along with it, her other mission will be fulfilled which is to inspire us to give ourselves.

What has given such enormous intellectual power to Europe is her co-ordination of minds. She has evolved a means by which all countries of that continent can think together. Such a great concert of ideas, by its own pressure of movement, naturally wears away all her individual aberrations of thought and extravagances of unreason. It keeps her flights of fancy close to the limits of relucence. All her different thought rays have been focussed in our common culture which finds its complete expression in all the European Universities.

The mind of India, on the other hand, is divided and scattered; there is no one common pathway along which we can reach it. We cannot but look with regret at the feebleness of stimulation in our academic training for the forming of our mind which in co-operation of knowledge and sympathy may comprehend the larger mind of the country. The most important object of our educational institutions is to help each student to realise his personality, as an individual representing his people, in such a broad spirit, that he may know how it is the most important fact of his life for him to have been born to the great world of man.

We in India are unfortunate in not having the chance to give expression to the best in us in creating intimate relations with the powerful peoples of the world. The bond between the nations to-day is made of the links of mutual menace, its strength depending upon the force of panic, and leading to an enormous waste of resources in a competition of brow beating and bluff. Some great voice is wanting to be heard which will usher in the sacred light of truth in the dark region of the nightmare of politics. But, we in India have not yet had the chance. Yet we have our own human voice which truth demands. Even in the region where we are not invited to act we have

our right to judge and to guide the mind of men to a proper point of view, to the vision of ideality in the heart of the real.

The activity represented in human education is a world-wide one, it is a great movement of universal co-operation interlinked by different ages and countries. And India, though defeated in her political destiny, has her responsibility to hold up the cause of truth, even to cry in the wilderness and offer her lessons to the world in the best gifts which she could produce. The messengers of truth have ever joined their hands across centuries, across the seas, across historical barriers, and they help to form the great continent of human brotherhood. Education in all its different forms and channels has its ultimate purpose in the evolving of a illuminous sphere of human mind from the nebula that has been rushing round ages to find in itself an eternal centre of unity. We individuals however small may be our power and whatever corner of the world we may belong to, have the claim upon us to add to the light of the consciousness that comprehends all humanity. And for this cause I ask your co-operation, not merely because co-operation itself is the best aspect of the truth we represent, it is an end and not merely the means.

We are new converts to western ideals, in other words, the ideals belonging to the scientific view of life and the world. This is great and it is foolish to belittle its importance by wrongly describing it as materialism. For truth is spiritual in its self, and truly materialistic is the mind of the animal which is unscientific and therefore unable to cross the dark screen of appearance, of accidents and reach the deeper region of universal laws. Science means intellectual probity in our dealings with the material world. This consciousness of mind is spiritual, for it never judges its results by the standard of external profits. But in science the oft-used half truth that honesty is the best policy has proved itself to be completely true.

Science being mind's honesty in its relation to the physical universe never fails to bring us the best profit for our living. And mischief finds its entry through this backdoor of utility, and Satan has had an ample chance of making use of the divine fruit of knowledge for bringing shame upon humanity. Science as the best policy is tempting the primitive in man bringing out his evil passions through the respectable cover that it has supplied him.

And this is why it is all the more needed to-day that we should have faith in ideals that have been matured in the spiritual field through ages of human endeavour for perfection. the golden crops that have developed in different forms and in different soils but whose food value for man's spirit has the same composition. These are not for the local markets but for universal hospitality, for sharing life's treasure with each other and realising that human civilisation is a spiritual feast the invitation to which is open to all, it is never for the ravenous orgies of carnage where the food and the feeders are being torn to pieces.

The legends of nearly all human races carry man's faith in a golden age which appeared as the introductory chapter in human civilisation. It shows that man has his instinctive belief in the objectivity of spiritual ideals though this cannot be proved. It seems to him that they have already been given to him and that this gift has to be proved through his history of effort against obstacles. The idea of millenium so often laughed at by the clever is treasured as the best asset by man in his mythology as a complete truth realised for ever in some ageless time. Admitting that it is not a scientific fact we must at the same time know that the instinct cradled and nourished in these primitive stories has its eternal meaning. It is like the instinct of a chick which deeply feels that an infinite world of freedom is already given to it, that it is not a subjective dream but an objective reality, even truer than its life within the egg. If a chick has a rationalistic tendency of mind it ought not to believe in a freedom which is difficult to imagine and contradictory to all its experience, but all the same it cannot help pecking at its shell and over accepting it as ultimate.

The human soul confined in its limitation has also dreamt of a millenium and striven for an emancipation which seems impossible of attainment, and it has felt its reverence for some great source of inspiration in which all its experience of the true, good and beautiful finds its reality though it cannot be proved, the reality in which our aspiration for freedom in truth, freedom in love, freedom in the unity of man is ideally realised for ever."

# The Calcutta University Convocation

Following is the full text of the Convocation Address of Mr. *Symaprasad Mukherjee*, the Vice-Chancellor, at the Annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta held on Saturday, the 2nd. March, 1935 :—

In accordance with well-established custom it is now my privilege to address the Convocation and to extend to you all a most cordial welcome on behalf of the University. Your presence here to-day is an indication of the position which this University occupies in the affections of the people of this land. To Your Excellency I desire to convey on behalf of my colleagues and myself our grateful thanks for your unflinching interest in the realisation of our ideals. We trust that during the period of your Chancellorship we shall take not one or two but several steps forward in our march towards further advancement.

During the last twelve months the University lost the services of some of its distinguished members. Dr. Prannathanath Nandi, Sir Bepinbharī Ghose, Dr. Mridendralal Mitra, Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy, Khan Bahadur Aga Kazim Shirazi and Mr. Jyotiprasad Sarvabhaikari had risen to conspicuous positions in their own spheres of activity by dint of their abilities and attainments. The professions they adopted were naturally different, but the University presented to them a common platform for service which they ungrudgingly gave for a large number of years. We also pay our tribute to the memory of three other eminent persons, Sir John Kerr, Sir Sankaran Nair and Sir Dinshaw Mulla who, though not intimately connected with this University had, at one period or other, influenced its activities, and generously championed the cause of its progress.

It is my pleasant duty to refer to the services rendered to the University by my predecessor, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy. He came to occupy office at a time when the University was passing through a period of great anxiety, due mainly to its uncertain financial position; and it must have been a source of gratification to him that during his time several measures of far-reaching importance were considered and settled by the Senate. The University has conferred on Sir Hassan the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Science in recognition of the work he did for it.

The University of Calcutta which is perhaps the largest University in Asia, if not in the world, presents problems of great magnitude and complexity and it is impossible to survey its detailed activities in the course of a Convocation address. The work of the University may be broadly classified into five divisions. First, we have directly to administer three large departments of post-graduate teaching in Arts, Science and Law, comprising nearly 3,000 students. For this purpose we maintain a staff of 265 whole-time and part-time teachers in 40 different subjects. It is our endeavour to place at their disposal adequate facilities not only for imparting instruction but also for carrying on original investigations in various subjects of study. We have also engaged the services of about 40 research scholars who are afforded ample opportunities for carrying on their work.

Secondly, we have to supervise collegiate education in Bengal and Assam which now contain 60 colleges. The total number of students reading in these institutions is more than 30,000, 33 colleges are scattered in different places outside Calcutta and 27 functions within this city.

Thirdly, we have to superintend the working of 1,291 recognised high schools. Of these 112 are situated in Calcutta and 1,079 outside it and the total number of students reading in them is about 300,000.

Fourthly, we have to conduct examinations throughout the year in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, Teaching, Commerce and Engineering. The magnitude of the work which the University has to do in this connection can well be appreciated when we remember that the total number of students appreciated when we remember that the total number of students appearing at the various examinations in 1934 was about 41,650. This involved the appointment of more than 2,000 examiners and paper-settlers and the setting and printing of 810 different question papers, the examinations being held in 200 centres and lasting for 146 days out of 260 working days in the year.

Fifthly, we have to devote a large part of our time and attention to the work of promoting the health and welfare of our students. For this purpose we maintain departments and agencies whose great task is to conduct activities directly and also to devise means for correlating the work of individual institutions.

What I have briefly described may be characterised as the routine activities of the University, yet they are of a diverse nature and often present problems which require our closest attention and are not always easy of solution. In addition to these we are continually engaged in considering new measures of reform vitally affecting the future welfare of this province. Such efforts should by no means be regarded as accidental or isolated instances of University activities; they form component parts of a considered plan of future re-organisation, each developing in its appropriate place.

One such problem relates to the new Matriculation Regulations. For the last 14 years this University has striven hard to remodel the Matriculation Examination which may well be described as the basic factor of our educational system. I have no desire to recall here the controversies which the proposal had given rise to. We have now received from Government a definite pronouncement that the new regulations will be sanctioned. The representatives of Government and the University has arrived at an agreement as to the form they will take. The regulations embody several fundamental principles. They recognise the imperative necessity of altering the present courses of study, of widening and including within them matters which are of paramount importance in the training of boys. They recognise the need of physical education and some form of vocational training. They recognise the desirability of providing special alternative subjects and courses of study for girls whose number is now rapidly increasing and whose future education is presenting to the University new and complex problems for solution. Another great task which the University has undertaken is the collection of materials for the systematic preparation of text-books in Bengali in various subjects of study, specially of a scientific character. We have appointed experts who are engaged in collecting words and expressions to be used in text-books on scientific and technical subjects and in finding out the best ways of adapting them for our purposes. We are fully cognisant of the difficulties that lie ahead. We do not want to be carried away by enthusiasm to such an extent as to coin entirely new words in the vernacular and to demand their exclusive employment. We are aware that many technical words and expressions in foreign languages are used throughout the world in the same form, neither can we forget that after the Matriculation stage our students will have to carry on their studies through the medium of English. With a view to maintaining a uniform standard we have appointed a co-ordinating committee consisting of experts on whose judgment the University places full reliance. We have already made a collection of 14,500 expressions which are now being carefully examined. We hope soon to publish this list and invite comments thereon. I visualise the day when in this manner the University will be able to prepare a complete glossary of words in all subjects and for all standards. This will enrich Bengali language and literature and also make it possible for us to take steps for extending the use of the vernacular for the higher examinations of the University.

One of our greatest drawbacks has been insufficient accommodation for the University Library. This University may well congratulate itself on being the possessor of one of the finest libraries in the East. Our regret has hitherto been that we have not been able to allow our students adequate facilities for using the library in a satisfactory manner. One of the steps which the Senate has taken to remove this defect is to complete the fourth storey of the Anantosh Building where the University General Library and the Post-Graduate Lending Library will be located from the next session. The spacious hall facing south will be utilised as the reading room and is expected to accommodate about 350 persons. We have made arrangements for decorating its walls with frescoes, illustrating the development of Indian culture and civilization with special reference to the contributions made by Bengal. I trust that the surroundings and equipments of the hall will inspire both teachers and students to the noblest and most strenuous efforts for the pursuit of knowledge.

We are also engaged in considering the possibility of providing increased accommodation in the University College of Science with a view to enabling our teachers, particularly in the applied sciences, to fulfil satisfactorily the obligations of their offices and to extend the usefulness of the institution. We are no less anxious to concentrate in one place the teaching of subjects like Zoology, Botany, Anthropology, Experimental Psychology and Physiology, now scattered in three different parts of the city. I have every hope that this matter will be taken in hand during the next session, so that by 1936 students of these subjects will have no complaint to make with regard to their work.

During the year under review, the activities of our teachers and advanced students have been such as to deserve the congratulations of all well-wishers of the University. Time will not permit me to dwell at length on the various problems which have

engaged their attention. It will be sufficient for me to state that many of the results of their investigations have been published in the course of the year as independent treatises or as articles in recognised journals both in and outside India. In several instances they amount to notable contributions to the advancement of knowledge. The spirit of original investigation is not confined to the members of the Post-Graduate staff alone. We find a number of teachers in our affiliated colleges who, in spite of their limited opportunities, are making valuable contributions in their special subjects. We rejoice to find that this spirit also inspires the activities of our young scholars who after obtaining their master's degree, are carrying on investigations of diverse problems under the guidance of University teachers. That the fountain will not run dry is abundantly manifest from the fact that during the last twelve months as many as thirteen of our graduates obtained the doctor's degree, six in arts and seven in science. Most of their dissertations were examined by foreign experts who occupy pre-eminent positions in their own spheres of learning. Again, medals and prizes have been awarded to as many as sixteen young scholars on the results of these they submitted for scrutiny at the hands of impartial and competent examiners. We have also steadily adhered to the policy of sending abroad some of our brilliant men either for advanced work or for obtaining first-hand knowledge of recent developments in their fields of activity. Similarly, we have invited distinguished scholars from both East and West to deliver courses of lectures on a variety of subjects in which they are regarded as authorities. These activities do not represent a sudden growth during one particular year. For the last 25 years this University has resolutely stood for expansion of education and, more than any other institution in India, has placed at the disposal of its advanced students and scholars facilities for carrying on original work in various branches of learning. The imperfect survey which I have placed before you only goes to show that the torch of knowledge which was lighted in the temple of learning is still burning brightly, thanks to the zealous devotion of the workers gathered within its walls.

While I lay stress on the academic activities of the University, I cannot ignore that it will be impossible for us to improve the quality of higher teaching and research until and unless we take up and solve the question of collegiate education in Bengal. The University at present exercises indirect control in this sphere by prescribing text-books and holding examinations. In my judgment the solution does not lie in including in our list an array of important and difficult text-books or in artificially increasing or diminishing the percentage of passes at the different University examinations. We must devise means for improving the method and standard of teaching in our colleges, the conditions under which the teachers work and the students reside and carry on their corporate activities. It is unfortunate that the recommendations made by the Sadler Commission have not borne fruit in the province for the benefit of which the Commission was appointed. An attempt to ascertain at this stage how this has happened is not likely to serve any useful purpose. We have now to unite, to gather our forces together and to formulate proposals for future reform in the light of existing circumstances. It is hardly possible to discuss them here in detail. One aspect must necessarily be the ascertainment of the means for initiating special courses and for establishing special institutions which will open new avenues and new careers for our youths, as distinguished from a system that is predominantly literary in character and hardly useful for the average person in facing the struggle of life. Education of one type is not equally good for all people and a re-orientation of the present system is immediately necessary. On three main points, however, we must be completely satisfied. First, we must be provided with sufficient funds. Secondly, the ultimate result of the reforms must be in the direction of expansion of education and not its curtailment in any shape or form. Lastly, the control must be vested in a body of men endowed with full autonomy and chosen primarily on academic considerations.

Before I conclude my remarks on University and collegiate education, I may briefly refer to the financial position of the University. During 1934 the University had a total income of about 27 lacs of rupees, out of which Rs. 18,65,000 or a little more than 69 per cent. represented the income from fees and other sources, Rs. 3,65,000 or nearly 14 per cent. was derived from interest on endowments, and Rs. 4,68,000 or about 17 per cent. received from Government grant we are now in a somewhat difficult position. In accordance with the financial agreement with Government reached in 1932, we are not permitted to enjoy our full increased income from fees. The Government grant is liable to be curtailed to the extent of 50 per cent. of the excess income of the fee fund if it exceeds a standard figure fixed by Government. I do not intend at this stage to go into the details of this question. But

on behalf of the University and, if I may add, of the educated public of Bengal, I make an earnest appeal to Government to allow us to have the full advantage of our increased income so that we may be in a position to fulfil the great task we have undertaken. In this connection I venture to express the hope that Government and the Legislature will find it possible to restore the entire annual grant of Rs. 1,29,000 sanctioned for many years for the non-Government colleges in Bengal.

I rejoice to find that during the year under review the University has been the recipient of several donations. The total sum received since our last Convocation is Rs. 6,000 of which a sum of Rs. 50,000 has been endowed by Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee. His donation which now comes up to three lacs of rupees is indeed unique in the annals of the University, coming as it does from a member of the teaching profession. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was bequeathed by the late Rai Bahadur Ramcharan Mitra for industrial education. On behalf of the University I gratefully thank the donors, and specially my old teacher, Dr. Mookherjee, and venture to express the hope that these noble examples will be imitated by others who desire to see the University advance from more to more.

I have been so long discussing some of the intellectual activities of the University. I shall now turn for a few moments to the steps which the University should take for the improvement of the health and welfare of our students. As you are aware, we have been attempting to render some service in this direction during recent years. The work of the Students' Welfare department which has won recognition from all quarters has taken two forms. It deals with the investigation of the causes affecting the health of our students by means of examination conducted by our own staff. The materials which we have collected hitherto are as interesting as they are appalling in character. What is education worth if our youths in general are physically weak or unfit, unable to stand the stress and strain of modern life? What is education worth if we cannot turn them into men physically strong and well-equipped as they should be intellectually sane and robust? We have not remained satisfied with a mere examination of their health. We are dealing as well with the preventive and curative side of the problem. This includes not only a cheap though limited supply of medicines, spectacles and similar things but also larger provision for sports, games and scientific physical education. We have been fortunate enough to obtain, through the courtesy of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, a fine plot of land near the Dhakuria Lake. We are going to erect a well-equipped home for the University Rowing Club of which our teachers and students will no doubt take the fullest advantage. One of our pressing needs is a playground for the University. Recently we have made arrangements for sharing the Presidency College grounds in the Maidan for two days in the week. For this co-operation our thanks are due to that college but this is not at all sufficient for our purpose, nor can it meet the demands of about 3,000 students who are directly taught by the University. We are also taking steps for securing a better enrolment for the University Training Corps which, we hold, is capable of considerable improvement and expansion. Again, the *Bratachari* movement which has already attracted the imagination of our young men and women deserves the most careful consideration of the University.

The fine display of organisation and discipline which our students gave in connection with the celebration of the Foundation Day in January last is worthy of all praise and must have shown the most adverse critic what our young men and women are capable of achieving. What they ask for is sympathy and organised co-operation.

What they need to-day is proper direction of their youthful energies into healthy channels which may be worthy of them and of the traditions of the province to which they belong. I have abundant faith in the glory of youth and what I ask from the authorities in the name of the students of Bengal is that they be given a chance to live, an opportunity to enjoy life and the amplest facilities for the development of their health and character, so that in the days to come they may be real assets in the furtherance of the highest interests of our motherland. They want nothing further; they will be satisfied with no less than what students in other countries, more fortunate than ours, are privileged to receive from their Universities or Governments.

I feel that it will be a fortunate day for Bengal when the University can organise a central bureau whose chief aim will be to devise ways and means for the progressive welfare of the student community of Bengal. Its great and important task will be to promote not only the physical well-being of our boys and girls, to assist the needy and the deserving, but also to develop in them a sound moral character; to create men and women who in the home, in the village and in the city, in their influence on Government and local administration and on national policies, will act righteously, fearlessly and for the



attainment of the general welfare. The great obstacle, it will be said, is finance. But I am emphatically of opinion that such a beneficent organisation cannot fail to receive the support of the University, of Government and of the public. Its means should be supplemented by a national fund which we might call the University Alumni Fund to which all old students of the University may contribute their share, large or small. The starting of such a fund is a well-known thing in the history of some University in the West and let Calcutta be the first Indian University to inaugurate a similar fund in this country.

The imperfect survey of some of our important activities which I have ventured to place before you has been undertaken with a full sense of the difficult times through which our University and our country are passing. While realising the advance we have made, we unhesitatingly acknowledge that we are not satisfied with all that is being done in the sphere of education. We can derive but little consolation from the knowledge that defects in the educational system are not peculiar to this province or country, that they are taxing the ingenuity and intellect of veteran educationists in countries more prosperous and more fortunate than ours. We are struggling hard to grapple with a situation which is the result of a system of education handed down to us from previous generations. The various projects of reform outlined by me are only a few of the many which must be undertaken if we are to refashion the old system and make it respond to the call of the nation and the demands of the present day. We do not share the views of those who maintain that further expansion of education is undesirable. We, on the other hand, strongly feel that the door of the University should be thrown open wider still so that it might elevate the nation and rouse the self-respect of the people of this land. The influence of the University in this democratic age cannot safely be limited to the period of youth but must include systematic and organised effort for the education of adults. In the present State of our national existence I cannot but emphasise the reality and the greatness of this need. In other countries there have been inaugurated in recent times movements for giving to the adults of every class the advantages of University education as far as practicable. As the result of this there has been discovered an astonishing measure both of ability and of the desire to make use of these opportunities. This is a field of activity still untrodden by us. If we are to keep ourselves in close touch with the life of the people, if we are not to forego an opportunity of service too great to be neglected, we have to explore the possibility of including this in our programme of work.

For various reasons our province to-day, more than any other in India, is an object of attention and attack from quarters far and near. This is not the occasion to discuss the reasons which has contributed to this state of affairs. But if we are to live and grow as a University, one of whose paramount tasks is to produce not only leaders of thought and action but also workers dedicated to the service of the nation, we cannot sit idle with philosophic unconcern and let things drift as they may. So far as we are concerned, it is for us to set our house in order. It is for us, and specially the younger generation, Hindus, Moslems and Christians alike, to combine and resolutely stand for the permanent well-being of our province and to rescue her from the deadly stagnation which now seems to envelop her. Unmoved by considerations of the hour, it is for us to substitute the welfare of all classes for that of our own class only. It is for us to realise the supreme need of abandoning paths of hatred, violence and destruction. It is for us to concentrate on constructive plans of reform and expansion in different fields of activity for the promotion of national prosperity. It is for us to work honestly and steadfastly for increasing our efficiency,—to learn the great value of discipline and moderation which are always compatible with true patriotism,—to regard ourselves, each one of us, no matter what our position in life may be—as trustees of our national honour. I realise that this is a task not easy of achievement. But inspired by a lofty idealism, we shall be stirred in our action if we remember this simple truth that the future of Bengal,—nay of India—lies to-day with the younger generation and that she will be only what they shall make her to be.

Standing in the very place which is sanctified by the memory of one of whom I cannot think without the deepest feelings of affection and reverence, to whom I owe my life and all, and to whom this University owes its greatness and eminence,—standing on this sacred spot, to there is nothing nobler, nothing greater than to be afforded an opportunity of serving the truest interests of my Alma Mater and my country.



**SUMMARY OF THE**

**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL**



# A SUMMARY OF THE TEXT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

The Indian re-print of the Government of India Bill was issued in India on the 1st February 1935 and ran into 323 pages.

It is described as "A Bill to make further provision for the Government of India to be enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by authority of the same as follows".

The Bill was presented by the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, supported by the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Sir John Simon, the Attorney-General and Mr. R. A. Butler. Besides other matters the Bill includes detailed statutory provisions relating to Federal Railway authority which provides inter alia that any Bill relating to rates and fares shall not be introduced or moved in either Chamber except on the recommendation of the Governor-General.

The Bill provides for the appointment of one person as Governor-General of India and another as His Majesty's Representative as regards relations with Indian States, but makes lawful for His Majesty to appoint one person to fill both the said offices.

The future Government is to be named "Federation of India" after inauguration by King's proclamation.

As regards the Federal Executive, the Bill provides that the Council of Ministers shall not exceed 10 and Ministers' salary shall not be varied during their term of office and that councillors appointed by the Governor-General shall not exceed three.

Except for the first Financial Adviser, the Governor-General shall consult his Ministers as to the person to be selected as adviser.

The Governor-General shall appoint a person to be Advocate-General for the Federation.

Qualification for membership of Legislature enables a servant of the Crown to become a member, while serving a State. The existing privileges of members of the Legislature are continued and it is definitely laid down that Chambers would have no power to compel attendance of any person or exercise punitive powers beyond those possessed at present.

The annual financial statement would indicate sums, if any, included solely because the Governor-General has directed their inclusion as being necessary for due discharge of any of his special responsibilities.

Power is given to the Governor-General to enact, during the recess of the Legislature, ordinance to end six weeks after the re-Assembly of the Legislature or earlier, if disapproved by both Chambers; secondly to enact ordinance, covering special responsibility, with a maximum life of one year and enact acts, after giving one month's notice to the Legislature to enact the same.

In case of failure of the constitutional machinery, the Governor-General can, by proclamation, assume all powers of Federation, excluding the Federal Court.

## GOVERNOR'S PROVINCES

The Governor's provinces shall be Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, N. W. F. Province, Orissa, Sind and such others as may be created under the Act.

As regards Berar, the Bill says. "Whereas it is in contemplation that an agreement shall be concluded between His Majesty and His Exalted Highness, whereby, notwithstanding the continuance of the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness over Berar, the Central Provinces and Berar may be governed together as one Governor's Province, under this Act by name of Central Provinces and Berar. If no such agreement is concluded or if such agreement is concluded, but subsequently ceases to have effect, reference would be construed as reference to Central Provinces, and consequential modifications would be made.

The Council of Ministers in Provinces is not limited in numbers, but Minister's salary shall not be varied during the term of office.

The Governors of Bengal and Assam shall have special responsibilities regarding excluded areas, the N. W. F. P. Governor regarding the tribal area and the Sind Governor for proper administration of the Sukkur Barrage.

The Bill provides : If it appears to the Governor that peace or tranquility of the Province is endangered by the operations of any committing or conspiring or preparing or attempting to commit crimes of violence, which, in the opinion of the Governor, are intended to overthrow Government as by law established, the Governor may, if he thinks that circumstances require him so to do for the purpose of combating those operations, direct that his functions shall, to such extent, as may be specified in the direction, be exercised by him in his discretion and until otherwise provided by subsequent direction of the Governor, those functions shall, to that extent, be exercised by him accordingly.

While any such direction is in force, the Governor may authorise an official to speak in and otherwise take part in proceedings of the legislature and any official so authorised may speak and take part accordingly in proceedings of the Chamber or Chambers of the Legislature, at any joint sitting of the Chambers and any Committee of the Legislature whereof he may be named member, but he shall not be entitled to vote.

The functions of the Governor under this Section shall be exercised by him in his discretion, shall make rules for securing that no records or information had been or may be obtained with respect to operations of person ; committing or conspiring, preparing or attempting to commit such crimes as are mentioned in the last preceding Section, shall be disclosed or given by any Officer of any Police force in the Province to any Member of that force except by the direction of the Inspector-General of Police or to any other person except by the direction of the Governor in his discretion."

The nomenclature for both Central and Provincial Legislatures will change. The Federal Houses will be called the Council of State (Upper House), the Federal Assembly (Lower House) and in the Provinces, the Legislative Council (Upper House) and the Legislative Assembly (Lower House).

Educational grants-in-aid, Anglo-Indian and European domiciled communities, are safeguarded, except when the Provincial Assembly, can by a three-fourth majority of the members of the Assembly vote otherwise. This Section, however, does not affect Governor's special responsibility regarding the legitimate interests of the minorities.

#### GOVERNOR'S POWERS

Powers mainly corresponding to those given to the Governor-General are given to Governors in respect of two types of Ordinances and the enactment of Governor's Acts and proclamation assuming powers, in the case of failure of the constitutional machinery, excluding High Court."

The following shall be Chief Commissioner's Provinces :—British Baluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Area known as Panth Piploa.

Aden shall cease to be a part of India.

A Chief Commissioner's Province shall be administered by the Governor-General, acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through the Chief Commissioner to be appointed by him in his discretion.

The part of the Bill dealing with legislative powers declares that the Federal Legislature shall not pass laws extending to States or subjects thereof, otherwise than in accordance with the Instrument of Accession of that State and any conditions contained therein.

The Governor-General, in his discretion, will arbitrate regarding the residual powers of legislation between Federation and the Provinces. Detailed provisions are made preventing discrimination against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, and Burman subjects domiciled in Burma on a reciprocal basis.

It provides, inter alia, that no company, which at the date of the passing of the Act was not engaged in British India, would be eligible for any grant of bounty or subsidy unless (a) the Company is incorporated by or under the law of British India and (b) such proportion, not exceeding one half of the members of its governing body as the Act may prescribe, are Indian subjects of His Majesty and (c) the Company gives such reasonable facilities for training of Indian subjects of His Majesty as may be prescribed.

A Company shall be deemed to be carrying on business in India if it owns ships, which habitually trade to and from Ports in India.

Detailed provisions are also made regarding the professional qualifications in general and medical qualifications.

A special section deals with broad-casting with a view to give certain rights to the Provinces and States.

The Federation shall pay to the Crown expenses incurred in discharging the Crown's functions in relation to the Indian States and contributions at present made by the Indian States to the revenues of India may be given to the Federation but His Majesty retains the right to remit at any time, whole or any part of any such contributions.

#### STATES

His Majesty may, in signifying acceptance of the Instrument of Accession of a State, agree to remit over a period, not exceeding 20 years from the date of Accession, any cash contributions payable by that State. The Federation may, subject to conditions, make loans to or give guarantees in respect of loans raised by any Federated State.

Provision is made for an Auditor-General of India and a Provincial Auditor-General to be appointed by His Majesty.

The Bill empowers His Majesty to constitute an Inter-Provincial Council acting on addresses presented through the Governor-General by legislatures and provision may be made enabling the States' representatives to participate in its work.

The Federal Railway authority will consist of seven members, of whom, three will be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, and the President of the authority would be also similarly appointed from among the seven members. The Federal Court would consist of the Chief Justice, and six Puisne Judges, holding office till 65 years of age, compared with the 60 years' limit, imposed on High Court Judges.

I. C. S. officials can be appointed as Chief Justices, of the High Court or the Federal Court.

The Bill includes provisions of the existing Government of India Act, with amendments until the establishment of Federation.

#### PROVISIONS OF BILL—ACCESSION OF STATES

The India Bill makes the following provision as regards the accession of Indian States.

(1) A State shall be deemed to have acceded to the Federation (a) if His Majesty has signified his acceptance of the declaration made by the Ruler thereof, whereby this Act is applicable to his State and his subjects, with the intent that His Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Federal authority established for the purposes of federation shall exercise, in relation to his State and his subjects, functions as may be vested in them by or under this Act.

(b) Specifies which of the matters mentioned in the Federal Legislative list he accepts as a matter with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make laws for this State and his subjects and specifies any condition to which acceptance of any such matter is to be deemed by subject; (c) assumes obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to this Act within his State.

Provided that the declaration may be made conditionally on the establishment of Federation on or before the specified date and in that case, the State shall not be deemed to have acceded to the Federation, if federation is not established until after that date.

(2) A Ruler may by supplementary declaration made to, and accepted by His Majesty declare his willingness to accept, conditionally or otherwise, any other matter as a matter with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make laws in relation to his State and subject thereof or his willingness, waive, in whole or part, any condition specified in the previous declaration made by him.

(3) A declaration shall not be valid, unless it is a declaration of the Ruler himself, but subject, as aforesaid, references in this Act to the Ruler of the State include references to any persons for the time being, exercising powers of the Ruler of the State, whether by reason of the Ruler's minority or for any other reason.

(4) The validity of any declaration under this Section shall not be affected by any amendment of provisions of this Act, mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act, but no such amendment shall, in any case, be construed as extending to the Federal State, without the concurrence of the Ruler of that State.

(5) After establishment of Federation, request of a Ruler that his State may be admitted to the Federation shall be transmitted to His Majesty through the Governor-General and after the expiration of twenty years from the establishment of Federation, the Governor-General shall not transmit to His Majesty any such request until there has been presented to him by each Chamber of the Federal Legislature for submission to His Majesty, an address praying that His Majesty be pleased to admit that State into the Federation.

(6) In this Act, a State which acceded to the Federation is referred as a Federated State and the State has so acceded, constituted together with any supplementary declaration made under this section, is referred as the Instrument of Accession of that State.

(7) The Instrument of Accession may contain provision with respect to any subject not mentioned in this Section, with respect to which, this Act expressly authorises provision to be made by the Instrument of Accession of that State.

(8) All courts shall take judicial notice of every Instruments of Accession.

(9) In this Section, the expression "Federal Legislative list" means the list of matters in respect of which under Part V of this Act, the Federal Legislature has, but the Provincial Legislature has not, the power to make laws.

#### RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The following are the special responsibilities of the Governor-General.

(a) Prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or any part thereof ;

(b) Safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government ;

(c) Safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities ;

(d) Securing to a member of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by or under this Act and safeguarding of their legitimate interests ;

(e) Securing, in the sphere of executive action of purposes which provisions of Chapter III of Part V of this Act are designed to secure, in relation to the legislation ;

(f) Prevention of action which would subject goods of United Kingdom or of Burmese origin, imported into India, to discriminatory or penal treatment ;

(g) Protection of the rights of any Indian State ;

(h) Securing that due discharge of his functions with respect to which he is by or under this Act required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment is not prejudiced or impeded by any course of action taken with respect to any other matter.

If, in so far as any special responsibility of the Governor-General is involved, he shall, in exercise of his functions, exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken.

#### GOVERNORS' POWERS

The following are the special responsibilities of Governors :—

(a) Prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of a Province or any part thereof ;

(b) safeguards of the legitimate interests of minorities ;

(c) securing to the members of public services of any right provided for them by or under this Act, and safeguards of their legitimate interests ;

(d) securing, in the sphere of executive action, of purposes which provisions of Chapter III of Part V of this Act, are designed to secure in relation to legislation ;

(e) securing of peace and good government of areas which, by or under the provisions of this Act, are declared to be partially excluded areas ;

(f) protection of the right of any Indian State ; and

(g) securing of execution of orders of directions, lawfully issued to him under part VI of this Act by the Governor-General in his discretion.

The Governor of the Central Province and Berar shall also have the special responsibility of securing that a reasonable share of the revenues of the Provinces is expended in or for the benefit of Berar.

The Governor of Bengal and the Governor of Assam shall also have the special responsibility of securing that due discharge of their functions in respect of excluded areas is not prejudiced or impeded by any course of action taken with respect to any other matter.

The Governor of North-Western Frontier Province shall also have the special responsibility of securing that the due discharge of his functions, in respect of tribal areas for which he is Agent to the Governor-General, is not prejudiced or impeded by any course of action taken with respect to other matter.

The Governor of Sind shall also have the special responsibility of securing proper administration of the Sukkur Barrage Scheme.

In so far as any special responsibility of a Governor involved, he shall, in exercise of his functions, exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken.

Chapter III of the Bill deals exhaustively with provisions with respect to Discrimination, etc.

(1) Subject to provisions of this Chapter, a British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom, shall be exempt from the operation of so much of any Federal or Provincial law as (a) imposes any restriction on the right of entry into British India or (b) imposes, by reference to the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence, any liability, restriction or condition in regard to travel, residence, holding of property or public office or carrying on any occupation, trade, business or profession. Provided that no person shall, by virtue of this sub-section, be entitled to claim exemption from any such restriction, condition or liability as aforesaid, if any, so long as Indian subjects of His Majesty's domiciled in British India, are, by or under the law of the United Kingdom, be subjected, in the United Kingdom, to similar restriction, condition or liability, imposed in regard to the same subject matter, by reference to the same principle of distinction.

(2) For the purpose of the preceding sub-section, provision whether of law of British India or of law of the United Kingdom, empowering any public authority, to impose quarantine regulations, or to exclude or deport individuals, whenever domiciled, who appear to that authority to be undesirable persons, shall not be needed to be restriction on right of entry.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this Section, if the Governor-General, or as the case may be, Governor of any province, by public notification, certifies that for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of any part of India or as the case may be any part of the Province or for the purpose of combating crimes of violence intended to overthrow the Government, it is expedient that the operation of the provisions of sub-section (1) of this Section should be wholly or partially suspended in relation to any law, then, while the notification is in force, the operation of those provisions shall be suspended accordingly. The functions of the Governor-General and of the Governor under this sub-section, shall be exercised by him in his discretion.

No Federal or Provincial law, which imposes any liability to taxation, shall be such as to discriminate against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom or against Burman subjects of His Majesty domiciled in Burma and any law passed or made in contravention of this Section, shall, to the extent of the contravention, be invalid.

Subject to the following provisions of this Chapter a company incorporated whether before or after the passing of this Act, by or under the laws of the United Kingdom and members of the governing body of any such company and shareholders, officers, agents and servants thereof shall be deemed to comply with so much of any Federal or Provincial law as imposes, in regard to the companies trading in British India, requirements or conditions relating to or connected with (a) the place of incorporation of the company or (b) the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile or duration of residence of members of the governing body of the company, or of its shareholders, officers, agents or servants. Provided that no company or person shall, by virtue of this Section, be deemed to comply with such requirement or condition as aforesaid, if and so long as a like requirement or condition is imposed by or under the law in the United Kingdom, in regard to companies incorporated by or under the laws of British India and trading in the United Kingdom.

(1) Subject to the following provisions of this Chapter a British subject domiciled in U. K. shall be deemed to comply with so much of any Federal or Provincial law as imposes in regard to companies incorporated whether before or after the passing of this Act, by or under the laws of British India, any requirements or conditions relating to or connected with the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence of the members of the Governing Body of the company or of its shareholders, officers, agents or servants.

Provided that no person shall by virtue of this section, be deemed to comply with any such requirements or condition as aforesaid if and so long as a like requirement or condition is imposed by, or under, the law of U. K. in regard to the companies incorporated by, or under, the laws of U. K. on the Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India.

(2) For the purpose of this section, but not for purposes of any other provision, in this chapter a company registered in Burma before the commencement of Part III of this Act shall be deemed to be a company incorporated by or under the laws of British India.

(1) No ship registered in U. K. shall be subjected directly or indirectly by, or under, any Federal or Provincial law to any treatment affecting either the ship herself or her master, officers, crew, passengers or cargo, which is discriminatory in favour of ships registered in British India, except in so far as ships registered in British India are for the time being subjected by or under any law of the United Kingdom to treatment of a like character, which is similarly discriminatory in favour of ships registered in U. K.

(2) The provisions of this action are in addition to, and not in derogation of, the provision of any of the preceding sections of this chapter.

(1) Notwithstanding anything in any Act of the Federal Legislature, or of the Provincial Legislature, companies incorporated, whether before or after the passing of this act, by, or under, the laws of U. K. and carrying on business in India shall be eligible for any grant, bounty or subsidy payable out of public moneys in India for the encouragement of any trade or industry to the same extent as companies incorporated by or under the laws of British India are eligible there for. Provided that this sub-section shall not apply in relation to any grant, bounty, or subsidy payable out of public moneys for the encouragement of any trade or industry, if and so long, as under the law of U. K. for the time being in force, companies incorporated by, or under, the laws of British India and carrying on business in U. K. are not equally eligible with companies incorporated by, or under, the laws of U. K. for the benefit of any grant, bounty or subsidy payable out of public moneys in U. K. for the encouragement of the same trade or industry.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in this Chapter, an Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature may require, in the case of a company which, at the date of the passing of that Act, was not engaged in British India in that branch of trade or industry which it is the purpose of the grant, bounty or subsidy to encourage, that company shall not be eligible for any grant, bounty or subsidy under the Act unless: (a) the company is incorporated by or under the laws of British India and (b) such proportion, not exceeding one half of the members of its Governing Body as the Act may prescribe, are Indian subjects of His Majesty and (c) the company gives such reasonable facilities for the training of Indian subjects of His Majesty as may be so prescribed.

(3) For purposes of this section a company incorporated by or under the laws of the United Kingdom shall be deemed to be carrying on business in India if it owns ships which habitually trade to and from ports in India.

(1) If after the establishment of a Federation a convention is made between His Majesty's Government in United Kingdom and the Federal Government whereby similarity of treatment is assured in U. K. to Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India and to companies incorporated by or under the laws of British India and in British India to subjects of His Majesty's domiciled in U. K. and to companies incorporated by, or under the laws of the United Kingdom respectively in respect of the matters, or any of the matters with regard to which provision is made in the preceding sections of this Chapter His Majesty may, if he is satisfied that all the necessary legislation has been enacted both in the United Kingdom and in India for purposes of giving effect to the convention, by an order in Council declare that the purposes of those sections are to such extent as may be specified in the order, sufficiently fulfilled by that convention and legislation and while any such order is in force the operation of those sections shall, to that extent, be suspended.

(2) An Order-in-Council under the section shall cease to have effect if, and when the convention whereto it relates expires, or is terminated by either party thereto.

No Federal or Provincial law which prescribes or empowers any authority to prescribe qualifications to be held by persons: (a) practising any profession in British India or (b) holding any office or performing any functions in British India shall have effect so as to preclude any person, who, immediately before the passing of this Act, was lawfully practising any profession in British India from continuing to practise that profession or from being appointed to or holding any office or performing any functions, if, at the said date, he was qualified to be appointed to or to hold or perform that office or those functions or offices or functions of a comparable or analogous nature.



(1) So long as the condition set out in sub-section (3) of the section continues to be fulfilled a British subject domiciled in U. K. or India, who, by virtue of a medical diploma granted to him in U. K. is, or is entitled to be registered in U. K. as a qualified medical practitioner, shall not by or under any law of the Indian legislature or of the Federal or any Provincial legislature be excluded from the practising of medicine or surgery or midwifery in India or any part thereof or from being registered as qualified so to do, on any ground that the diploma held by him does not furnish sufficient guarantee of his possession of the requisite knowledge and skill for the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery and he shall not be so excluded on that ground unless the law of Federation, or of the province, as the case may be makes provision for securing ; (a) that no proposal for excluding the holders of any particular diploma from the practice, or registration, shall become operative until the expiration of twelve months after the notice thereof had been given to the Governor-General and to the University or other body granting that diploma and (b) that such a proposal shall not become operative, or, as the case may be, shall cease to operate, if the Privy Council on an application made to them under the next succeeding sub-section, determine that the diploma in question ought to be recognised as furnishing such sufficient guarantee as aforesaid.

(2) If any University or other body in the United Kingdom which grants medical diploma, or any British subject who holds such diploma, is aggrieved by the proposal to exclude the holders of that diploma from practice or registration in India that body or person may make an application to the Privy Council, and the Privy Council, after giving to such authorities and persons, both in India and in U. K. as they think fit, an opportunity of tendering evidence or submitting representations in writing shall determine whether the diploma in question does or does not furnish sufficient guarantee of the possession of requisite knowledge and skill for the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery and shall notify their determination to Governor-General, who shall communicate it to such authorities and cause it to be published in such a manner as he thinks fit.

(3) The condition referred to in sub-section (1) of this section is that Indian subjects of His Majesty holding medical diploma granted after examination in India shall not be excluded from practising medicine, surgery or midwifery in U. K., or from being registered therein as a qualified medical practitioner, except on the grounds that the diploma does not furnish sufficient guarantee of the possession of the requisite knowledge and skill for the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery, and shall only be excluded on that ground so long as law of U. K. makes provision for enabling any question as to the sufficiency of that diploma to be referred to, and decided by, the Privy Council.

(4) A medical practitioner entitled to practise or to be registered in India by virtue of the diploma granted in U. K. or in U. K. by virtue of a diploma granted in India shall not, in the practice of his profession, be subjected to any restriction or condition whereof persons entitled to practise by virtue of diplomas granted in other country are not subject.

(5) The foregoing provisions of this section shall, subject to modification hereinafter mentioned, apply in relation to the Burman subjects of His Majesty, who by virtue of medical diplomas granted to them in Burma or in U. K., are, or are entitled to be registered in U. K. as qualified medical practitioners as they apply in relation to British subjects domiciled in U. K., who, by virtue of medical diplomas granted in U. K., are or are entitled to be registered in U. K., as qualified medical practitioners. The said modifications are as follows : That is to say, (a) sub-section (3) shall not apply and reference in sub-section (1) to the condition set out therein shall be deemed to be omitted ; (b) any reference in sub-section (2) or sub-section (4) to U. K. shall be construed as a reference to Burma.

(6) Nothing in this section shall be construed as affecting any power of any recognised authority in U. K. or India to suspend or debar any person from practice on the ground of misconduct or to remove any person from the register on that ground.

(7) In this section the expression "diploma" includes any certificate, degree, fellowship or other document or status granted to persons passing examinations.

The person who holds a commission from his Majesty as a medical officer in the Indian Medical Service or any other branch of His Majesty's forces and is on the active list shall, by virtue of that commission, be deemed to be qualified to practise medicine, surgery and midwifery in British India and be entitled to be registered in British India or any part thereof as so qualified.

(1) Nothing in the preceding sections of this chapter shall affect the operation of any law passed or made before this Act other than the law relating to medical practitioners.

(2) In this chapter "law" includes any ordinance, order, by-law, rule or regulation having, by virtue of any Act of Parliament, or of any existing Indian law or any law of the federal or any Provincial Legislature, the force of law.

The constitution of a Federal Railway Authority forms Part VIII of the Bill which is supported by a schedule.

No less than three-sevenths of members of this authority shall be persons appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion and the Governor-General shall, in his discretion, appoint a member of authority to be the President thereof. This authority shall act on business principles, due regard being had by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and the general public and in particular, shall make proper provision for the meeting out of their receipts on the Revenue Account, all expenditure to which such receipts are applicable.

In discharging the said functions, the Railway Authority shall be guided by such instructions on questions of policy as may be given to them by the Federal Government. The Authority shall establish, maintain and control a fund and all expenditure whether on Revenue Account or on Capital Account, required for the discharge of the functions of the Authority, shall be defrayed out of that fund.

The Governor-General may, from time to time, appoint a Railway Rates Committee to give advice to the authority in connection with any dispute between persons using or desiring to use a railway and as to the rates or traffic facilities.

A bill or amendment making provisions for regulating rates and fares to be charged on any railway shall not be introduced or moved in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature, except on the recommendation of the Governor-General.

A tribunal is proposed for the settlement of questions arising between the Railway Authority and owners of the Railway and Indian States. A person shall not be qualified to be appointed or to be member of authority, unless he has had experience in commerce, industry, agriculture, finance or administration, if he is, or within twelve months last preceding has been a member of the Federal or any Provincial Legislature or in the service of the Crown in India or a Railway Official in India. At the head of the executive staff of authority, there shall be a Chief Commissioner, being a person with experience in Railway administration who shall be appointed by the authority, subject to the confirmation by the Governor-General, exercising his individual judgment. The Chief Railway Commissioner shall be assisted by a Financial Commissioner, who shall be appointed by the Governor-General, and by such additional Commissioners, being persons with experience in Railway administration, as the authority, on the recommendation of the Chief Railway Commissioner, may appoint.

More than 75 pages of the Bill contain provisions for the Government of Burma, separated from India, to be administered by the Crown.

The Governor of Burma will be appointed by His Majesty. The executive authority of Burma extends to raising in Burma, on behalf of His Majesty of naval, military and air forces and to the governance of His Majesty's forces in Burma and to the exercise of such rights, authority and jurisdiction as are exercisable by His Majesty by Treaty, grant, usage etc., and in relation to the area in Burma, which are not part of the territories of His Majesty.

There will be a Council of Ministers, not exceeding 10 to aid and advise the Governor, excepting in regard to the discretionary function of the Governor. Minister's salaries shall not be varied during the term of office.

The discretionary powers of the Governor are in respect of definite ecclesiastical affairs, control monetary policy, currency and coinage and in exercise of these functions he may appoint Counsellors not exceeding three in number.

In regard to the exercise of discretionary powers by the Governor, he shall be subject to the Instrument of Instructions issued by His Majesty and will comply with the directions, if any, of the Secretary of State. The Governor may appoint a Financial Adviser, after consulting his Ministers.

There will be an Advocate-General for Burma to advise the Government upon legal matters. As in the case of Governors in Provinces in India, so in Burma, the Governor is empowered to deal suitably with crimes of violence intended to overthrow the Government.

The Legislature shall consist of a Senate of 36 members and a House of Representatives, with 130 members.

The previous sanction of the Governor is required for certain legislative proposals, including those affecting immigration into Burma or procedure for criminal proceedings, wherein European and British subjects are concerned.

It is provided that a British subject, domiciled in the United Kingdom, is exempt from the operation of so much of any law of Burma as imposes any restriction on the right of entry into Burma, provided that no person shall, by virtue of this Section, be entitled to claim exemption if and so long as Burman subjects of His Majesty, domiciled in Burma are, by and under the law of the United Kingdom, subject in the United Kingdom to similar restriction.

Another clause says, "Subject to the provisions of this Chapter, a British subject, domiciled in the United Kingdom, shall be exempt from the operation of so much of any law of Burma as imposed by reference to the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence, any liability, restriction or condition, in regard to travel, residence, the holding of property or public office or carrying out of any occupation, trade, business or profession. The provisions will apply to Indian subjects of His Majesty, provided nothing shall affect any restriction lawfully imposed on the right of entry into Burma of such Indian subjects of His Majesty as aforesaid or any restriction lawfully imposed as a condition of allowing any such Indian subject to enter Burma.

Similar provisions are made for British and for Indian companies and for reciprocal treatment of ships. It is provided that no law of Burma, which prescribes qualifications to be held by persons practising any profession in Burma, or holding any office or performing any function shall have effect so as to preclude any person who immediately before the passing of this Act was lawfully practising that profession from continuing to practise that profession or holding office.

The executive authority of Burma in respect of Railways will be exercised by the Burma Railway Board, consisting of the President and eight other members. The functions of and the directions to this Board are identically the same as those for the Federal Railway Authority in India.

The constitution of the High Court and the Public Service Commission, and the control by His Majesty as to the Defence appointments are all specified.

The miscellaneous provisions as to the relations with India are as follows :—

Whereas it may appear that the distribution of property and liabilities effected by this Act as between India and Burma may result in an undue burden on the revenues of the Federation out of the revenues of Burma and for charging on the revenues of Burma of such periodical or other sums as may appear to him to be proper with a view to preventing undue disturbance of trade between India and Burma in the period immediately following the separation of India and Burma, and with a view to safeguarding the economic interests of Burma during that period. His Majesty-in-Council may give such directions as he thinks fit for those purposes with respect to the duties which are, while the order is in force, to be levied on goods imported into or exported from India or Burma and with respect to ancillary and related matters.

His Majesty-in-Council may make provision for the grant of relief from any Burman tax on income in respect of the income taxed or taxable by or under the law of the Federation of India.

His Majesty-in-Council may make such provisions with respect to the monetary system of Burma and matters connected therewith and ancillary thereto, as he thinks fit and in particular, but, without prejudice to the generality of this section, such provision as may appear to him to be necessary or proper for the purpose of giving effect to any arrangement with respect to the said matters made before the commencement of this part of this Act with the approval of the Secretary of State by the Governor of Burma-in-Council.

His Majesty-in-Council may direct that during such period as may be specified in the order, immigration into Burma from India will be subjected to such restrictions as may have been mutually agreed upon before the commencement of this part of this Act between the Governor of Burma-in-Council and the Governor-General of India in Council and approved by the Secretary of State or, in default of an agreement, as may have been prescribed by the Secretary of State and no other restrictions. Provided that any such order may be varied by a subsequent order in the Council in such a manner as appears to His Majesty necessary to give effect to any agreement in this behalf, it will be made after the commencement of this part of this Act by the Governor of Burma with a Governor of an Indian province or the Governor-General of India in Council.

**EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM.**

The following explanatory memorandum on the Government of India Bill was issued. The great length of the Bill was to a large extent apparent rather than real.

The Bill has to provide for three separate entities, (a) the Indian provinces, which with the states will compose the Federation, and (c) Burma.

The clauses relating to the federal executive and legislature (11 and 27) are repeated in an identical form and to a large extent with identical matter in relation to the Indian provincial executives and legislatures and again in relation to the executive and legislature of Burma. Further, the Bill having set out the provisions for legislative powers, administrative relations, finance, railways, the judiciary, the civil services, the Secretary of State and his department and matters included in part XII described as miscellaneous and general in their application to the Indian constitution necessarily repeats almost the whole of this matter with some modification for the Burma. The result is that if the matter contained in 50 clauses relating to Burma, there is nothing except a few clauses, specially Burma, which is not to be found in substance in other connections in the earlier clauses of the Bill.

2. There are two reasons which have ruled out any attempt to avoid this duplication and in some cases triplication of matter. First, it must be remembered that provisions relating to Burma, that is to say, the whole of the Part XIV of the Bill, comprising as they do the future constitution for Burma, must be complete and self-contained since it would obviously be inappropriate that the constitution for the separate country of Burma should have to be sought for all time among the provisions relating to the Government of India. Secondly, so far as the central and provincial constitutions of India are concerned, although as has already been explained there are some 10 clauses which appear twice to a large extent in common form, first, in relation to the Federation and, secondly, in relation to the provinces, there are nonetheless important differences in detail between these clauses in their relation to the Federation and provinces, respectively, and any attempt to set out the provincial constitutions by a system of reference to the federal constitution or vice versa, would have inevitably resulted in a most complex and confusing presentation.

3. The result of the arrangement adopted in the Bill is, however, that although it contains 450 clauses, if due account is taken of the repetitions just described, it could accurately be described as a Bill of about half the length.

4. There is no need to explain in any detail the general purpose of the Bill nor the nature of the constitutions which it is designed to provide for India and Burma, respectively. These matters have been set out at length and in detail in the report of the Joint Select Committee of which the Bill is the expression in legislative form. The Bill follows the committee's report, with one or two exceptions (such as that it provides that a federal court should entertain appeals relating only to the interpretation of the Constitution Act and not to the interpretation of the Acts passed by the federal legislature in exercise of its exclusive legislative jurisdiction) and with certain additional details that were not dealt with by the committee.

5. But although a detailed exposition of the contents of the Bill is for the reason just given unnecessary, there are one or two points which it is desirable to explain in order that its construction may be made readily understood. The present Government of India Act, after formally vesting in the Crown the Government of India and assuming for the King all the powers which up to 1858 had been vested in the E. India Company, proceeded to place in the hands of a corporate body known as the Secretary of State in Council of India complete control over all Acts, operations and concerns which relate to the Government or the revenues of India. Further, the present Act commits the civil and military Government of India to the Governor-General in Council and the Government of each province to a Governor, acting with an Executive Council and Ministers, but at the same time places the provincial Governments in subordination to the Secretary of State in Council, the Act merely enabling the Secretary of State in Council so far as transferred subjects in the provinces were concerned by the Statutory Rules to relax or remove his hitherto all-embracing powers of superintendence and control.

6. The purpose of the present Bill is to resume into the hands of the King all the powers hitherto exercisable in or in relation to India by any authority (clause 2) and thereafter to distribute to various authorities set up by this Bill the exercise of the whole of those powers so far as they are distributed by the Act and to leave his Majesty free to delegate such of those as are outside the strict ambit of the Act, as he may think fit, to the Governor-General or Governors to be exercised on his behalf.

The consequence of this Bill will, therefore, be that the federal executive and each provincial executive will by direct delegation from the Crown exercise independently on behalf of the King the powers respectively vested in them by this Bill, subject to the superintendence by the Secretary of State over the Governor-General and Governors in certain directions referred to below.

7. The entry of states into the Federation is dealt with in clause 6 and other provisions of the Bill of which the effect is that while states which accede to the Federation will accept the whole Act the extent of powers exercisable in relation to any federated states by the federal executive and legislature will be governed by the Rulers' Instrument of Accession which will specify matters in legislative lists which he accepts as federal matters in relation to his state. It is proposed that immediately after the Bill has been passed the Crown should enter into negotiations with the states for the conclusion of their accession to the Federation. The extent to which each ruler is proposing to accede will be brought to the knowledge of Parliament, before Parliament by affirmative resolutions of both Houses invite his Majesty to issue a proclamation inaugurating the Federation.

8. The legislative powers conferred upon the Federation and the provinces respectively, are statutorily defined by part V of the Bill read with and connected with the seventh schedule. The distribution of financial resource is effected in part through legislative powers and in parts through the provisions of part VII.

9. Executive authority will be exercised in the Federation by the Governor-General and in the provinces by the Governor, but the Governor-General and each Governor will have to aid and advise him in exercise of this authority by a Council of Ministers. In this connection it is important that the meaning and effect of higher two technical terms used throughout the Bill should be clearly understood. The duty of Ministers is described in the Bill as being that of aiding and advising the Governor-General (or the Governor) in exercise of his functions except in so far as he is by or under this Act required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion. Other provisions of the Bill require the Governor-General to exercise in his discretion his functions with regard to three departments which it is proposed to reserve for his own control (the departments of External Affairs) and various other specific powers conferred upon the Governor-General and upon the Governors by the Bill are described as being the powers, the exercise of which is in their discretion.

10. The result is that in regard to any power or function so described Ministers have no constitutional right to tender advice but in regard to every matter not described as being exercisable by the Governor-General (or the Governor) in his discretion the right to advise i. e., to initiate proposals rests with the Ministers. The second technical term used in this connection throughout the Bill is the phrase 'exercise his individual judgment'. This phrase, which is applicable to matters within the purview of Ministers means that the Governor-General (or a Governor) after considering the advice of Ministers is free to direct such action as he thinks fit, that is to say, not necessarily to accept the advice tendered to him. This course is open to the Governor-General (or a Governor) (a) whenever any of the special responsibilities enumerated in clause 12 (52) of the Bill is, in his opinion, involved and (b) whenever any of the powers conferred upon him by the Act specifically require him in their exercise to exercise his individual judgment whenever the Governor-General or a Governor is acting in his discretion or exercising his individual judgment he is subject to the superintendence of the Secretary of State (clauses 14 and 54).

Full directions will be given to the Governor-General and Governors by an Instrument of Instructions to be issued with the approval of Parliament by the Crown. The document, though it cannot, of course, confer powers which are not to be found in the Act, will regulate the use of the powers conferred by the Act and though the Instrument will cover many other matters the directions on the point just described as to their relations with Ministers will be of fundamental importance. Among the more important of other matters with which it is contemplated that the Instrument of Instructions should deal are the consultation between the Governor-General, counsellors and his Ministers in the day-to-day working of the federal executive, an explanation of the line which it is intended that the Governor-General and Governors should follow in the interpretation and application of their special responsibilities. The Instrument will also indicate the nature of the rights of the Indian states which require protection and the line to be followed by the Governor-General in giving his previous sanction to certain kinds of legislation (an important instance of this category is certain financial legislation) and in particular legislation affecting a federal surcharge on income-

tax (clause 138). It is intended that a provisional draft of instructions contemplated by the Government shall be available for the information of both the Houses of Parliament before the Bill comes under a detailed discussion in committee.

11. As to the coming into operation of the various parts of the Bill the intention is that with the exception of part (2) relating to the federation the rest of the Bill will come into force on such date as the King in Council may fix and that part (2) of the Bill be brought into force by a proclamation on such date after coming into force of the remainder of the Bill as Parliament may by a resolution referred to in para (7) above. During the period, while the Bill other than the provisions of part (2) is in operation the transitional provisions contained in Part XIII read with the ninth schedule will regulate the powers of the existing central Government. The effect of the provisions in Part XIII is to keep in operation with some necessary modifications, such as the transfer of conduct of relations with the states to the authority specified in clause 3 (2) the provisions of the present Act relating to the central executive and the legislature and to make such modifications as are necessary in powers exercisable by that authority under such parts of the Bill as are in operation. Their effect is also while bringing to an end the Council of India as at present constituted to leave in the hands of the Secretary of State and of the advisers who under this Bill are to take the place of members of the Council of India. The same measure of control over the financial operations of the central Government during the period intervening between the commencement of provincial autonomy and the establishment of federation as is at present exercised by the Secretary of State in Council.

12. The Bill necessarily contains provisions (clauses 156 and 426) giving power to regulate trade relations between India and Burma during the period immediately following the separation with the object of minimising the disturbance of economic conditions in Burma which might otherwise result in their present form. These clauses must be regarded as provisional since discussions on the matter are still in progress and it is impossible until they are included to be certain that the provisions on the lines at present in the Bill are sufficiently precise but whatever form the powers granted to His Majesty-in-Council by the Bill may ultimately assume it is not intended that they should be so exercised as to prejudice the fiscal autonomy which India has enjoyed in the past.

13. The franchise proposed for provincial legislature is that embodied in the White Paper as embodied by the Joint Select Committee. It will be observed that the details of this find at present no place in schedules to the Bill which has been drawn to the assumption that these matters in view of their technical character will like many other matters of detail be prescribed by Orders-in-Council to be made subsequently to the passage of the Bill with the approval of both the Houses of Parliament. If, however, it should be found that Parliament would prefer that provisions for franchise for territorial constituencies should be included in schedules to the Bill it should be included in schedules to the Bill it should be possible to move addition of another schedule or schedules for this purpose.

14. As for the expenditure necessitated by the Bill so far as there is any charge on British revenues the financial memorandum attached to the Bill explains the position. So far as Indian revenues are concerned, whilst it is impossible to estimate in advance and with precision the exact figure, the general effect may be gauged by the estimates laid before the Joint Select Committee and discussed in paragraphs 267-273 inclusive of their report.